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CHINA;

POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL AND SOCIAL.

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POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL,

AND

SOCIAL;

IN AN OFFICIAL REPORT TO HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

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BY

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GEOGRAPHICAL, POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL, AND SOCIAL.

CHAPTER I.

BRITISH INTERCOURSE WITH CHINA, SINCE THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH; DETAILS OF THE RECENT WAR, AND TREATIES WITH ENGLAND.

The finite capacity of man, and his consequent fallible judgment, render experience a safe guide in mundane affairs, particularly in national intercourse, for the character and ruling motives of a nation are less liable to change than those of individuals. If then we find, that in the intercourse of China with foreign countries for more than 2000 years, submission has been received with arrogance, and quiescence rewarded with oppression, that resistance has been treated with respect, and force alone procured concessions to justice,—we have a guide, when pursuing an upright course of policy, for our conduct towards China.

The previous chapters will corroborate the truth of these remarks, and in further elucidation of them, independent of historical interest, the following narrative is given of English intercourse with China, since the reign of our truly national sovereign Elizabeth, during whose reign (A.D. 1596) we have the first official intimation of public communication with China. The following is a copy of a letter from Queen Elizabeth of England, to the Emperor of China, A.D. 1596.

"Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, the most mightie Defendresse of the true and Christian faith, againste all that falsely profess the name of Christ.

"To the most high and sovereign prince, the most puissant

governor of the great kingdom of China, the chiefest Emperor in those parts of Asia, and the islands adjoining, and the great monarch of the oriental regions of the world; wisheth health, and many joyful and happy years, with all plenty and abundance of things most acceptable.

"Whereas our honest and faithful subjects which bring these letters unto your highness, Richard Allot and Thomas Broomfield, merchants of the city of London, have made most earnest suite unto us, that we would commend their desires and endeavours of sayling to the regions of your empire for traffiques sake; whereas the fame of your kingdom so strongly and prudently governed, being published over the face of the whole earth, hath invited these, our subjects, not only to visit your highnesses dominions, but also to permit themselves to be ruled and governed by the laws of your kingdom during their abode there, as it becometh merchants, who for exchange of merchandise are desirous to travel to distant and unknown regions, having this regard only, that they may present their wares and musters of divers kind of merchandise, wherewith the regions of our dominions do abound, unto the view of your highness and of your subjects, that they may endeavour to know whether there be any other merchandise with us fit for your use, which they may exchange for other commodities, whereof in parts of your empire there is great plenty, both natural and artificial. We yielding to the most reasonable requests of these honest men, because we suppose that by this intercourse and traffique, no loss, but rather most exceeding benefits, will redound to the princes and subjects of both kingdoms, and thus help and enrich one another. And we do crave of your most Sovereign Majesty, that these our subjects, when they arrive at any of your ports or cities, they may have full and free liberty of egress and regress, and of dealing with your subjects; and may by your clemency enjoy all freedoms and privileges as are granted to the subjects of other princes; and we on the other side, will not only perform all the offices of a well and willing prince unto your highness, but also for the greater increase of mutual love and commerce between us and our subjects, by these present letters of ours, do most willingly grant unto all and every your subjects, full and entire liberty into any of the parts of our dominions to resort there, to abide and traffique, and then return as it seemeth best to them.

"All and every of which premises we have caused to be confirmed, by annexing hereunto our royal seal. God most Merciful and Almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth, continually protect your Kingly Majesty.

"Given at our palace at Greenwich the 11th of July, 1596, and 38th of our reign."

A storm prevented the ship which conveyed this letter reaching its destination. That considerable importance was attached to a

growing trade with China at this period, is further evidenced by the following "draft of a warrant to discharge ware bound for China," which is to be found in the Lansdowne manuscripts. It appears to have been granted in favour of the "Earl of Leicester and other adventurers for the discovery and finding out Kathay." (China.)

The following is a copy of this singular document.

"Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, &c., &c.
To the Barons of the Exchequer.

"Greeting. Whereas there is due unto us for our subsidy of poundage of certain wares and merchandises entered into our book of entries, of the said subsidy due of merchandise carried from a port of London, and then shipped in divers ships, in the month of April last past, in the names of our right trusty and right well-beloved Robert Earl of Leicester, and other adventurers, for the discovery and finding out Kathay, (China) to pass in the voyage to that land divers several sums of money amounting to the sum of £45 12*s*. 2½*d*. growing due of the value of the said wares, being valued at £912 4*s*. 2*d*., after the rate of twelve pence for every pound, thereof as by the said book reported by Robert Daw our collector, for our said subsidy in the said port disbursed into our said exchequer, and then remaining in the custody of our remembrancer, amongst other things more plainly appeareth; and whereas also there is due unto us for the custom of our hundreth, and wine, woollen cloths, and twenty yards of woollen cloths, entered in our book of entries of our petty custom of cloths and other merchandize, transported from our said port, and then shipped in divers ships in the month of March last, in the name of the said Earl and other adventurers, to pass on the said voyage divers several sums of money, amounting to the sum of £36 12*s*. 3*d*. after the rate of 6*s*. 8*d*. for every cloth, as by the said book kept by William Phillips and Robert Young, collector of the said customs in the said port, and delivered into the custody of our remembrancer among other things, more plainly appeareth:—We let you to wit that we have agreed and granted to the said Earl and other adventurers aforesaid, to allow towards the charges and furnishing the said voyage as our adventure, to be accounted for after the rate to our use, according as the voyage shall have success, the said several sums due unto us as aforesaid, wherefore we grant unto you full power and authority, and we will and command you by these presents, that you cause our said courts to allow and permit the said Earl and others aforesaid, to retain in their own hands the said several sums of money due unto us as aforesaid, to be employed about the said voyage, or having already received it, do forthwith re-pay the same to that use, and that you do by virtue hereof, give clear and full allowance, discharge and exoneration, upon record for ever against us, our heirs and successors, to our said courts, and

every of them, in the several accounts to be made unto us, of the profits of the several officers of, for, and concerning the said sums, any statute, law, course of our said Exchequer, or any other matter or thing, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding, and these our letters," &c.

In 1613, the English East India Company having successfully established a factory in Japan, the want of an opening with China was severely felt; and efforts were made by the payment of large sums of money to many Chinese merchants, who promised to interest themselves to gain that object.

The differences between the English and Dutch Companies in India and Japan, had risen to such a height, that the British government and the States-General entered into a treaty of defence, by which both countries bound themselves to endeavour to open a free trade with China. No part of this treaty was fulfilled by the Dutch, who were very jealous of the rising power of England.

The dreadful slaughter of English subjects by the Dutch at Amboyna, and the cruel persecution which the East India Company's officers were subjected to in Japan (see vol. i., p. 300) were allowed to pass with impunity, owing to the state of affairs between England and Spain.

In 1634, "a truce and free trade" to China and all other parts where the Portuguese had trade, was agreed to between the Viceroy of Goa and several English merchants, who had obtained a license from King Charles the First (Courteen's association). By virtue of this agreement, Captain Weddell sailed for China, with letters of introduction to the governor of Macao. The details of this expedition illustrate the character of the Chinese to the present day, and are worthy of note.

When Captain Weddell's fleet arrived at Macao, the Portuguese governor, so far from giving them encouragement to trade (lest, as he represented, he might offend the Chinese), advised our ships to depart.

Captain Weddell, unwilling to return fruitless after his long journey, determined to explore the Canton River; and fitted out a barge and pinnace, with fifty men, which discovered the mouth of the river. After several days' delay, a small boat approached the pinnace, sold them refreshments, and agreed to bring them to Canton; they had not sailed far when they fell in with a fleet of Chinese junks, consisting of twenty sail, commanded by an admiral, who called on them to anchor, which they did; some Portuguese on board acted as interpreters.

Nothing could exceed the wrath of this functionary on finding that the "Barbarians" had discovered the mouth of the river, (it appears the Portuguese were not permitted to approach Canton by this route; probably it was the "inner passage,") or, as he

termed it, "the prohibited goods, and the concealed parts and passages of so great a prince's dominions." The Chinese admiral required the English to tell him who were their pilots.

The spokesman of this adventurous crew asked permission to trade on the same terms as the inhabitants of Macao. Permission was granted for three of the crew of the pinnace, to sail for Canton in a junk furnished for that purpose by the Chinese admiral. The next day, when near Canton, they were hailed, and a request made to return to Macao, and that every assistance would be given to them in obtaining a license to trade.

The proceedings of Captain Weddell, the treachery he experienced, and the concessions immediately granted from fear, are so similar to the proceedings during our late war, that they deserve special notice.

The pinnace returned from Canton on the strength of these promises; and being satisfied with the knowledge they had acquired of the river, were anxious to relieve Captain Weddell from the suspense their long absence must have occasioned.

During their absence six vessels had sailed from Macao for Japan, which the Portuguese were afraid Weddell would have intercepted: he allowed them, however, to proceed on their voyage. But instead of receiving any aid from either the Chinese or Portuguese, the English were prohibited to trade, the Chinese being freed from the fear that Captain Weddell would surprise their vessels.

A consultation was held by the English, and a plan of the river being laid before the captains of the ships, it was decided that the whole fleet should sail for Canton without delay.

"Having made good passage on their way to Canton, and being furnished with some slender interpreters, they soon had speech with mandarins in the king's junks, to whom the cause of their arrival was made known; to the request these mandarins promised to lend every assistance with the prime men in Canton; but requested a delay of six days, which was granted; and the English ships rode with white ensigns on the poops.

"But the perfidious Portuguese had so slandered the English, that in the night-time, the Chinese put forty-six pieces of ordnance into the fort lying close to the river; and after the end of four days, having fortified themselves, they discharged divers shot, though without hurt. Herewith the fleet being incensed, did display their bloody ensigns; and weighing their anchors, fell up with the flood, and berthed themselves before the castle, from whence came many shots, yet not any that touched hull or rope. Whereupon, not being able to endure their bravadoes any longer, each ship began to play furiously upon them with their broadsides; and after two or three hours, perceiving their cowardly fainting, the boats were landed with about one hundred men; which sight occasioned them, with great distraction, instantly to abandon the

castle and fly; the boat's crew in the meantime entering the same, and displaying his majesty's colours of Great Britain upon the walls. The boats of the fleet seized a junk, by which a letter was sent to Canton, directed to the chief mandarins, expostulating on their breach of truce, excusing the assailing, and withal, in fair terms, requiring the liberty of trade. This letter it seems was delivered; for the next day, a mandarin of no great note came towards the ships with a white flag, the request was renewed, and certain gifts presented; he was dismissed, but returned the same day with a junk to carry up such persons as would be able to conclude further upon the manner of their future proceedings."

The English, by firmness, gained their point; two officers, Mounteney and Robinson, proceeded up the river, and anchored close to the city walls; and were received by officers of high rank, who granted Captain Weddell permission for a free trade, and *the liberty to fortify himself on any place outside the river.* In consequence of this, Captain Weddell landed the guns which he had taken from the castle. The supercargoes went up to Canton, paid down ten thousand rials as duties, and commenced loading sugar and ginger.

Not many days elapsed when things took a most unfavourable turn. The Chinese delivered a protest to the commander; charged him with having forced the trade; two of the supercargoes were made prisoners, and seven fire-junks were floated down the river, which the English, however, avoided and destroyed. The prisoners obtained their release by threatening to burn the town by means of a lens, which so alarmed the mandarins, that they gave them their liberty.

In the meantime, the fleet at Macao hearing of the detention of their comrades, resolved to release them. And having well manned their boats, they attacked sixteen sail of the imperial fleet, and burnt five of them, captured the town of Famou, and sailed to Canton. The affair was arranged, the Chinese authorities charging the Portuguese as the instigators, whom they condemned to pay a large sum, which went into their own pockets.

Between the imbecility of the Chinese government and the renewed persecution of the Portuguese, the project of Courteen's association was abandoned; although the terms entered into with the Chinese were moderate, viz.: "that for ample trade and residence, the English should yearly pay 2000 taels to the Emperor, four pieces of iron ordnance, and fifty muskets." Throughout these protracted difficulties the Chinese authorities appear to have been under the control of the Portuguese, as the Chinese were not then governed by the Tartars, and were really desirous of free trade.

Agreeably to an understanding entered into between the Viceroy of Goa and the East India Company, a fleet of ships was despatched to Macao, in June, A.D. 1637: the supercargoes presented a letter

from King Charles to the Portuguese Captain-general, who alleged that the conduct of Captain Weddell the previous year, had subjected them to heavy fines from the Chinese.

A.D. 1644. The East India Company sent the ship *Hinde* to Macao; on first landing, our countrymen received good entertainment, but were subsequently mulcted in every possible way, and charged 3,500 rials instead of 800, for measurement. The supercargoes' letter stated that the Portuguese were greatly reduced, owing to the loss of their former trade to Japan, Manillas, &c., and that they are little better than rebels against their viceroy at Goa, having lately murdered their Captain-general, and daily spilling one another's blood.

The supercargoes further state the effects of the Tartar conquest on China thus :—

"What makes things more miserable, China is wholly embroiled in civil wars. One of the mandarins having risen in rebellion, is grown so powerful, that he possesses a great part of the kingdom, and is likely to command the whole. The Emperor has hung himself, (after slaying his wife and children). These disturbances have left Macao destitute of all kinds of merchandise, neither raw nor wrought silks, nothing but China ware, of which the bulk of the present cargo is composed."

The state of the East India Company and of our trade in China, A.D. 1648, is thus shown in a letter from the supercargoes at Bantam :—"The experiment which you desire we should make with one of our small vessels for trade into China, we are certainly informed by those that know the present state and condition of that country very well, cannot be undertaken without the inevitable loss both of ship, men, and goods; for as the Tartars overrun and waste all the inland country, without settling any government in the places which they overcome, so some of their great men in China, with a mighty fleet at sea of upwards of 1,000 sail of great ships, (as is confidently reported) rob and spoil all the sea-coasts, and whatsoever vessels they can meet with; and how one of our feeble vessels would be able to defend themselves against such forces is easy supposed. As for the Portugals in Macao, they are little better than mere rebbels against their viceroy in Goa, having lately murdered their Captain-general sent thither to them, and Macao itself is so distracted amongst themselves, that they are daily spilling one another's blood. But put the case, all these things were otherwise, we must need say, we are in a very poor condition to seek out new discoveries, while you will not allow us either factors, shipping, or sailors, scarce half sufficient to maintain the trade already you have on foot; and, therefore, the Dutch but laugh at us to see us meddle with new undertakings, being hardly able to support the old."

A.D. 1664. The *Surat* ship despatched this year to Macao, after waiting five months, reshipped the goods, as the charges de-

manded were enormous, independent of the heavy exaction of the Chinese in the form of bribes. The supercargoes reported that "the new governors of China, *the Tartars, are throwing every impediment in the way of trade,* merchants from Canton are prevented from coming to Macao by the pirates, who take every thing before them; provisions are not to be had."

A.D. 1670. The chief of Formosa had hitherto proved successful against the Tartars, and was so anxious for foreign commerce, that he invited the English to trade in his territories, promising them an exemption from port or any other charges. The East India Company despatched a vessel from Bantam, to Formosa. The chief entered into terms which promised well for establishing a factory and trade with Amoy.

Notwithstanding the invitation and promises, when the factory was settled, and warehouses erected, the chief in the most treacherous manner charged duties, to the serious injury of trade, engrossed the monopoly of sugar and skins, and acted most arbitrarily in every respect, obtaining goods without the least prospect of paying for them, unless he got the better of the Tartars, of which he was most sanguine. He, however, promised free ports in every place should he succeed.

A.D. 1674. The ship *Return* was again despatched to Macao, and after a long stay was obliged to depart without any success. The consultation states that "owing to the intestine wars now raging in China, and the consequent distress, they only sold eleven pieces of cloth in barter, and that at poor rates."

About the year A.D. 1677, a most pressing invitation was sent from the viceroy of Canton to the English merchants, who were then settled in Amoy seven years, to establish and settle a factory in Canton. But such was the uncertainty of the usurpers being able to continue their sway in China, and probably a dread of displeasing Koxinga, that the proposal was declined, the English preferring the native chieftain Koxinga, i.e., the King of Formosa, and his successor. It was not until his final overthrow, A.D. 1681, that the English turned their attention to Canton.

The Portuguese no sooner heard of the defeat of Koxinga, than they purchased the sole right of trading to Canton, by a bribe of 8,000 sterling per annum, and procured an edict from the governor, which prohibited the merchants of that place under heavy penalty "from trading with any strangers."

When the English arrived in A.D. 1682, in the Canton river, they were met by a Tartar Admiral, who informed them, "that there was an agreement entered into between the Emperor of China and the Portuguese, not to permit a trade with any other European nation."

The Tartars obtained possession of Amoy, and the factors, to appease their hostility and rapacity, were obliged to expend considerable sums of money; but the more they gave, the more was

required, so that their condition was getting worse every day under the new rulers.

Mr. Roberts, one of the supercargoes, demanding a debt due to him by a Chinese merchant, was put under arrest in his own factory, and *chained there until he agreed to take such goods as the debtor chose to give him at his own valuation, for the sum he owed.* The extortions and exactions were not confined to the mandarins, but the Emperor's son sent to a merchant and compelled him to sell him such articles as he selected for his own price. The English were even obliged to pay duties for a cargo that could not be disposed of. All the ports of China being opened to traders, Amoy was relinquished.

A.D. 1685. All the ports of the Empire were nominally opened to foreign free trade by the Emperor Kanghe; but the restrictions and heavy impositions adopted by the local authorities continued at Canton; where the Portuguese tribute or bribe of £8,000 per annum closed the port against the English, except under severe exactions.

A.D. 1689. The first experiment of free port privileges was tried on the ship *Defence* at Canton. After a delay of three weeks a measurer came on board, commenced measuring her from stem to stern; but by getting a bribe consented to measure her from before the mizen-mast to the after part of the fore-mast. The sums demanded were 2,484 taels, which was resisted; after a week's delay 1,500 taels were paid, 300 of which were to go to the Tartar officers. A riot occured between the sailors of the *Defence* and some Chinese, and although some of the sailors were killed, and the doctor mortally wounded, yet in consequence of one of the Chinese being also killed, not less than 5,000 taels would pacify the mandarins, who refused 2,000 offered by Captain Heath.

A.D. 1702. Rapacity had early exhibited itself, by an attempt to have all the trade at Canton conducted through one person, to be styled "the Emperor's merchant." This extortion was not fully acted on, after an engagement had been entered into to pay him 5,000 taels for each ship.

A fresh imposition was laid on of four per cent. which caused a long and useless remonstrance.

A.D. 1704. Gerardini, the Italian painter, arrived from Peking at Canton, to embark for France in one of the company's vessels. This eminent painter had been eight years in Peking, adorning the Emperor's palace. The Emperor was so delighted with the works of this artist, that he would not part with him till he had "bred up six great men's sons" in the art. The hoppo to whom he was consigned by the Emperor for safe and speedy departure, greatly facilitated the despatch of the Company's fleet, by which means the artist obtained a free passage.

A.D. 1715. The great promises held out by the mandarins at Canton of protection, induced the East India Company to resolve

on sending ships to Canton at stated periods; and the better to secure the trade, stipulated for the observance of a series of regulations as follows :—

Articles agreed upon between the supercargoes of the East India Company and the hoppo, or superintendent of foreign trade at Canton.

1st. Free trade with all Chinese without distinction.

2nd. Liberty to hire Chinese servants, and to dismiss them at pleasure. English servants committing any offence to be punished by the supercargoes, and not by the Chinese.

3rd. Liberty to purchase provisions for the factory and ships.

4th. No duties to be chargeable on the reshipment of unsold goods, nor on stores, such as wine, beer, &c. expended in the factory.

5th. Liberty to erect a tent on shore for repairing casks, sails, &c.

6th. English boats with colours flying, to pass and repass the custom houses without examination, and the sailors' pockets not to be searched.

7th. Escritoires and chests to be landed and shipped without examination.

8th. The hoppo to protect the English from all insults and impositions of the common people, and the mandarins.

As soon as it suited the authorities of Canton to violate these regulations, they were of course set aside. In fact, although ratified on paper they were never practically carried into effect.

The *lex talionis*, promptly executed, has always been in China the surest mode of obtaining redress. The East India Company records state that in 1713 "A private ship (the *Anne*) from Madras, seized a junk belonging to Amoy, in satisfaction of injuries received at that port. The Emperor being informed of this, sent a special messenger to enquire into the affair; and on his report, ordered the mandarins, whose duty it was to see justice done the Madras merchants, to be severely punished.

"The seizure of the junk caused the English to be better treated than ever."

Lord's Report, 1821, p. 279.

Whilst the Company had the alternative of trading at Amoy as well as Canton, the supercargoes exhibited a becoming spirit. They frequently detained their vessels at the mouth of the river, until they obtained an assurance of proper treatment. At this early period it was not an uncommon occurrence to bring sentries on shore to guard the factory; and it must have been through ignorance or neglect, that they permitted so good a precedent to become obsolete.

In 1721 a complaint of combination among the Chinese to regulate prices was made, as is now (1847) the case.

The Court of Directors, in their orders to the supercargoes as

to the liberty to trade, stated "this article is likely to be more necessary and strenuously to be insisted on now than ever, for our last returned supercargoes have brought us a draft of the combination which the Chinese were forming to set their own prices on the goods to be sold to the Europeans, thereby to have their proportion of the real profit on the said goods, whoever appeared to be the seller."

A.D. 1722. The intolerant grievance was tried this year of forming the Cohong. The hoppo prohibited the inferior merchants from trading with Europeans, and compelled all merchants (except the Cohong) to pay 20 per cent. on China ware, and 40 per cent. on all tea sold by them. By a firm resistance on the part of the supercargoes, this was dissolved. It was soon ascertained that fresh extortions and violations of the privileges granted were attempted every season.

A.D. 1723. The supercargo of the ship "*Walpole*," on their arrival at Macao, discovered that the whole of the Chinese officials had engrossed the trade, and obliged the Chinese merchants to borrow money from them at 30 per cent. having previously purchased all the tea in the country, and forced the merchants to take it at their own price. By this means the merchants were ruined, so that not more than two were capable of entering into a contract.

The Consoo Fund, which was levied by the mere *fiat* of the Hong merchants, was three per cent. on all goods excepting woollens, long cloths, iron, and cotton yarn.

It had long been diverted from the purposes for which it was imposed, and was of late years appropriated as follows:

Annual tribute to the Emperor	£18,000
Repairing the Yellow River, to which the British had no access	10,000
An agent at Peking	7,000
Birthday presents to the Emperor	43,000
Ditto to the hoppo	7,000
Ditto „ „ Mother or Wife	7,000
Ditto various officers	13,000
Expended on Ginseng, a Royal monopoly grown in Tartary	47,000
	£152,000

A.D. 1727. Several merchants left Canton for Amoy, where they were invited, and it was stated that the mandarins of that port were most anxious to cultivate trade, and free it from unreasonable demands. April 22nd, at a consultation held this day, it was resolved to remove to Amoy, in consequence of the increased exaction and insulting treatment at Canton.

This intention was abandoned upon fresh promises being made by the hoppo of more favourable usage. October 22nd trade again interrupted for a considerable time, in consequence of not being able to procure tea, from some combination among the Natives.

A.D. 1730. The 10 per cent. imposition amounted this year to 16,000 taels, every effort was tried to have it reduced or abolished without success.

A.D. 1732. The French, Dutch, and English made a remonstrance against the unjust taxes, the 6 per cent. and the 10 per cent. Nothing obtained but promises, as it was said the Emperor received a portion of the taxes.

A.D. 1733 and 1734. The consignments this year from England having failed, endeavours were made to relinquish the presents to the hoppo (1,950 taels) according to a former agreement; but without effect.

A.D. 1735. Inferior silk being attempted by the Chinese to be passed off, caused a representation to be made to the viceroy, who answered that for such trifling circumstances he should not be disturbed in future, by strangers coming into the city, which was not allowed.

The supercargoes threatening to go to Amoy, the mandarins made great promises, and reduced the Cumsha of 1950 taels per ship, to a nominal sum.

A.D. 1735. This year another attempt was tried at Amoy, from the promises held out by the mandarins upon anchoring in the outer harbours; but it could not be ascertained what duties would be charged. When the covid or cubit was brought, it was found only eleven inches in length, instead of $14\frac{5}{8}$; 1,250 taels were required instead of 504 for measurement, which was accepted, with an addition of twenty per cent. to the hoppo.

The ships had no sooner broken bulk than the old system was reverted to, and a spy of their own placed within the factory, to take account of all goods sold; the ships' guns were required to be given up.

At length a representation reached the Yan, as he was called, who promised to rectify the misconduct.

After a few weeks delay a grand "chop" arrived from the viceroy of the province, directing that the English should be allowed full liberty to trade; and stating that by a decree of the Imperial grand council, published four years previous, the mandarins of Amoy are expressly enjoined not to demand a duty of seven per cent. formerly paid there by European ships; it being hoped that by this concession, they might again be induced to resort to Amoy to trade.

Notwithstanding this, the imperial wishes were frustrated by the conduct of the hoppo and others, who were "full of delays and prevarications, denying one day what they had promised the pre-

vious." The result was, that after several weeks delay the ships departed without disposing of any part of their cargo.

A lesson was learnt from the edict published at Amoy, that the cabinet of that time was well disposed to commerce, and to the removal of any obstacles that were brought under that cognizance.

The difficulty felt at all times was to find means of communicating with the court on the subject of these extortions, committed by the very parties who were the regular channels for the transmission of petitions.

A.D. 1736. Keenlung, who ascended the throne this year, revoked the ten per cent.: for obtaining which, the governor demanded 30,000 taels, but it was considered that this privilege was obtained through the influence of the Jesuits at court, as the French and English had joined in petitioning against it. An advance of 6,000 taels was given to Chinese functionaries to obtain the privilege of retaining the arms and ammunition on board our ships!

The Emperor Keenlung, laid down a maxim that should be acted on by the local government of Canton, in order to intimidate *Man-Ee*, that is "fierce barbarians," viz.: that "life for life should be required, without any regard to the extenuating circumstances which the Chinese laws admitted when Natives only were concerned." Thus it appeared to be necessary to bridle the ferocity of the *Man-Ee*, by laws more sanguinary than are required for the Natives who are within the pale of civilization.

One of the many modes adopted by the Chinese authorities, in Canton, to continue and perpetuate their extortions, was to punish severely any Native who taught Europeans the language. This was obviously lest their complaints should reach the court. So that the corrupt local authorities have poisoned each successive Emperor against every foreigner without distinction. These misrepresentations have never yet been effectually exposed.

The subsequent years from 1736, are not marked with any particular event. Commodore Anson's arrival off Canton, in 1742, to obtain some provisions, gave occasion for fresh demands. Provisions were readily promised, on condition of measurement charges being paid for her, which was instantly refused.

The Commodore was not to be trifled with: he proceeded up the river, and anchored near the custom-house. No provisions arriving according to promise, the Commodore, in company with the English, Swedish, Dutch, and Danish supercargoes, demanded an audience of the viceroy. A dreadful fire breaking out about this time, the Commodore's seamen rendered most signal services in extinguishing the flames. Through this means an audience was granted, when, as usual, promises were made; but nothing beyond supplies, and permission to repair the "Centurion," were obtained.

A.D. 1747. The exactions and impositions were this year renewed, notwithstanding the Emperor having abolished them, and

no audience could be procured, to represent them in the proper quarter. It was not until instructions were received from London to resort to the old method of satisfying official rapacity, that trade was renewed in 1750.

A.D. 1754. Such were the extortions and grievances this year, that the East India Company gave directions to open a trade at Limpo. On this coming to the ears of the Mandarins at Canton, there were as usual, promises; but no written answer was given to their numerous applications.

A.D. 1755. The fair promises were performed in the true Chinese mode, by confining the whole trade to Hong merchants, and excluding small merchants and shop-keepers.

A.D. 1761. Mr. Pigou, one of the supercargoes, suggested an embassy to Peking, with a view to renew the trade to the north. Mr. Flint was appointed, and was favourably received at Ningpo and Chusan.

It soon appeared that the Chinese authorities at Canton were unfavourable, and it turned out that between them a sum of 20,000 taels was sent to the officers about the court of Peking, and an edict was procured which confined the trade to Canton.

Mr. Flint was urged to depart from Ningpo, without either goods or provisions. He was forced to sail against an unfavourable monsoon, but instead of steering for Canton, he directed his course to the mouth of the Pieho, and from thence sent a petition to the Emperor at Peking.

This petition reached the throne, and an enquiry was set on foot, the hoppo of Canton was dismissed, and several impositions unlawfully exacted, were taken off. The British ships were in future to be called Western Ocean ships, not "devil's ships."

On Mr. Flint's return to Canton, his presence was required by the Isonstock (viceroy). The supercargoes of all nations accompanied him into the city, thinking, as they were given to understand, that new orders were about to be issued.

On their arrival at the gate of the palace, their swords were taken from them; they were then forced into the viceroy's presence, and hesitating to pay homage, were actually thrown down on their faces. The Isonstock then called Mr. Flint, and read the Emperor's order for his banishment to Macao, for three years, and then to leave the empire for ever.

This punishment was inflicted on Mr. Flint for going to Limpo, (Ningpo) and the Native who wrote his petition was beheaded.

Mr. Flint was kept in close confinement for three years, viz.: to 1762, and the English quietly submitted to this injustice.

A.D. 1760. The East India Company sent out a Mr. Skottowe, and it was to be given out that he was brother to his Majesty's Under Secretary of State. The object of this mission was to obtain the release of Mr. Flint, and a redress of the many grievances with which the trade was burthened. This mission effected nothing,

not one of the points urged being conceded; on the contrary, the authorities became more insolent than ever. As an illustration, it may be stated that in a letter from the governor to his Britannic Majesty, they commend the king to take Mr. Flint, and keep him in safe custody; as his nation was drenched with the waves of imperial favour, and therefore should leap for joy.

A.D. 1765. The insult to the king's letter, and the gross injustice done to Mr. Flint, paved the way for fresh extortions this year.

On the arrival of the king's ship *"Argo,"* the hoppo insisted on measuring her, which was not resisted with that firmness which was so successful in Lord Anson's case. After a fruitless discussion which lasted four months, the king's ship was measured. The alternative of paying for the ship or quitting the country, was most pompously proposed; but hitherto it was the supercargoes who used to threaten to leave the port of Canton. This new policy was the consequence of having all the other ports closed, and tamely submitting to repeated insults.

A.D. 1771. This year the Cohong, or committee for regulating and fixing the prices at which all goods should be sold and purchased, was abolished, at an expense to the East India Company of 100,000 taels.

Yet we find that in 1779, this instrument of extortion was in full operation under a new name, *Consoo Fund,* the history and origin of which are as follows :—

The enormous sum of 3,808,076 Spanish dollars, became due in a comparatively short time to British subjects, without any hopes of being able to recover the same.

All efforts failing to recover any portion of this just debt, the case was laid before the Madras government, who dispatched Captain Panton, in one of his Majesty's ships, to urge payment. The Captain had instructions from Admiral Sir E. Vernon, to insist on an audience with the viceroy of Canton.

It was not without threats from the British Commander, that the audience was granted. The arrangement entered into, was an acceptance of ten shillings in the pound, *(without interest),* as a composition to be paid within ten years.

Captain Panton had no sooner departed, than the Consoo Fund was established. And thus this lawful debt having been first reduced one half, was then to be discharged by a fresh impost on European commerce, which was continued up to a recent period.

A.D. 1773. This year the first judicial murder by the Chinese officials was perpetrated on a foreigner, named Scott, against whom not a particle of evidence was produced.

A.D. 1780. The precedent made in the former case by the government of Macao, was this year followed by the French, who surrendered a Frenchman, who had killed a Portuguese in a fray.

The Frenchman was forthwith strangled by order of the Foo-yuen, or Chinese viceroy, without any trial.

A.D. 1784. The English were the next to suffer, and the gunner of the *Lady Hughes*, who was the innocent cause of a Chinaman's death, when firing a salute, was surrendered to be murdered. The recital of this case would only perpetuate the record of our disgrace.

The late Dr. Morrison, in his remarks on homicide in China, states: "that during the 11th moon of the 13th year of Keen-lung, (A.D. 1749), the governor of Canton reported to the Emperor, that he had tried two foreigners, who had caused the death of two Chinese, and having sentenced them to be bastinadoed and transported, had to request that, according to foreign laws, they might be sent to a Chinese settlement."

"The Emperor's reply was, that the governor had acted contrary to law; that he should have required 'life for life.' 'If,' he adds, 'you quote only our native laws, and according to them sentence to the bastinado and transportation, then the fierce and unruly dispositions of the foreigners will cease to be afraid, it is incumbent to have life for life, to frighten and repress the barbarians.'"

As homicide affects the Chinese, it stands thus:—"1st. Killing with intention, punishable by death; 2nd. Killing by accident, a mulctuary offence; 3rd. Killing in lawful self-defence, not punishable at all." (See page 154.)

"Of late years," said the above author, "the plan adopted by the Chinese, in cases of homicide, has been to demand of the fellow-countrymen of the alleged manslayer, that the guilty person should be found out, and handed over to the Chinese for punishment. This is in effect to constitute them a criminal court." (See this fully illustrated at page 412).

"Were a man to be delivered up by the individuals thus called upon, he would be regarded by the government as already condemned. His punishment, painful experience tells us, would be certain."

We never ought to have permitted the execution, or even trial of an Englishman by the Chinese.

"For very many years," says Mr. M'Farlane, "no such thing as an execution of Franks, by Turkish law, had been seen in the Levant, where offenders are given over to their respective consuls, who take into their own hands their punishment, if the offence be light, or send them home to be tried by the laws of their own country, if serious."

The state of affairs at Canton, about the period referred to, is shown by the following communication from the East India Company's supercargoes, to the Court of Directors, dated, A.D. 1780.

"Foreigners are not here allowed the benefit of the Chinese law, nor have they privileges in common with the natives. They are

governed merely by such rules as the Mandarins for the time being declare to be their will; and the reason why so few inconveniences happen from irregularities, is that the officers of the government on such occasions, rather choose to exact money from the security merchants, compradors, &c., than use rigorous measures from which they gain nothing. Their corruption, therefore, is the foreigners' security."

If a manly spirit did not exist among the British authorities at Canton, to prevent the surrender of an innocent fellow-subject to be strangled by the Chinese, an examination of the effects produced by Weddell and Anson would have found an apology for refusing to sacrifice the gunner of the 'Lady Hughes.' The impositions, insults, and oppression which all foreigners have since that period been subjected to, can with certainty be traced to our mean and unchristian conduct on this occasion.

Events of a similar nature have been compromised by bribing the Chinese judges, in order to obtain a favourable decision; no further judicial murders appear on the records.

A.D. 1784. The subsequent period, down to Lord Macartney's embassy, is marked with fresh impositions; the supercargoes appear to have lost all traces of even that portion of firmness which distinguished some of their predecessors. In proof, about this period commenced the novel tax upon the provisions consumed by the Company's servants. The Bellona was obliged to pay duties on a full freight, although she took away none, and was on her return compelled to dispose of her whole cargo to the hoppo's private friend. It was found useless to remonstrate, as the slightest demur was sure to bring on a suspension of the trade.

A.D. 1791. The late Lord Melville, President of the Board of Control, saw the serious injury to our commerce from having only one port open in China, the monopoly of the Hong, and the arbitrary oppression under which British subjects were kept by the local authorities. To amend this state of affairs an embassy to Peking was proposed.

The following excellent instructions to Lord Macartney, A.D. 1795, if then carried out, would most probably have saved us an inglorious and expensive war, and the hazardous position in which we now are, after submitting for fifty years to gross impositions, insults, and extortion:—

1st. "That merchants be allowed to trade at Chusan, Ningpo, and Tien-sing (the port of Peking.)

2nd. "To have a warehouse at Peking for their goods, as the Russians had formerly.

3rd. "To grant some small detached unfortified island near to Chusan, as a magazine for unsold goods, and a residence for those who had charge of them.

4th. "A similar privilege near Canton, and certain trifling indulgences.

5th. "To abolish the transit duties between Canton and Macao, or at least reduce them to the standard of 1782.

6th. "To prohibit the exaction of any duties from English merchants, over and above those settled by the Emperor's diploma, a copy of which is to be given to them for their information."

A.D. 1799. The details of the embassy of Lord Macartney are well known; the points sought were not gained, but the advantages derived from the mission and the valuable presents of 1795, were a general reduction in the expenses of the supercargoes' removal to and from Canton; a stop was put to the interfering in the allotment to the several Hong merchants of the Company's business:—the Consoo Fund, however, still remained; goods continued to be unfairly weighed by the hoppo; and the country ships to be unfairly measured; undue charges were made on the transfer of stores from ship to ship at Whampoa; and the exorbitant shipping charges remained as usual.

The want of proper interpreters caused the embassy of Lord Macartney to be placed under the designation of "tribute bearer."

Since that period only are the English styled the "Red-bristled Barbarians," which circumstance has given rise to the suspicion that the interpreters attending the embassy, headed the paper as the petition of the "Red-bristled Barbarian Tribute-bearer." The recent translation of a Chinese court journal, styles this embassy as paying tribute, which proves that such an impression has been made. In China, above all other nations, words and ceremonies are things, and as well understood as they are in the west.

Nothing appears to have occurred in the beginning of the present century that requires any remark. During the war the visits of Her Majesty's ships were necessarily frequent, to convoy the homeward bound fleets, and a tacit consent was obtained for them to anchor near Canton, and procure provisions. The sums paid for this "gracious condescension" are not recorded.

A.D. 1805-6. An exchange of letters and presents took place between the King of England and the Emperor of China. The following is a copy of the answer of the Emperor of China:—

"Your Majesty's kingdom is at a remote distance beyond the seas, but is observant of its duties, and obedient to its laws, beholding from afar the glory of our Empire, and respectfully admiring the perfection of our government. Your Majesty has despatched messengers with letters for our perusal; we find that they are dictated by appropriate sentiments of esteem and veneration; and being, therefore, inclined to fulfil the wishes of your Majesty, we have determined to accept of the whole of the accompanying offering.

"With regard to those of your Majesty's subjects who, for a long course of years, have been in the habit of trading to our empire, we must observe to you, that our celestial government regards all persons and nations with eyes of charity and benevolence, and

always treats and considers your subjects with the *utmost indulgence and affection;* on their account, therefore, there can be no place or occasion for the exertions of your Majesty's government."

The arrogance of this letter, is on a par with its assertion of our people being treated with "indulgence and affection."

A.D. 1806. Mr. Manning, a gentleman of great attainments in various sciences, through the East India Company, endeavoured to obtain permission to proceed to Peking. Mr. Manning presented a petition, offering his services as astronomer and physician, agreeably to an edict which had been previously issued, that the Emperor was in want of such persons. The answer to the petition was that his offer of services to the Emperor could not be accepted nor even communicated to his Majesty.

A.D. 1807. A quarrel arose between the East India Company's sailors and the Chinese at Canton. Their commander succeeded in getting them into the Company's factory; but the Chinese followed them in great numbers, *continued throughout* the day throwing stones at the factory, and at every European passing. Endurance had reached its limits, the sailors made a sally on the Chinese, and unfortunately killed one man. Blood for blood was demanded; the identical person could not be fixed on; the former surrender of an Englishman named Sheen, was then pleaded. Captain Rolles, the senior captain, and the supercargoes, were animated with a better spirit, and although the trade was stopped for two months, it was again re-opened at an expense of £50,000, which was paid in bribes to the Chinese authorities at Canton.

A.D. 1808. We committed a mistake in occupying Macao with a detachment of troops from India, in order to prevent its occupation by the French, then in possession of Portugal. It ought to have been known to the Bengal government, that the Portuguese were then mere tenants at will, paying an annual rent to the government of China, and in a great measure subject to Chinese jurisdiction.

Had the French taken possession of Macao, as was apprehended, British aid would have been required by the Chinese government, in return for which we might have obtained a better position in China than even our present state.

After a discussion for several weeks, a stop was put to our trade; at length Admiral Drury, who commanded the expedition, having declared that his instructions did not prevent him going to war with China, an edict of the Emperor on the subject was made the pretext for withdrawing the troops. This circumstance was magnified in Chinese style by the viceroy, and the people generally believed that our retreat was from the fear of Chinese prowess.

A.D. 1810. When the homeward-bound fleet was ready to depart for Europe, the death of a Chinese occurred. Evidence was publicly taken before the officials, who could not identify any one person with the crime: nevertheless, the clearance (chop) was re-

fused, but after some delay, and a display of firmness on the part of the commander of resorting to force, the "chop" authorizing departure was granted.

The southern coast of China had been infested with pirates. The chief sufferers were the Portuguese, who had their small vessels frequently plundered. Though some British subjects were at the time prisoners with the pirates, no means appear to have been taken to exterminate them by the East India Company's supercargoes. The Portuguese tendered their services to the Chinese government; but the Chinese resorted to the usual method, viz.: granting to the leader abundant favours, and to the followers absolute amnesty. Two chief pirates and upwards of 8,000 of their followers, surrendered.

A.D. 1811. Application was made by the hoppo for a passage to Europe of four Italians who had been twenty-five years in the Emperor's service at Peking. Seven Europeans still remained, as their services could not be dispensed with in making up the calendar, to which the greatest importance is attached.

This year the trade was again stopped through the arbitrary conduct of a new hoppo. It was two months before commerce was renewed; the delay would have been much longer, had not the chief member of the factory, Mr. Roberts, died in the meantime. This objection to an individual member of the Company's factory was resisted with becoming firmness, and subsequently met the approval of the local authorities.

A.D. 1814. His Majesty's ship "*Doris*" captured an American ship at sea, and brought her to Macao, which caused a suspension of business from April to December. The celestials could not, or would not, comprehend the distinction between His Majesty's ship and those of the East India Company.

Endurance appears to have reached its limit at this period, on the part of the East India Company; but two men were at the head of the Company's affairs, who resisted oppression and insult as far as was possible.

The viceroy issued an edict prohibiting the employment of Native servants by the factory, although it had been customary to do so for 100 years. To carry out this edict, the officers of government unceremoniously entered the factories, and seized their servants, during the compulsory residence at Macao of the select committee.

October 21st, 1814. Sir G. Staunton and Sir T. Metcalf proceeded to Canton; Sir George stated to the authorities, "that he was charged by the committee with several communications of importance, but in none of them was any thing proposed for themselves, more than the prosecution of a fair and equitable commerce under the protection of his Imperial Majesty; that they entertained every disposition to obey his laws; that they sought for no innovations, nor were desirous of interfering in any affairs of government in which they were not concerned."

Other interviews took place with the viceroy on four subsequent

occasions; but on the last, the 29th of October, the viceroy failing to deter these spirited men, suddenly retired, which left no alternative to Sir G. Staunton, but to carry his threat into execution; he immediately quitted Canton, ordered all the Company's ships from Whampoa to the second bar, and likewise desired that all British subjects should quit Canton.

The 12th and 14th of November, deputations of Hong merchants visited Sir George Staunton, and requested him to suspend the order for the removal, adding *that they were* authorized to state that the viceroy would depute a mandarin to discuss the points in dispute.

Sir George no sooner returned, than Howqua informed him that no mandarin would be sent until the trade was resumed. Sir George in strong language showed his indignation of this breach of faith, on the part of men who were the accredited organs of communication between the British merchants and the government of China.

Firmness on this, as on all former and subsequent occasions, had the desired effect.

The interview took place on the 19th, when Sir George, verbally and in written characters, submitted eight propositions, which it is unnecessary to give in detail, as their being partially complied with, shows they were too grievous for even a Tartar government longer to inflict.

The 29th brought a communication from Howqua, (the farce of pretending to send to Peking was not resorted to this time), as follows:—

1st. "Permission given to address the government in Chinese through the Hong merchants, without the contents being inquired into.

2nd. "The use of offensive language not very satisfactorily answered.

3rd. "The local magistrates not to visit the factory without giving due previous notice.

4th. "The communication by boats between Canton and Whampoa to be open and free as usual.

5th. "Natives may be employed as coolies, porters, tea-boilers, cooks, and in other similar capacities.

6th. "Ships of war to remain at their usual anchorages while the ships are at Whampoa, but when they depart the ships of war to depart.

7th. "Boats to receive passes at certain stations."

I cannot better illustrate the evasive character of this government, than by giving the 8th proposition and the reply. 8th. "That the Chinese armed boats be not permitted to continue to fire at the country ships*, and that English prize goods be not sold by the Americans at Whampoa."

* Country ships were those arriving from British India.

Reply to the 8th. "The country ships have been fired at as *due notice to the Bogue Fort.*"

A.D. 1816. It was resolved by his Majesty's government to send an embassy to the Emperor of China, under Lord Amherst.

The objects were the removal of the capricious and intolerable proceedings which the local government of Canton had for a long time past practised towards the Company's representatives there, by which they had seriously interrupted the affairs of the Company; and that in future the Company's trade should be placed on a more secure and equitable footing.

The embassy embarked at Spithead, on the 8th February, 1816, and arrived at the imperial province of Chih-le, on the 10th August.

They were met at Tsien-tsing, the port of Peking, on the Pieho river, by an imperial legate, when the discussion soon commenced as to the performance of the Ko-tou.

In the first discussion it was asserted that Lord Macartney complied with the ceremony; this was firmly denied by Lord Amherst.

The legate then artfully intimated the injury the trade at Canton might suffer, by the ambassador not performing the ceremony.

The preconcerted plan for preventing the embassy succeeding, was fully evidenced in the first day's journey towards Peking, by the legate stating that the band would not be allowed to proceed, but that it should return to the ships, stating that it was the Emperor's orders; although it was impossible he could have been made acquainted with anything that had hitherto transpired.

The journey to Peking was made as uncomfortable as possible, by the perpetual discussion concerning the performance of the ceremony.

The second day Lord Amherst was again pressed, and he consented to perform the ceremony, provided he received an undertaking on the part of the Emperor, that any subject of his Majesty deputed to England, should be ordered to perform the same ceremony to the British sovereign.

This was not satisfactory, and the boats were ordered to return. The following day it was proposed that a rehearsal of the ceremony should take place in a public manner. This was objected to, but a written obligation was offered that it should be performed on the former terms.

This proposal was instantly entertained, the written undertaking procured, and the boats ordered to proceed towards Peking.

The remaining progress of the ambassador was marked with gross rudeness on the part of the Chinese attending-officers. The embassy was ordered in an insulting manner to depart from Peking without seeing the Emperor, and the treatment which it experienced was illustrative of Tartar arrogance and barbarism. The embassy was conveyed to Canton in imperial boats, with colours flying, on which were inscribed the words, "*tribute bear-*

ers," in order to humiliate the English and elevate the Tartars in the eyes of the Chinese.

A letter from the Emperor of China to the Prince Regent, contains the following insolent observation :—

" Hereafter there is no occasion for you to send an ambassador so far, and be at the trouble of passing over mountains, and crossing seas;" and in a vermilion edict, written on paper of that colour by the Emperor himself, is the following passage, " *I therefore sent down my pleasure to expel these ambassadors, and send them back to their own country, without punishing the high crime they had committed.*"

The treatment of the Embassy on its journey from Peking to Canton, is noted by the Right Honourable H. Ellis, who says :— " Many of the retinue of the embassy returned as they went, in carts; the motion was bearable until we came on the paved road, when the jolting became intolerable: it was repeated dislocation of every part of the frame; each jolt seemed sufficient to have destroyed life, which yet remained to undergo the dreadful repetition. The elements combined with the imperial displeasure to annoy us, the rain fell in torrents; not however, so violently as to deter the spectators from indulging their curiosity, by thrusting lanterns into the chairs and carts to have a full view of our persons. I certainly never felt so irritated in my life."

A.D. 1816. The East India Company's ship 'General Hewitt,' arrived at Lintin the 12th of September, after leaving the embassy on their way to Peking. When application was made to load her with tea, it was refused, and she was ordered to remain at the second bar; to this, the select committee intimated their intention of ordering the Hewitt to Whampoa, and requested the removal of the war-boats by which she was surrounded, to prevent bloodshed; they reminded the authorities of the solemn convention entered into two years previous, which had been violated by addressing a chop to the linguist, and not to the select committee, which the president refused to receive.

The delicate situation of the committee on this trying occasion, would excuse their temporizing policy, there being then a British ambassador at the imperial court; a circumstance of which every advantage was taken by the crafty rulers. The 24th October, their respectful addresses being refused by the hoppo, Captain Jameson was sent by the committee to the city. This brave seaman forced his way into the city, and delivered a letter to a mandarin of distinction. The viceroy next day, signified his displeasure at visiting the city, but no other answer was given. Their comprador had been accused of aiding the captain in his visit, and was beaten, and tortured in a most cruel manner, as a warning to barbarians.

This transaction fully confirms the supposition, that the defeat of the embassy was concocted at Canton; and the excuse of send-

ing to Peking for permission to load a vessel belonging to the company, which only accompanied a tribute bearer, was obviously to gain time. The Court of Directors "considered that the whole of the conduct of the viceroy, subsequent to the arrival of the General Hewitt from the northward, sufficiently evidenced that something had occurred at Peking, in relation to the embassy, which that mandarin felt to be so detrimental to the interests of the English, as to encourage him in an open and undisguised opposition to the factory on every occasion." The instructions inculcated "the utmost moderation and temper," which meant, "submit to any degradation so that our interests are upheld."

Captain Maxwell arrived from the Peiho, on the 16th, in His Majesty ship '*Alceste*,' and had an interview with a mandarin, who promised to obtain permission from the viceroy, to admit the ship within the Bogue (or "Bocca Tigris," the entrance of the Canton waters), provided he waited five days. Captain Maxwell waited at Lintin one day after the time fixed, but the '*Alceste*,' being much in want of provisions and repairs, the captain weighed anchor, and sailed through a flotilla of war-boats, which commenced firing on him, although the captain only claimed the privilege granted to His Majesty's ship '*Lion*,' in 1793, on a similar occasion.

The frigate had no sooner weighed than a signal was made from the flotilla; lights were displayed at the forts, and a brisk cannonade from upwards of ninety guns was commenced. One shot fell on board the *Alceste*, and two or three others lodged in the bows of the ship. The *Alceste* poured a broadside into the forts, on which the lights quickly disappeared. The forts on the larboard hand, on which the guns could not be brought to bear, continued firing without any serious injury. This becoming conduct of Captain Maxwell proved highly beneficial to the trade, and for the future the viceroy learned to distinguish ships belonging to His Majesty from those of the East India Company.

The affair was hushed up by the Chinese authorities, who said merely that some men were "*spoiled*," (wounded). Great respect was paid to Captain Maxwell, as had before been the case with Commodore Anson, and with Captain Weddell, and as will always be the case with a people like the Tartar rulers of China.

The communications that took place about this time, between the Marquis of Hastings when Governor-general of India, and the Chinese Government and their Tartar commissioners, relative to Nepaul or Nipal, deserve notice, as we shall soon again be brought into more active intercourse with that country, and it appears that the Goorkha Rajah is claimed by the Chinese Government as a tributary in subjection to China.

Rana Bahadar, the ruler of Nipal, abdicated the throne in favor of his son, retired to Benares, and incurred a considerable debt to the British Government whilst residing there.

He entered into a treaty with them for its liquidation, and for the residence of a British officer at Katmandu. Captain Knox was appointed resident at the capital of Goorkha in 1801, but only remained about three years.

Previous to hostilities between the British and Nipalese authorities, some territories in dispute were submitted to arbitration. After an investigation by commissioners of each nation, the award was in favour of the British; but still the Goorkha rajah would not surrender the lands he had usurped. It became necessary to send an armed force to establish British authority. The rainy season set in, and the troops had been but a short time withdrawn, when on the 29th of May, 1814, three of the police-stations were attacked by the Goorkhas; the British officers driven out, and eighteen of our people killed.

The Rajah of Goorkha at the eleventh hour was disposed for peace, but his General Umr Sing, (probably a Sikh) writing from his camp, exhorted his chief to prefer a glorious struggle even to death, rather than consent to a treaty, and suggested the propriety of appealing to the mighty Emperor of China for aid. Several appeals it is said were made to the court of Peking, on the grounds of resenting the insult that had been offered to the supremacy of the Emperor in Nipal by the British.

In one of those solicitations to the Emperor of China, His Majesty was told that the attack on Nipal is only a preliminary step to the invasion of Bootan, Tibet, and China. Another appeal asked for a sum of money by way of loan, to maintain the Goorkha army, and strongly urged his celestial majesty to send a force of 200,000 Chinese troops, through the Dharma territory, into the lower provinces of Bengal. "Consider," says the Rajah, "if you abandon your dependants, that the English will soon be masters of Lassa." (Tibet.)

The channel of communication between the court of Peking and Nipal, was through the Chinese officers who are stationed in Tibet. It subsequently appeared that all appeals were suppressed, and never reached Peking, somewhat after the manner of our appeals to Peking for redress.

A communication was sent to all the neighbouring powers, including the Chinese, from the Governor-general of British India, cautioning them against aiding the enemies of British rule. The Chinese officers became alarmed, and at last sent one of the Nipal appeals to Peking (twelve were suppressed.)

The Emperor is reported to have been highly indignant at the tone and language of the Marquis of Hastings in his cautionary address, and exclaims, "these English seem to look upon themselves as kings, and upon me as merely one of their neighbouring Rajahs."

Three Chinese officers were dispatched to the seat of war, to institute enquiries; and a large army was sent after them.

These officers addressed a letter to the Governor-general of India, through the Sikhim Rajah, who was a faithful ally of the British Government.

This address commenced with the charges that had been made against the British by the Goorkha Rajah, and continues, "such absurd measures appear quite inconsistent with the usual wisdom of the English; it is probable they never made the declarations imputed to them; if they did, it will not be well.

"An answer should be sent as soon as possible, stating whether or not the English ever entertained such absurd propositions: if they did not, let them write a suitable explanation to the tseang-keun, that he may report to the Emperor."

The Governor-general in his answer entered very fully into the real facts of the case; and appealed to the intelligence of Chinese officers, to judge of the truth of such a measure by the justness of it.

In conjunction with this explanation the Lama and Sikhim Rajah, perfectly satisfied these Chinese governors (as they styled themselves in their address.)

A cessation of hostilities had in fact taken place before their arrival; but the treaty had not been completed. By this treaty it was intended that a British resident should be stationed at Katmandu.

This salutary measure was deemed very objectionable to the Goorkhas, (it is so to all faithless governments) and an application was made to the Chinese commissioners to use their influence to prevent so dire a calamity, but the fact was these gentlemen were too happy to be enabled to return to their sovereign, and probably tell him that the celestial army had the desired effect of frightening the barbarian English into terms.

But still, in this distant dependency of China the "dignity and awe-inspiring influence of the celestial monarch," must play the braggart. Peace had happily taken place, and a conference was agreed upon between the Nepaulese sirdars and the Chinese commissioners, to discuss the hard terms imposed by the British.

On the approach of the sirdars to the commissioners they fell on their knees, from which position they rose by an order.

Portraits of former sirdars were brought forth by the Chinese, and only one of them corresponded with the sirdars present.

The Chinese commenced by asking, "Where are your Pundys and your Parsarams fled to? And who are these Thapas (Bramins) that we never before heard of?" The Chinese now pretended to be quite enraged, and said, "You are a set of rascals: you have been always playing tricks, and have been the ruin of many Rajahs. You once plundered Shigatsze (Tibet,) without provocation, and then you went to war with the English. Why did you commit a breach of faith? You have received your punishment; you first wrote to us of war having been commenced; and then you made

peace; and now you ask us for aid. What kind of peace is this? But you were never to be depended on." The reply was, "If you cannot afford us aid, give us a letter to the English that will induce them to leave Nipal." The Chinese said, "The Commissioner has written to inform us that they sent their resident with your consent; and as to what you have stated, about the English intentions on China, that is false.

"You Gorkhas think there are no soldiers in the hills but what are in Nipal. Pray at what do you number your fighting-men? and to what amount do you collect revenue? The former I suppose, cannot exceed two lakhs." The answer was, that the number of their soldiers was about that mentioned by the commissioners, and that their revenue amounted to about five lakhs of rupees per annum. "You are then," said the commissioner, "a mighty people!"

It was then intimated to the Nipalese mission, to take leave. Presents to the amount of 20,000 rupees were made to the Nipalese. Both parties were dissatisfied with the British resident at Katmandu, and mutual distrust was engendered by each. So that in a short time the Nipalese applied to our agent for advice and aid, should the Chinese Government menace their territory, of which they were then very apprehensive.

In a short time after this, a letter and presents were sent to the Governor-general of India from these commissioners, stating the high degree of satisfaction they had derived from the candid explanation of the Governor-general; their dispatch continues; "*His imperial Majesty, who by God's blessing is well informed of the conduct and proceedings of all mankind,* reflecting on the good faith and wisdom of the English Company, and the firm friendship, and constant commercial intercourse which has so long subsisted between the two nations, never placed any reliance on the imputations put forward by the Goorkha Rajah." The Emperor thus wrote: "You mention that you have stationed a vakil in Nipal; this is a matter of no consequence, but as the Rajah, from his youth and inexperience, and from the novelty of the circumstance, has imbibed suspicions, if you would out of kindness towards us, and in consideration of the ties of friendship, withdraw your vakil, it would be better; and we should feel grateful to you,"

The Governor-general in his reply pointed out the necessity of such an officer at head-quarters, and wholly attributed the late war to the absence of such a person; and proceeded to say, "The habits of the borderers both of the Nipalese and the British territory, are rough and violent, hence frequent outrages; but if there were stationed at Katmandu any accredited *agent* of the *Emperor* of *China*, to whom this government could with confidence recur upon all matters of dispute arising between it and the Nipalese, we should be relieved from the necessity of keeping a resident at a considerable expense. As the case actually stands, the presence

of a British officer is the main security we have for avoiding differences: this officer will be instructed to restrict himself to the single care of preserving harmony between the two states, and to abstain from all other interference in the internal or foreign affairs of Nipal."

The answer sent to this well-timed and praiseworthy endeavour of the Marquis of Hastings to cultivate good feelings, is similar to subsequent fruitless efforts made at Canton to prevent the shedding of blood.

The last paragraph in the Governor-general's letter, appears to have given the Tartars great dissatisfaction, and the answer proceeds thus: "We advert," say they, "to that part of your letter which desires us to urge our august sovereign, the Emperor of China, to the appointment of a minister at Katmandu, to whom your people and those of Nipal could refer their affairs and thus prevent disagreements. Be it known to you, that the Goorkha Rajah has long been a faithful tributary of the Chinese Government, *and refers himself to it* whenever occasion requires.

"There is therefore no need of deputing any one thither from this empire; besides, by the grace and favor of God, His Majesty possessing the sovereignty of the whole kingdom of China and other parts, does not enter the city of any one without cause. If it so happen that his victorious forces take the field, in such case, after punishing the refractory, he in his royal clemency, restores the transgressor to his throne. We have not thought it our duty to represent the point to the court of China, as the matter is opposed to the custom of this empire. The frequenters of this port of Canton, can inform your lordship that such is not the custom of China. For the future a proposition of this nature should not be introduced into a friendly dispatch."

To return to the narrative of affairs at Canton. In 1818 the Hong merchants became jealous of a large number of shop-keepers, who resided outside the city, carrying on a trade with the Company. Upwards of 200 of these shops were therefore shut up. This proved a manifest injury to the foreign trade, and vigorous efforts were made against this restriction without any effect.

A.D. 1821. The boat's crew of His Majestys ship *Topaze*, procuring water at Linton, were attacked by the Chinese; fourteen Englishmen were wounded, and five Chinese, one of the latter mortally. The trade was stopped, and the supercargoes, under the Presidentship of Mr. (now Sir James) Urmston, left Canton. The authorities, however, repented when they saw the English fleet of merchantmen pass the Bogue; they were requested to return, and trade was re-opened, after the *Topaze* had sailed. That distinguished servant of the East India Company, Sir James Urmston, deserves high honour for his conduct on this and other occasions in China. He was knighted by patent for his excellent judgment and spirited demeanour in this affair.

A.D. 1821. The ship '*Canning*' was fired into by the forts at the Bogue, and compelled to anchor, although she had her "grand chop" on board. Captain Patterson did not return the fire for this unprovoked insult. On enquiry, a kind of apology was deemed sufficient.

A.D. 1824. The Company's ship '*Earl Balcaris*' lying at anchor, was anoyed by a covered Chinese boat, which the Captain repeatedly warned off, and doing so, a midshipman threw a piece of wood on the mat-covering of the boat. In a short time afterwards, the same parties placed a dying man in the comprador's boat, stating that he had been killed by the piece of wood, and demanding 3,000 taels as compensation, which was afterwards reduced to 350 dollars. The Chinese authorities could not, however, shut their eyes to this novel attempt at imposition, as the man was proved to be in a dying state, so it caused no interruption to trade.

There is no instance on record in which resistance to injustice and insult, has not been successful in procuring a remedy and redress. In 1825, James Matheson, Esq., with becoming spirit, and at the risk of his life, entered the city of Canton, to obtain redress from a most grievious and oppressive tax. Merchants were not permitted to have their wives at Canton, and consequently their wives and families, of such as were married, resided at Macao, a distance of many miles.

To pass from Canton to Macao, or vice versâ, the (*chop*) permission cost from 300 to 400 dollars, besides about 40 dollars boat-hire. Previous to this the merchants had repeatedly petitioned for relief from this iniquitous tax, but no notice was ever taken of their complaints. However, their social miseries became too great for endurance, and a few merchants (the first and most prominent in this hazardous step Mr. M.) rushed into the city to the viceroy's house, stated their grievances, in a firm manner becoming *British freemen*. After the usual bombast and blustering, the tax was abolished, and no chop required for the future.

The "*barbarian ringleader*" (Mr. M.) had a gentle intimation (the mandarin passed his hand round his neck) that he ought to lose his head; but with great presence of mind, Mr. M. seized the linguist, and twice repeated upon him the same (Jack Cade) ceremony.

A.D. 1829. The bankruptcy of nearly all the Hong merchants, had caused a serious falling off in the trade, particularly in the Bengal cotton imports. Various petitions were sent to have the ten bankrupt Hongs' places supplied by others, and no notice being taken of it, the supercargoes suspended the trade, and detained the annual fleet. This spirited move had a good effect, viz. reduction of the port charges on each ship, to the extent of £170; several new Hongs were appointed, and the merchants who were married were allowed to enjoy the society of their wives at Canton.

A.D. 1830. The important concession gained last year with

regard to the residence of the merchants' wives at Canton, was as usual tried to be done away with, and the Chinese intended to seize Mrs. Baynes and the other English ladies residing at Canton. The supercargoes on being informed, procured 150 seamen to protect their premises, who remained on duty for more than ten days, when the Hong merchants gave a written undertaking that the ladies should not be molested. Trade was still continued as if nothing was wrong. The Court of Directors however blamed the supercargoes, and superseded Messrs. Baynes, Millett, and Bannerman, who had procured this important concession. The Canton government therefore took courage, and banished the English ladies from Canton at the end of the season. In fact, the sole idea of the East India Directors was the obtainment of tea and its profits; any indignity, personal or national, would not be resented, lest tea should be refused, although all past experience was decidedly adverse to such ignoble proceedings.

A.D. 1830. An extensive trade in opium had been carried on for the last ten years; at first the vessels containing the drug, generally anchored at Whampoa. An edict was now issued to expel them, and the ships moved to much safer anchorage off Lintin, in the Canton river. This had the desired effect; a report was sent to the Emperor that the opium vessels had been driven away, root and branch. The viceroy was sincere in his determination to put a stop to the opium traffic, until he discovered that the traffic was chiefly conducted by Mandarins, and the boats that were especially employed to prevent the importation, were the carriers of the prohibited article. From fifteen to twenty vessels lay off Lintin, disposing of the prohibited drug, and with the exception occasionally of a fierce edict, no other steps were taken to prevent the traffic, as it was a source of great profit to every one of the Canton officials.

A.D. 1831. While the members of the English factory were at Macao, their premises were forcibly entered by the authorities, and the ground in front of the Company's factory taken possession of. New regulations were issued by the Chinese government to guard against foreigners. Merchants were not to remain over the winter at Canton, but go home with their ships, or to Macao; balances due by Hong merchants must be paid in three months, if not the foreigner to prosecute or be debarred from all claim on the government; agreeably with ancient usuage, Native servants such as coolies, were permitted, additional officers were appointed to search foreigners on their arrival; foreign merchants not to sleep in the Hong merchants' factories, all foreign females coming to Canton will be prosecuted, and traitorous chair-bearers carrying barbarians, will be severely punished; permission granted for three foreigners, no great number, to present petitions at the city gates; but only on the condition that previous petitions were intercepted is the privilege granted. The foregoing fresh restrictions were

resisted, and the keys of the factory returned to the Chinese authorities, and again sent back to them.

A.D. 1832. The Court of the East India Company disapproved of these proceedings on the part of their servants, a circumstance which soon reached the ears of the Canton authorities. The hoppo addressed the English private merchants, Jardine, Innes, and others, telling them, their whining insolence, in threatening to appeal to the Emperor, was disregarded, and that they might withdraw, and not trouble themselves to come from so great a distance. The Hong merchants were instructed to keep these gentlemen under strict restraint, and not allow them to "dun with petitions."

A.D. 1833. Mr. Innes had his house nearly surrounded with fire-wood; on a representation no more was placed there, but in a few days the annoyance was continued. Mr. Innes waited on the hoppo, and while in his apartments was dangerously wounded. Neither apology nor redress was offered.

Efforts were made during this and the preceding year to open a trade with the northern ports of China, but the home authorities at the East India House discountenanced the attempts. The attention of the Chinese government was wholly engrossed with a rebellion in the mountains. The governor (Le) of Canton commanded the imperial forces, of whom 2,000 were killed by the rebels.

Lord W. Bentinck, then governor-general of India, wrote a letter to the governor of Canton, detailing the injuries and insults that British merchants were being subjected to of late, and their being deprived of a landing-place for their goods at Canton, that had been for a long period appropriated to their use, and for which they were paying rent. His Lordship also reminded His Excellency of the insult offered to the portrait of his sovereign, by the governor of Canton forcibly entering the British factories, followed by his rabble suite, and in their presence ordering a chair to be placed before the picture of the King of England, on which he purposely sat, with his back to the portrait to mark his contempt of the British nation. To this temperate letter no answer was returned.

A.D. 1833. From a report of a censor which reached the Emperor, vigorous efforts in the shape of edicts were issued. The drain of silver appears to have roused the Emperor, as the censor states, that from the third to the eleventh year of the Emperors reign, 18,000,000 of taels weight of silver left the country from Canton; and from the fourteenth year to the present (1834) more than 50,000,000, and ten from Fuh-keen, and the censor concludes with a prayer, that the "leak may be stopped." The late viceroy (Le) failed in exterminating the rebels, was disgraced and banished to Tartary. A new governor having arrived, (Lu) he issued a pro-

clamation declaring all vessels bringing rice to Canton free of port-charges, and permitting them to take in cargo.

Lord Napier, at the request of His Majesty William IV., was sent out to Canton as superintendent of the British trade. The following is an extract from Viscount Palmerston's instructions.

"Your Lordship will announce your arrival at Canton by letters to the viceroy. In addition to the duty of protecting and fostering the trade at Canton, it will be one of your principal objects to ascertain, whether it may not be practicable *to extend that trade to other parts of the Chinese dominions.* It is obvious that with a view to the attainment of this object, the *establishment of direct communication with the imperial court at Peking would be most desirable.*"

A.D. 1834. During the discussion between the British government and the East India Company, concerning their dissolution, the Chinese government at Canton declared it absolutely necessary, that in the event of a dissolution, a chief superintendent should reside at Canton, through whom all commercial negotiations should be conducted.

On the arrival of Lord Napier in China, agreeably to his instructions, and the urgent demand of the government of Canton, a letter was directed to the governor intimating his lordship's arrival. Previous to this, intrigue had been busy at work between the Hong merchants and the authorities, the former claiming to be the medium of communication; in this they were disappointed. Lord Napier's letter was rejected, six special edicts were issued denouncing him as a "*barbarian eye,*" and as an "English devil." Happening to arrive at night, the authorities considered his coming a clandestine stealing into Canton. Another edict stated that the "barbarian eye," must not be allowed to loiter about; but depart to Macao, as soon as his business is over.

The following insulting proclamation was issued by the governor of Canton, on the arrival of Lord Napier in China:—

"A lawless foreign slave, Napier, has issued a notice. We know not how such a dog barbarian of an outside nation as you, can have the presumption to call yourself superintendent. Being an outside savage superintendent, and a person in an official situation, you should have some knowledge of propriety and law. You have passed over 10,000 miles, in order to seek a livelihood; you have come to our Celestial Empire to trade and control affairs—can you not obey well the regulations of the empire?

"You presume to break through the barrier passes, going out and in at your pleasure, a great infringement of the rules and prohibitions. According to the laws of the nation, the royal warrant should be respectfully requested to behead you; and openly expose (your head) to the multitude, as a terror to perverse dispositions."

1834, August 15th. Four edicts against Lord Napier were in

the possession of the Hong merchants, and seeing no chance of their becoming the medium of communication, they tried the old plan of stopping the trade.

The governor issued an edict on the 18th, stating he had no means of knowing whether the "barbarian eye" was a merchant or an officer. But in compassion, and with a view of preventing misery to the "barbarians" by stopping their trade, he announced that he could bring his mind to bear it. But in no way would the governor recognise or learn the nature of the new superintendent's instructions.

These repeated insults, and stoppages of trade, induced Lord Napier to publish in the Chinese language "a true and official document," in order to exhibit the relations between Great Britain and China.

Lord Napier's firmness in not establishing a bad precedent, had the effect of bringing matters to a crisis. An edict was issued denouncing all Natives, who would trade or serve the English barbarians either in Macao or Canton, which had the desired effect.

The governor of Canton dispatched a lengthy document to the Emperor, wherein he relates the new state of affairs, and that he had given notice for one responsible person to be stationed to superintend the trade; that a "barbarian eye" had arrived in a ship of war, with a crew of 190 persons, and also that he had a family, wife and children, all settled in Macao. The governor then proceeded to say, "I, your Majesty's minister, have ordered him to communicate with the Hong merchants. The barbarian eye would not see the Hong merchants; but presented a letter to me; on which was written 'the great English nation.' It appears to me essential to keep apart the central and the outside (people) and what is of the highest importance is a maintenance of dignity and sovereignty. Although he may be an officer (the truth of *which I cannot ascertain*) he cannot write letters on equality with the frontier officers of the Celestial Empire. And as to presenting letters concerns the national dignity, it is only petitions that will be received on matters connected with commerce. Again considering that he was stupid and unpolished, having come from without the bounds of civilisation, I had the laws explained to him, but he is stubborn, perverse, and extremely obstinate. It was hoped that, by the truth and severity of reason, his brute-like fierceness might be reformed. But the barbarian would not peruse the official edict.

"A third time I consulted with your Majesty's minister Ke; *and we came to the conclusion* that the common disposition of the English *barbarians* is *ferocious,* and what they trust in is the strength of their ships, but should he provoke us he will be powerless; it is manifest, care must be taken in order to break down their minds to submission.

"The Hoppo's receipts from the barbarian English has not been more than 500,000 taels, and the loss of this does not affect the imperial treasury the value of a hair or a feather's down. But these barbarians are by nature insatiably avaricious, and the more indulgence shown to them the more overbearing do they become. In 1808 and 1829 their trade was stopped; they humbly supplicated. This is clear proof that the said nation cannot be without a traffic with the central land, their country exists by commerce, so they will not continue perverse."

The document is of considerable length, full of misstatements calculated to mislead the Peking Government, and demonstrates the evil effects of a timid and vacillating policy on a people like the Chinese and their government.

On this as on other occasions, they were not unwilling to lose the profits of the Canton trade, but they also feared the effects of its stoppage on the poorer classes in Canton. In a memorial to the Emperor about this time from the viceroy, he says, "in Canton there are several hundred thousands of poor unemployed people, who have heretofore earned their livelihood by trading in foreign merchandize. If in one day they should lose the means of gaining a livelihood, the evil consequences to the place would be great."

1834. Every effort was tried by Lord Napier to obtain an interview with the governor of Canton, either personally or by letter, and the only answer ever given was by designating his lordship "laboriously vile." No means of annoyance that it was possible to conceive but were given to the new commission.

August 1st.—The excellent Dr. Morrison died.

September 7th.—H.M. ships "Imogene and Andromache," in passing Anson's Bay were fired on. The firing lasted two days; and the loss on the side of the British was two men killed, and some trifling damage to the rigging, although the Chinese had 115 guns mounted, and the frigates were not 200 yards from the Bogue forts.

19th.—It was mutually agreed between the British merchants and the Hong merchants, that Lord Napier should retire to Macao, and that the trade should be resumed.

Notwithstanding his lordship's dangerous state, with regard to his health, every impediment, delay, and annoyance were thrown in his way on his journey to Macao, where he died from fatigue, climate and anxiety (oh 11th October, in the forty-eighth year of his age) much respected by all who had the happiness of knowing him.

Mr. John Francis Davis having succeeded the late Lord Napier, wrote to the Home Government, stating his objection to an embassy to Peking.

Mr. Davis, a native of India, had been all his life at Canton, of a recluse habit and small mind, and was totally unfit for acting on European and statesmanlike views. A proclamation was issued by

the governor of Canton, cautioning the Hong merchants against aiding the foreigners in vice, and ruining the morals of the people. The proclamation attributed the *most odious* crimes to the English, in order to lower them in the estimation of the people.

November 1st.—An imperial edict, directing the Hong merchants to have a letter sent to England to cause another superintendent to be appointed, in accordance with the old regulations, although the authorities had refused to receive or recognise Lord Napier.

A.D. 1835. The ship 'Argyle' from Bengal, in stormy weather was driven on the Chinese coast; the captain sent twelve of his men to procure a pilot; the boat and crew were taken possession of, and a sum of 500 dollars demanded for their restoration; two of the parties actually arrived at Canton to receive the amount.

The boat and crew were captured on the 21st January, and no time was lost in acquainting the authorities with the whole circumstance. Captain Elliot and others, were grossly insulted in presenting a letter stating the facts; this letter they would not receive, but its contents were verbally intimated, and it is supposed to be acted on, for the men were restored on the 20th February.

February 23rd.—Several tons of chests of opium taken from smugglers, were publicly consumed. In proof of the necessity of an English ship of war to protect our commerce, it may be stated that the English barque *Throughton* was plundered within fifty miles of Macao, and the captain and crew dangerously wounded. This occurred on the 5th July, 1835. No one was punished by the Chinese.

A.D. 1836. The last year passed off quietly. The superintendent writing to Lord Palmerston congratulates his lordship on the success of his quiescent policy. The superintendent rejoiced to say that every thing manifested a state of uninterrupted tranquillity and peace. This letter is dated December 10th, 1835. It was the calm that precedes the storm.

On 29th January, 1836, Sir G. B. Robinson in a letter to Lord Palmerston, stated that it was most desirable to establish the commission in Canton, but that he believed it impossible to do so in an honourable and satisfactory manner, except by force of arms. Sir George proceeded to say, "the Chinese have but one object; that is, to prevent our establishing ourselves permanently at Canton."

February 8th.—Captain Elliot concerted measures to recover the crew of the Argyle.

July 22nd.—Lord Palmerston's letter to Captain Elliot advised him to hold no communication with any but officers of the Chinese government, and that on no account should his written communications with the Chinese government assume the name of *petitions*.

December.—Captain Elliot having succeeded Sir G. Robinson as chief superintendent, endeavoured to open a communication with the Chinese authorities, by making use of the Chinese

character Pin as a superscription. This character in the Chinese language, intimates that the writer is inferior to the person written to. It was sent to the Hong merchants to be forwarded. This address drew from the governor a public document ordering Captain Elliot to depart to Macao, and await his further pleasure.

A.D. 1837. The governor of Canton permits Captain Elliot to return to Canton to hold the reins of *foreigners*.

February 7th.—Captain Elliot writes to the home government that certain British merchants have been ordered to quit China on account of their trading in opium.

April 1837. The governor of Canton endeavoured to have Captain Elliot's communication sent open through the Hong merchants. The very plausible pretext, was lest the new superintendent would use improper words, and be "puffed up with his own imagination."

Captain Elliot made a firm stand against this new attempt, and was successful. His conduct met with the approbation of Lord Palmerston, who ordered him to discontinue the word "*Pin*" in future.

From the frequent piracies in and about Canton and Macao, it was necessary to have one or more of H.M. ships of war convenient, to be in communication with the superintendent.

29th September.—The local authorities of Canton impose a duty on Captain Elliot, which his powers would not permit him to perform, viz., to drive away all merchants and merchant vessels dealing in opium; the vessels were anchored out of his jurisdiction, and according to the edict of the governor had permanently anchored at Whampoa, Lintin, and other land-locked places since the year 1821.

A.D. 1838. Admiral Maitland arrived in Her Majesty's ship, Wellesley, 74, and Captain Elliot addressed the governor of Canton, acquainting him with the peaceful visit of one of Her Majesty's ships, and requesting the governor to send an officer to visit the Admiral.

July 28th.—During this correspondence a Captain Middlemist was proceeding from Hong Kong to Canton, in the *Bombay passage-boat*, and was fired at several times from the batteries, and at last boarded by a mandarin, who said he was in search for Admiral Maitland, his women, or soldiers.

August 4th.—The Chinese Admiral addressed a long complaint against Captain Elliot to Admiral Maitland, stating, "that as the Captain had discontinued in his letters the word *(pin)*, 'humble address,' and substituted *(shusin)*, 'letters of intelligence,' his communications were rejected. The motive of these war-vessels coming to the Celestial Empire was demanded."

August 5th.—Chinese officials were sent on board the "Wellesley," to disavow in writing all sanction of the Chinese Admiral, as to the firing on the Bombay, in search of Admiral Maitland.

The British Admiral stated, that as the trade was open, frequent visits of British war-ships would arrive in China with peaceful intentions.

December 12th.—An attempt was made to execute a criminal in front of the European factories; this gross insult was met with becoming spirit, and prevented; but not without a riot.

December 31st.—Captain Elliot resumed his correspondence with the Chinese authorities, and took on himself the responsibility of using the character *Pin*.

A.D. 1839, January.—The trade of Canton re-opened to foreigners.

A proposition for legalising the sale of opium, rejected by the imperial council.

February 26th.—A Chinese accused of dealing in opium was strangled in front of the foreign factories. All the foreign flags thereupon, were hauled down. Captain Elliot sent a remonstrance against this insult to the governor of Canton.

March 18th.—Two edicts were issued, requiring all the opium in the store-ships to be surrendered, and bonds to be given by the owners that they would never bring any more, on penalty of death. Three days were given for a reply.

21st.—All foreigners were forbidden to go to Macao; communication with Whampoa was cut off, and the factories surrounded with soldiers.

22nd.—Mr. Dent, (the largest holder of opium) was invited to go to the city gates; after due deliberation a compliance with this request was deemed unsafe.

24th.—Captain Elliot demanded passports. Provisions were stopped, and a triple cordon of boats placed in front of the factories.

March 26th.—Captain Elliot received commands from the chief commissioner Lin, to deliver over all opium in the possession of British subjects, which he consented to do, viz.: 20,283 chests. —(See chapter on the opium trade).

May 23rd.—Up to this period, Europeans were detained in their factories at Canton.

May 24th.—Captain Elliot retired from Canton, leaving not more than twenty-seven foreigners behind him. The *Anne Jane*, was the last British ship in port, she completed her cargo and sailed for England. Captain Elliot had declared that he would use all his influence to prevent ships entering, and on the other hand, Commander Lin, was most desirous that vessels should enter, provided their owners would sign a bond never more to bring opium.

June.—The long delayed edict arrived, authorising Commander Lin to destroy the opium, and his Majesty was pleased to say that, "this affair has been extremely well managed." The prefect of Canton gave a receipt for the whole amount, viz.: 20,283 chests.

September 5th.—The following notice was addressed to the Chinese people, by Captain Elliot, in order to manifest his peaceful intentions:—

"The men of the English nation desire nothing but peace; but they cannot submit to be *poisoned* and starved. The imperial cruizers they have no wish to molest or impede; but they must not prevent the people from selling. To deprive men of food is the act only of the unfriendly and hostile."

September 11th.—Captain Smith of Her Majesty's ship Volage, issued a public notice of his intention to establish a blockade of the river and part of Canton.

November 3rd.—An action took place off Chuenpee, in which twenty-nine junks under the command of Admiral Kwan, were dispersed by two of our frigates, who might have destroyed the whole of the junks. Such of the British merchants as had retired to Hong Kong, in a merchant vessel, were cannonaded from the opposite mainland; they therefore retired to Tonkoo bay, and Lintin anchorages.

A.D. 1840, January.—The chief portion of the British subjects in China, were on board vessels at the anchorage of Tonkoo, others were with their families at Macao.

Some idea of the humiliating position of the British in China may be formed, when the Queen of England's representative was compelled to ask permission in the name of her Majesty, to deposit some merchandise in warehouses at Macao, upon paying the duties; "this request was refused."

January 8th.—Captain Smith of her Majesty's ship Volage issued a public notice that he would blockade the river and port of Canton on the 15th instant.

The 14th brought an edict from the Emperor, approving of all that had been done, and ordering a distinction to be made in the future treatment between the English and other nations. As to the petty duties paid by the English, it was not to be deemed worth a consideration. Foreigners of other nations were ordered to be submissive, but if they sheltered or protected the English, or conveyed them or their property into Chinese harbours, their punishment would be great.

March.—The Portuguese commerce with Canton, which had been stopped some months previous, for harbouring English ladies and their children, was re-opened.

May.—New regulations were issued for the port of Canton and Macao, prohibiting the importation of British produce or manufacture.

May 22nd.—The British ship Hellas, while becalmed was attacked by eight junks. The captain and crew were all wounded.

June 9th.—An unsuccessful attempt was made to burn the British fleet, by means of fire rafts. This month brought her Majesty's ships "Alligator," "Wellesley," and the steamer "Madagascar." Sir J. G. Bremer gave public notice of the blockade of the Canton river. Captain Elliot issued notice that the Queen of England had appointed high officers, to make known the true state of affairs to the Emperor of China.

June 30th.—The British expedition arrived, amounting to fifteen ships of war, four steamers, twenty-five transports, and abont 4000 land forces.

July.—Proclamations were extensively issued by the Chinese authorities, calling on all fishermen to bring their wives and families to Canton, where they would be fed and protected, while they were engaged in exterminating the English.

The following scale of rewards was also published, so ignorant were the Chinese authorities of our strength. For every English eighty-gun ship delivered over to the government, 20,000 dollars; for the entire destruction of each large ship, 10,000 dollars; for English merchant-ships, delivered, the entire cargo, except the guns and opium; for each naval commander, 5,000 dollars; for their slaughter, one third less; for white English prisoners, 100 dollars; and one fifth for their slaughter. For coloured people a reward will be given; and the magistrate will give 20 dollars for each one coloured person killed. So little confidence was reposed in those who were to go forth to earn these rewards, that it was stipulated their families should be left as a guarantee that they would not assist the English.

Every means failed to arrange matters with the Chinese authorities; under these circumstances, there was no alternative but to awaken the Emperor and the ministers to a sense of justice.

The whole tenor of Lord Palmerston's instructions was to demand reparation for past injuries, and some security for the future; so far from intimidating the government by a display of our ships of war in the Chinese waters, for nearly two years and a half, and not until Captain Douglas, at his own expense, brought guns from Singapore, and manned his vessel, was there any defensive means at the command of the superintendent of British interests in China.

The critical state of affairs now, however, engaged the serious consideration of her Majesty's government, and also that of the merchants and others interested in the trade and intercourse with China. An able document, containing seventeen clauses, was drawn up by a committee of merchants in London, in 1840, and presented to her Majesty's government. The following is the seventeenth clause, and deserves notice, because it formed the basis of the treaty which was prepared at the Board of Trade in Whitehall, by Mr. Poulet Thompson, (afterwards Lord Sydenham) and Mr. Deacon Hume, which treaty was sent out to China by Lord Palmerston, to Captain Elliot, for his guidance, and which was finally ratified at Nankin, as will be subsequently shown. The treaty, however, signed in 1842, is more restrictive than these moderate suggestions in 1840. If credit be due to any for framing the treaty of Nankin, it is due to Mr. (now Sir George) Larpent, Mr. J. Abel Smith, and Mr. Crawford, as is thus satisfactorily proved:

17th. "In the future conduct of the trade it would be most desirable to obtain a commercial treaty with the Chinese, permitting—

1st. "Admission not only to Canton, but to certain ports to the northward, say Amoy. Fuh-oho-foo, Ningpo, and the *Yang-che-keang and Kwan-chou,* situated between the 29th and 32nd degrees of north latitude, near the silk, nankin, and tea districts; and it is on this coast that the chief demand for British woollens, long-ells, and camlets exists.

2nd. "Commercial relations to be maintained at these places or at Canton, generally with the Chinese natives; but if the trade be limited to certain hongs, which we most strongly deprecate, then the government to be guarantees of the solvency of such parties so chosen by it.

3rd. "The British subjects in China carrying on a legitimate trade, shall not be treated by the government or its officials as inferiors, but be left free in their social and domestic relations to adopt European customs, to possess warehouses, and to have their wives and families with them, and to be under the protection of the Chinese laws from insult and oppression.

4th. "That a tariff of duties, inwards and outwards, be fixed and agreed upon by the British and Chinese governments, and no alteration be made by any mutual consent.

5th. "That the Queen's representative, as superintendent of the trade, be allowed direct communication with the emperor and his ministers, as well as with the local authorities; and *that he be permitted to reside at Pekin, or at a* given port, for the protection of British subjects, and the regulation of the trade.

6th. "That in the event of any infraction of the Chinese laws, the punishment for the same shall be confined to the offender; and British subjects shall not be considered responsible for acts of each other, but each man for his own—the innocent not being confounded with the guilty.

7th. "That supposing the Chinese to refuse opening their ports generally, the cession by purchase, or otherwise, of an island be obtained, upon which a British factory could be established.

"Upon terms such as these, the British trade with China, could, we think, be carried on with credit and advantage to this country; and if force must be used to obtain them, we cannot believe that the people of Great Britain and the European community in general, would offer any objection to its exercise; at least, we humbly suggest that the adoption of this course is worth the trial, for if it be not followed, the only alternative seems to be the abandonment of this important and growing commerce to smugglers and to piracy.

"We have, &c.,

(Signed) "G. G. DE H. LARPENT.
"JOHN ABEL SMITH.
"W. CRAWFORD."

[See Canton Register of 23rd February, 1841, for the whole of this document].

The circumstances attending an early encounter, prove that the Chinese have much to learn in national intercourse.

The 'Blonde,' Captain Bourchier, was sent to the harbour of Amoy, to endeavour to hand a letter from the English naval commander-in-chief, to the Chinese admiral who was stationed there. Fearing that the 'Blonde' would be fired on, notwithstanding her white flag, the commander instructed Mr. Thom to draw up a document in the Chinese language, relative to the use of that emblem, as understood by all civilized nations.

The Chinese who visited the 'Blonde' were made acquainted with this document, and took it on shore; Mr. Thom, the interpreter, was then sent to deliver the letter to the admiral, or some other officer.

The officers and crew of the boat had a narrow escape, they were fired at, and the only answer received was "*off, off.*"

The same scene was acted the second day, with no better effect; no one could be found to accept of the letter, although there were only five men and boys, all unarmed, with Mr. Thom.

1840, July 2nd. In the meantime, the commander observed that preparations were making on shore to attack the frigate, and several large junks had been towed down from the harbour, and were being mounted with cannon and soldiers. Captain Bourchier seeing this wanton attack on a defenceless boat, got the after-guns of the frigate to command the beach, so that when the Chinese troops were just on the point of firing, a couple of thirty-two pound shot came tumbling in among them, which soon made them cease their attempt on the jolly boat. The result of their hostilities, and the cowardly attack on the boat, was that the guns of the Blonde were directed with terrific effect upon the batteries and war junks for nearly two hours; the fort was riddled and nearly unroofed, but could not be destroyed, as it was bomb proof and well built.

The attack was intended to impress on the people the true nature of the expedition, viz:—that the quarrrel was with their rulers alone, and not with them, and hostilities having originated concerning a 'white flag' it ought in future to be recognised as an emblem of peace. The 'Blonde' might have destroyed Amoy. She proceeded to report the circumstance to the Admiral.

Our fleet proceeded to Chusan, which Lord Jocelyn speaks of as a "beautiful harbour, the suburbs run parallel to the water's edge, and form a wharf, along which was seen a forest of merchant craft."

Sir G. Bremer having preceded Her Britannic Majesty's commissioners, sailed for Tinghai the capital of the island of Chusan, on board the 'Wellesley' and demanded the surrender of the town within six hours.

The summons addressed to the people stated that no injury was intended to them, but that their rulers at Canton acted improperly, and redress was sought. The Chumpin (Admiral) and some others, visited the 'Wellesley'; Sir G. Bremer impressed on them the

necessity of yielding, and requested them to consider the matter well; they promised to do so, and he gave them until the following morning to think over it.

Sunday morning, 5th July, it appeared to all on board that vigorous efforts had been making on the previous night, in throwing up defences; and a message was sent that at two o'clock, P.M. a gun would be fired from the 'Wellesley,' and if replied to, that would be a signal for further hostilities.

The British men-of-war were lying in a line, at a distance of two hundred yards from the wharf. They consisted of the 'Wellesley,' 74; 'Conway and Alligator,' 28; 'Cruizer and Algerine,' 18; and ten gun-brigs. At half-past two the 'Wellesley' fired a gun at the tower: this was returned by the whole line of junks, and the guns on the hill; the shipping opened their broadsides upon the town and made sad havock in a few minutes, when the debarkation of the troops commenced. Within two hours of leaving the ships, the Madras artillery had four guns in a good position, commanding the town, and the British flag was hoisted under a salute. Evening was fast approaching, and further proceedings were deferred until the following day; but the Chinese kept up firing at intervals, until near ten o'clock at night.

To stop this, a few shells were thrown into the city, which killed the civil magistrate; the governor, under the pretence of taking a bath, drowned himself.

July the 6th. Before sun-rise it was discovered that a fire broke out in the suburbs of Tinghae, where the troops had been quartered, among some extensive stores of spirits (samshoo.)

Whether the fire was accidental or malicious was never ascertained. It was probably designed by the authorities. The British authorities made every exertion to suppress the flames.

July 7th. Admiral Elliot arrived, and his first act was to place a close blockade on the harbour of Ningpo, a large city of great trade, situated on the mainland opposite the island of Chusan. All efforts had failed to send Lord Palmerston's letter to Peking, and it was deemed a matter of importance to blockade the whole coast from Ningpo to the mouth of the Yangtzekang river.

It was thought that in no other way could the remonstrance of the British Government reach the Emperor. In the meantime the troops found great difficulty in purchasing provisions, at Tinghae, owing to the terrors of the people. In order to furnish some insight of the policy of the Tartar government, I give as many of the Chinese official documents as space will permit.

The following is an extract from the correspondence between the Chekeang provincial authorities and the Emperor.

"In a letter dated July 7th, the foo-yuen, or lieutenant-governor of this province, describes the approach of the British shipping, and principally expatiates upon the structure of the steamboats,

which sail against wind and tide. He then mentions the visit of the vice-admiral to the Wellesley, and speaks of the noble stature of the soldiers that were seen on board. The summons for the surrender of Tinghae is quoted at full length, and the English receive their full meed of censure for their disobedience and wickedness.

"His imperial majesty, in his reply, remarks that naval and land fighting are by no means the same, replying that some excuse ought to be made for the suddenness of the attack by powerful men of war; still the officers in command of the island, must have lost all courage to permit the capture of the island.

"To another receipt dated July 20th, the monarch ascribes this warlike demonstration to the extermination of the opium traffic in Canton province and the stoppage of the British trade. He moreover directs, that his reiterated injunctions for putting the whole coast in a state of defence, may be followed up, and orders that the Lieutenant-governor, with a number of other officers, should be degraded for their neglect and delivered over to the board of punishment.

"The autocrat remarks, that his imperial majesty had quite anticipated such a result from the annihilation of the opium trade, and therefore urges the most strenuous efforts to oppose an invasion.

"To a memorial received from the Lieutenant-governor, under date of July 22nd, the capture of Tinghae is denounced as a most detestable act, though the landing of 3,000 to 4,000 men, English barbarians, rendered resistance impossible.

"His Majesty orders, in consequence of this daring exploit, to put the navy in a proper state for making resistance, and to order other vessels to join the Ningpo squadron. It is also very probable, that these barbarians might make an attempt upon Chinhae and other towns; the Emperor therefore, filled with apprehension, commanded these places to be guarded and enjoined Yow (a general officer of Fookeen) to exterminate the barbarians. A number of officers, most of them Colonels, are sentenced to lose their rank and to be severely punished. The commanding general of the Ningpo land and naval forces, however, though degraded from his rank, is permitted to retain his office for a time, to gain new laurels, and to atone for his previous neglect.

"The Tartar general and lieutenant-general at Hangchoo, the metropolis of this province, report, that being apprehensive that an attempt by sea, on the river "Tseentang," might be made upon the city, they erected forts at the mouth of it. They moreover remark, that the men of war of the said barbarians are strong and the guns powerful; thus there would remain little chance for the victory of the imperial navy. On that account they had ordered the marines on shore to defend the country against the enemy. They issued, moreover, orders to apprehend all traitorous

natives. Thus prepared, they report, they awaited the foe: on a sudden 'a man of war' (the Algerine) approached Chapo; the lieutenant-governor had guarded against her, and the firing commenced on both sides; there were above ten soldiers wounded and killed, and it was found difficult to oppose this single vessel; under such circumstances reinforcements might arrive and the city be taken. The commander ordered new troops to come without delay, and maintain the place against the invader.

"To another despatch, dated August 4th, from the Emperor, in answer to a communication in which it was stated that an additional number of men of war had arrived at Chusan, the monarch expresses his great fears, and regrets that the distance is so great as to render the correspondence tardy, and blames the officers for their blunders. He orders them to wait until the garrison of Tinghae had exhausted their strength, and then to march with their soldiers to obtain a victory, but on no account to make military diversion, nor to allow the English to sneak into their harbours. In the meanwhile he commands Yeu the admiral, and Tang the governor of Fokeen, to exterminate the enemy with the forces under their command, to exercise the utmost vigilance; and to attack any landing party. The authorities of Kwangtung and Fookeen are at the same time ordered to adopt this line of proceeding; provisions and ammunition to be placed at their disposal, and extensive magazines to be established at Ningpo. His Majesty appoints Elepoo governor of Keangnan to undertake the defence of Chekeang, with plenipotentiary powers, and again commands Tang and Yeu to exterminate the barbarians."

The following is a copy of a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of Tinghae by E., high imperial commissioner, &c.

"Whereas in the sixth month of this year, the English men of war entered the seas of Chekeang province, and took possession of the city of Tinghae Woo; the former lieutenant-governor collected the soldiers and strenuously made arrangements to guard against and exterminate them, and for this purpose promised rewards. He ordered your people to unite and seize all the barbarians, for which he would respectively recompense you; subsequently, I, the great minister, received the imperial pleasure that I should proceed to Chekeang; and whilst concerting plans and consulting about measures, Elliot, the said nation's commander-in-chief, with others proceeded to Teentsin, where they presented a petition. We, the cabinet minister and governor of Chihle, transmitted for them a memorial to His Imperial Majesty, and because the soldiers of the said nation had repaired to Chekeang on account of provocation received, and not with the intention of creating disturbance, and also the wording of the petition pre-

sented at Teentsin being very reverential and obedient, therefore these things are pardonable.

"Whereas the inhabitants of Tinghae city are all children belonging to the state, and the men of war of the said nation have assaulted on the Tinghae seas in your immediate neighbourhood; it is to be feared that as soon as you are engaged with them in hostilities you could not escape the calamities of terror: therefore, Ke, the governor of Chihle, was especially appointed to repair to Canton, and to receive for a time the official seals of the governor of Quantung and Quangse, for the purpose of examining and managing the matter.

"Orders were also addressed to me, the great minister, not to recommence hostilities.

"Thus it is our sacred Lord's earnest intention, to put a stop to troubles, to show his love towards the people, to rejoice heaven, and to protect the world; for which you, all my officers and people, ought to be grateful.

"I, the great minister, have now agreed and directed the said commander-in-chief and others, to appoint some vessels for repairing to Canton, and to wait there until the affairs are investigated and managed.

"As soon as ever the business is managed, and brought to a conclusion, the said nation will recal all their vessels, and not prolong their stay at Tinghae city.

"I, the great minister, have also ordered him (the commander-in-chief) to restrain his subordinates that they may not inflict injuries upon you. As you are not acquainted with the details, and might perhaps as heretofore, on account of the rewards held out by the late lieutenant-governor, examine and seize all the barbarians, so as to give rise to trouble and bloodshed, I therefore, especially issue these perspicuous orders, hereby addressing the same to the inhabitants of Tinghae for their information. You ought all quietly to plough your fields and read your books, taking care of yourselves and families. If, indeed, these barbarians do not distress you, you must not again search for and seize them. Each must implicitly obey this special proclamation.

"The above edict is for general information.

"1st November, 1840."

The British authorities having remained upwards of three weeks at Chusan, and in the neighbourhood, left the latter end of July, and proceeded northward with a large fleet. August 15th, the chief portion of the squadron arrived at the mouth of the Peiho. Here, without any difficulty, Lord Palmerston's letter was received by Keshen the governor of the province, and the third member of the Emperor's cabinet. The wily Tartar unsolicited gave orders to supply the squadron with provisions, cattle, &c., for which he refused payment.

Ten days were asked by Keshen to receive an answer from Peking, and allowed.

At a subsequent conference between the British plenipotentiary, Captain Elliot, and Keshen, the former was outwitted by the ingenuity of the latter, who considered that difficulties could be better arranged at Canton, which was 1,500 miles from the Imperial residence; the distance at which they were then situated being less than one hundred.

August 6th.—Macao, which was heretofore considered neutral ground, had assumed a very hostile appearance, by a large influx of Chinese troops, and the frequent attacks on British subjects; and the abduction of a most estimable clergyman, the Rev. V. Stanton, caused the greatest excitement, as a price was fixed upon the head of every Englishman. Everything indicated that an attack would be made on Macao, and up to the 19th all efforts proved ineffectual to obtain a release of Mr. Stanton.

Captain Smith clearly perceiving that it was the intention of the Chinese to cut off all communication with Macao, anticipated their designs, and brought Her Majesty's ships *Larne* and *Hyacinth*, with the steamer *Enterprize*, to bear against the barrier. This was speedily answered by the Chinese from a battery of seventeen guns, on the beach north of the barrier. A brisk fire was kept up for an hour on both sides. A single gun was landed on the beach, which soon silenced their guns; and the landing of about 300 troops, drove the Chinese from every position, although amounting to 5,000 strong. All was over in four hours, barracks burnt, and the vessels retired to the usual anchorage.

August 16.—The ten days claimed by Keshen to lay the British claims before the cabinet, were taken advantage of by the squadron to visit Mantchouria, intending to make the island of Changhing, near the mainland on the east side of the Gulf of Leaoutung; the object was to procure supplies of cattle and water, which they did with some difficulty.

The squadron returned on the 28th, and a conference was held on shore between Captain Elliot and Keshen; all assumption of superiority of the Chinese, on this occasion, gave way to urbanity, in order that Keshen might more successfully overreach his adversary. Two days were thus spent without any satisfactory result, and six days more were required for instructions from Peking. Unfortunately Captain Elliot, totally contrary to the instructions of Lord Palmerston, quitted his advantageous position at the Peiho, where he might have dictated better terms of peace than were subsequently accepted at Nankin.

September 1st, 1840.—Pending the negotiations that were to be carried on at Canton by the new commissioner Keshen, who was to replace Lin, the squadron sailed from the Peiho for Chusan. A truce was entered into between the British and Chinese on the 6th of November; and on the 15th, the British plenipotentiaries sailed

from Chusan for Canton, to hold the intended conference, leaving land and naval forces at Tinghae.

The British squadron left the neighbourhood of Peking on the 15th of September, and on the 27th of the same month the following edict from the Emperor was received in Canton, recalling Commissioner Lin :—

"Lin Tsihseu. You received my imperial orders to examine and manage the affairs relating to opium; from the exterior to cut off all trade in opium; from the interior your orders were to seize perverse natives, and thus cut off all supplies to foreigners; why have you so long delayed these matters? You have proved yourself unable to cut off this trade, you have but dissembled with empty words, and in deep disguise in your report (to the Emperor); and so far from having been of any help in the affair, you have caused the waves of confusion to arise, and a thousand disorders are sprouting; it appears you are no better than a wooden image. I order that your seals be taken from you, and that you hasten with the speed of flames to Peking, that I may examine you; delay you not. Respect this."

The following official document, reporting the English capture of Tinghae, the capital of Chusan, shows the defenceless state of the coast :—

"Woo, the Lieutenant-governor, and Choo, the Commander of Chekeang, jointly report the loss of Tinghae. I, the governor, as soon as the English wrote to the Commandant of Tinghae in a strain of seditious violence, considered the water approaches to this place, planning what could be done to defend them, have sent this report by express. I hastened to Chinhae to consult with General Chuh, and there learned that Tinghae had fallen into the hands of the English. I, the Lieut-governor, receiving this intelligence, could not prevent my hair from bristling with anger. I also ascertained that without shifting a sail they could proceed to the mouth of Chinhae, and straight pass into the interior; all the important passes are so situated as to have Tinghae for their outside guard, and the opposite hills of Cheaopo and Kinke to shut in the mouth of the entrance. Chow, the commander, dispatched 900 soldiers to guard the coasts. I sent my soldiers, 400 in number, to Chinhae. I commanded Tang, the prefect of Ningpo, to sink vessels at the entrance of the river; and drive wooden piles in the water, and secure them with chains. While thus planning, many foreign ships passed Chinhae, distant only three or four miles. We have taken up our residence at the entrance of the river, thirty-one rebellious ships have arrived, having guns on both sides, and fore and aft; included are two ships having wheels at their sides, which revolving propel them like the wind. They have about 5,000 or 6,000 soldiers. If we fight with them, we should have an equal number. We have only 2,000 men, and it is better not to hazard an engagement.

" First we ought to devise some plan to *wear out their soldiers;* and when our forces are collected in great numbers, we can attack them, that at an appointed time, we may at once seize them all."

The great device of all parties, from the imperial government downwards, was to " wear out the barbarians;" hence every artifice was used to protract negotiations, and deceive us by falsehood and pretences.

It is instructive, as regards the policy of the Tartar government, to watch the tone assumed in their edicts and proclamations. Truth seems to have been the last thing considered, the main object was to deceive the people. On the departure of our fleet from the Peiho the following imperial despatch was sent to Elepoo at Canton :—

" Whereas the English, at the harbour of Teentsin, did present a communication, civil and respectful, earnestly requesting an extension of favours, it seemed right to command Keshen to instruct and order, that they should not be allowed to create confusion, but only permitted to proceed to Canton to seek entrance; so that if they should exhibit sincerity, the said minister will memorialize in their behalf, begging for favour."

Now, according to Keshen's memorial, the said foreigners have attended to his instructions, and have already got under weigh, and returned southwards, having by memorial declared " that along the coast they will make no disturbance, provided they be not first fired on; also, that one-half of their soldiers in Tinghae shall be withdrawn.

" These foreigners have heretofore been disorderly, albeit in some way excited thereto, and they justly merit detestation, and ought to be exterminated.

" Now it appears that the port of Tseuen-chaw-foo in Fookeen, Chapo in Chekeang, and Tsung-ming in Keang-soo, have each with their rumbling thunders, beat the foreign ships, and greatly damped their ardour As they have consented to come forward and beg for favour, it is not meet to inquire strictly into the past.

" Keshen's communication to the English, and their reply, are copied and sent herewith for Eleepoo's inspection. Respect this."

On the arrival of Keshen at Canton, he forwarded the following letter to the Emperor, at the very time when he was corresponding with the British authorities previous to the battle at the Bogue forts :—

" I, your minister, arrived in Canton the 29th of November, and night and day have considered and examined the state of our relations with the English. At first moved by the benevolence of His Majesty, and the severity of the laws, they surrendered the opium. Commissioner Lin commanded them to give bonds that they would never more deal in opium—a most excellent plan for securing future good conduct. This the English refused to give, and thus they trifled with the laws; and so obstinate were their

dispositions that they could not be made to submit. Hence it becomes necessary to soothe and admonish them with sacred instruction, so as to cause them to change their mien, and purify their hearts, after which it will not be too late to renew their commerce. It behoves me to instruct and persuade them, so that their good consciences may be restored, and they reduced to submission. This done, your minister will report the same by memorial.

"13th December, 1840."

A.D. 1841, January the 6th. All reasonable prospect of peace or redress must have terminated on the appearance of the annexed proclamation from the Emperor.

"To-day Lew has reported, by memorial, that having gone to Chinhae, he made faithful enquiry concerning the disposition of foreigners, &c. *Keshen* has also reported concerning the foreigners at Canton, that they appear more violent and overbearing than ever. Already our instructions have been given to all the generals and governors to increase the strength of their defences, and to be timely prepared for sudden attack. The provincial city of Chekeang is a place of much importance; whatever measures are requisite for Tinghae, let Lao, in concert with Elepoo, deliberate upon, and immediately return to the provincial city, and instruct the officers to make strong defences. If the said foreigners again come to present petitions, let them all be utterly rejected; should any of their ships sail near the ports on the coast, at once let matchlocks and artillery be opened, and the thundering attack be made dreadful. There must be no wavering, so as to exhibit awe or fear. Respect this."

After waiting from the 5th September, 1840, for some amicable arrangement, it was determined by the British authorities to attack the Bogue Forts in the Canton River, about twenty miles from Linton, and forty from Macao. The two outer forts are Taikok, on the west side of the channel, and Chuenpe, that is Shakok, on the east side. Both are on islands: the battery on the first is built on the S.E. point; the other on the N.W., and above it, on the top of a hill, a small battery had been recently erected. A few miles above Chuenpe, on the same side of the river, are the batteries of Anunghoy, and separated from Chuenpe by Anson's Bay. In the centre of the river, opposite Anunghoy, is Wangtung; and three miles further up is Tiger Island. All these fortifications were well constructed, and, to the Chinese modes of warfare, invulnerable. In the possession of any European troops they ought to be as impregnable as the Dardanelle batteries.

January 9th.—About eight o'clock, the squadron under the command of Sir J. J. Gordon Bremer moved up the river, being anchored three miles below the first forts.

The steamers 'Nemesis,' 'Enterprise,' and 'Madagascar,' were first employed in conveying the land force ashore.

The 'Calliope,' 'Hyacinth,' and 'Larne,' under the command of Captain (now Sir Thomas) Herbert, were to proceed up the river, and bombard the lower fort on Chuenpe. The Queen and Nemesis were to throw shells into the hill-forts, and the entrenchments on the inner side of them.

The '*Wellesley,*' with the other large vessels, took a position further up the river. The royal artillery guns were dragged through a winding valley for two miles, and placed where there was a clear view of the Chinese force, whose camp was entrenched, and flanked by small field batteries, and connected with the hill fort by a high breast work. In the rear of their field batteries were deep trenches; some of these had been recently constructed.

The troops for field service consisted of a battalion of the royal marines, a detachment of royal artillery, with one twenty-four pounder howitzer, and two six-pounder field-pieces; detachments of the 26th, 49th, and 37th Madras native infantry, with a detachment of Bengal volunteers; the whole force amounted to 1,400, under the command of Major Pratt, of the 26th, or Cameronian regiment.

Both parties seemed conscious of victory; the Chinese seeing an advanced party approaching, welcomed them with cheers, waving their flags in the attitude of defiance, and instantly opened a fire from the field batteries, which was quickly returned by the British artillery. This was the signal for the steamers, *Queen* and *Nemesis,* to throw shells into the hill-fort. The Chinese could not long withstand the fire of the sixty-eight-pounder of the Queen, and the thirty-two-pounder of the Nemesis.

On the land side, the entrenched camp was soon carried by the main body of the troops, and in less than half an hour after the assault on the fort by the steamers, the British flag was hoisted on its summit.

From some cause or another, the Chinese were very slow in returning the fire from the vessels, although they were the first to fire on troops, this was according to instructions given them by the commandant.

The royal marines were despatched to drive the enemy from a wooded hill which they occupied. The first entrenchment was now deserted; a small party headed by Major Pratt soon reached the hill-fort. The major, with two men, were the first to arrive, and, to their astonishment, found the Tartars at their posts, as he peeped over the walls; one shot being fired their courage failed, they were soon flying off in every direction; the British flag was then hoisted.

During this operation, the guns on the lower fort were silenced by the ships which had been placed before that battery. The Chinese finding themselves assailed both by land and water, left the battery, and retreated towards the wooded hill, and were here

met by the royal marines and 37th native infantry, that had previously taken possession of the hill. The havoc was here dreadful, and the enemy soon overcome; only about a hundred of the Chinese troops accepted quarter.

The vindictive character of the Tartars was on this occasion strikingly exemplified; a few stray Tartars, who had sheltered themselves as opportunity offered, took aim at their captors, which drew upon themselves severe chastisement.

While the land forces were performing their part, the fort at Tycocktow, i.e. Taikok, was attacked and carried. The 'Samarang' led the division, and, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the enemy, anchored within a cable's length of the centre of the battery. The 'Modeste,' 'Druid,' and 'Columbine' were not far astern.

The broadsides from the Druid soon told on the solid masonry, and silenced the guns of the enemy; but the Chinese did not leave their posts until the seamen and marines were landed, and entering through the breach, carried the fort by storm. The encounter here was man to man; the Tartar soldiers for a time displaying courage. The deadly fire of the musketry soon damped their ardour, and as many as could escaped, and were not pursued. The guns in the fort were spiked, and thrown into the sea. After removing the wounded, the magazines were blown up.

The good services of the steamers were again required to destroy the Chinese war junks at Anson's Bay. The Nemesis pushed into shallow water, and her first congreve-rocket took instantaneous effect, blowing up one of the largest war-junks with all her crew. Thus she continued the work of destruction until eleven were destroyed. There were no fortifications, and not a shot was fired on either side.

There were ninety-seven guns in the fort and embankments; twenty-five in Tycocktow; on Chuenpe, forty-four mounted, and thirty-nine unmounted: eighty guns were in the junks. It is difficult to ascertain the Chinese loss in killed and wounded; 500 are stated in one place to have been killed. The British, as in other Chinese "*battles,*" did *not lose one man!* This shows that the contest bore more resemblance to a meeting of lions and sheep, than to any real danger incurred on the part of the English. In fact, the Chinese have not the instinctive courage of the meanest animal, which will defend itself against an assailant.

The objects sought to be attained by our hostilities were stated in the Canton Register of the 19th January, 1841, to be:—

1st. "To obtain a recognition of the King of England as the independent sovereign of a civilized country.

2nd. "To require an apology for the treatment of Lord Napier, as COMMISSIONER of the KING OF ENGLAND.

3rd. "Compensation must be made for the losses caused to British merchants by the stoppage of the trade while Lord Napier was at Canton, and for some time after his departure.

4th. "Until particular rules are framed by the consent of both governments, British subjects shall not, for any wrong done either to another British subject, or to a Chinese subject, be liable to more severe punishment than is applicable to the like offence by the laws of England.

5th. "No hoppo, or other authority whatever, shall be at liberty to impose any tax, or duty, direct or indirect, on any foreign ships or vessels, on any articles of export or import, or any boats, coolies, or other conveyance of goods, other than, or different from, the prescribed imperial tariff.

6th. "Vessels not engaged in trade shall pay the ordinary pilotage, but no other duty or charge whatever. They shall be freely allowed to purchase refreshments, and articles requisite for repair or refit, and to hire workmen for such purpose.

7th. "Merchant vessels shall pay shipping charges of all kinds according to their real size, as ascertained by their certificate of registry. None of the persons engaged in supplying them with provisions or stores, shall be subject to any fee or exaction whatever in that capacity.

8th. "British subjects may take their families to any place where they reside themselves, and may employ any sort of vehicle they may find agreeable or convenient, as freely as Natives.

9th. "British subjects may visit any part of the country under passports signed by the British commissioner, and countersigned by the Chinese authority at the place.

10th. "A British subject desirous of residing for a lawful object in any part of the country, shall report himself in person to the chief magistrate of the place, specifying his lodging, but shall not thereafter be in any way molested or controlled in his pursuits, so long as they are conducted in a lawful and inoffensive manner.

11th. "British ships may proceed to any port in China at which an imperial custom-house has been established, and land and ship goods as freely, and on the same terms, as at Canton. Should there be no British commissioner or deputy commissioner at such port, British subjects that may be charged with any offences must be sent for trial to the nearest port at which a British commissioner resides.

12th. "British traders may have boats, or other conveyance, to carry goods from any one port of the country to another, paying the same rates of transit duties as natives."

While the forces were preparing to advance to the attack on the forts at the Bogue, the Chinese admiral, Kwan, sought an armistice, which was granted by Captain Elliot.

Captain K. S. Mackenzie, late military secretary to the commander-in-chief, came to China "to see some actual service in his profession," and was, as he states, sadly disappointed.

The attack on the Bogue is thus narrated by him: "At the moment the firing began, a flag of truce was observed coming to-

wards the flag-ship. The boat was manned by an old woman, having for her compagnon-du-voyage, a man of the lowest description, who proved to be the bearer of a chop from Admiral Kwan to Captain Elliot; the purport of which was to obtain a grace of three days, to enable him to communicate with Keshen. Our answer was taken by Lieutenant Maitland, who had an interview with the Chinese admiral, who was most civil; and when told by Lieutenant Maitland that he must desist from all further hostile preparations, *replied,* that he *dared* not *surrender* the *forts,* but if able we might come and *take them.* I leave the reader to imagine, if he can, the feelings of the fleet on this occasion." (See p. 26.)

Keshen, true to his character, wrote a letter to the Emperor calculated to mislead him.

"January 8th.

"Memorial from your majesty's slave;* I have received a dispatch from the commander-in-chief (Kwan) which states that all the vessels of the English weighed anchor on the 7th, and, in distinct squadrons, attacked the forts of Shaikok and Taikok; that the fire of the guns was kept up incessantly, and the contest sustained all around from eight a.m. till two p.m., 'during which the foreign vessels fired above (*ten rounds*) of cannon; that our forces responded to the attack, till about two p.m., when some of the foreigners were seen to have fallen into the water; the tide began to ebb, and the foreigners ceased firing, and anchored in the middle of the stream, each side maintaining its ground.' There were four steamers which fell upon the war-junks, but finding the attack responded to, drew off again without having decided the contest.

"Your slave, since his arrival, has exchanged communication with the English; and has given them admonitory commands, and, as regards what they require, he has not been able to satisfy their rapacious cravings, still he has granted a measure of what they demanded. Some think that if the military force be maintained, that in time they will be wearied out, 'or, if granted commerce, a restraining cordon may then be kept around what they have.'

"Whether or not our forces have suffered in this conflict, and to what extent wounds may have been inflicted, shall be reported with all haste as soon as ascertained."

The Emperor, in a letter to Keshen, of 27th January, 1841, says: "These rebellious foreigners, since their return to Canton, have been daily increasing in disorderliness; and we have repeatedly issued orders to maintain a well-ordered guard to proceed against them on a fit occasion. With what care, then, did it become all the high officers, civil and military, to have arranged their defence?

* *Slave*—TARTAR; *servant*—CHINESE.

"The report from Keshen states that Shaikok and Taikok have been taken by the foreigners; and the government soldiers have fallen dead and wounded, and the naval vessels have been plundered. Let the proper board take into consideration the conduct of Keshen. At the same time, let him have the direction of the forces to drive off or destroy these foreigners. Kwan, the naval commander, has shewn himself devoid of talent; let his button and insignia of rank be taken from him—but let him, at the same time, labour to attain merit, and show forth his after endeavours."

Poor "Admiral" Kwan deserved a better master; he was killed on board his own vessel, and, in the Chinese language, was said to have died "leaning gracefully against the mast." The letter of the Emperor clearly shows the government were arming for a war of extermination against the English, even while professing a desire for peace.

The result of the attack on the forts was manifested by a temporary bending to circumstances on the part of the Chinese government, after they had for twenty-two months rejected all reasonable overtures for settlement.

On the 20th day of January, 1841, the following circular dated Macao was issued by Captain Elliott to her Britannic Majesty's subjects:—

"Her Majesty's plenipotentiary has now to announce the conclusion of preliminary arrangements between the imperial commissioner and himself, involving the following conditions—

1. "The cession of the island and harbour of *Hong Kong* to the British crown. *All just charges and duties to the empire upon the commerce carried on there to be paid, as if the trade were conducted at Whampoa.*

2. "An indemnity to the British government of six millions of dollars, one million payable at once, and the remainder in equal annual instalments, ending in 1846.

3. "Direct official intercourse between the two countries upon an equal footing.

4. "The trade of the port of Canton to be opened within ten days after the Chinese new year, and to be carried on at Whampoa, till further arrangements are practicable at the new settlement: details remain matters of negotiation."

The impropriety of that portion of the first clause which provides for the *Chinese* government levying duties at the *British* settlement at Hong Kong is evident, even the Portuguese never submitted to anything so degrading at Macao. In fact, if such a measure had been carried out, the Queen of England would have become *tributary* in reality to the Emperor of China! It was not however the intention of the Chinese government to ratify Keshen's arrangement with Captain Elliot.

In conformity with the above convention, the British colours were hauled down at Chuenpe, and a dispatch sent off to surrender

Chusan to the Chinese authorities. On the 27th January a proclamation was issued providing for the future government of Hong Kong; and on the very same day an imperial edict was issued, stating that "A report has been received from Keshen, setting forth the attack on and capture of certain forts by the English. The rebellious disposition of these foreigners being plainly manifest, *there remains no other course but to destroy and wash them clean away, and thus display the majesty of the empire.* Troops from Szechuen, Kangse, and Hoonan, in all 10,000, were ordered to Canton."

The report of Keshen to the Emperor, after our capture of the Bogue forts at Canton, and subsequent to his truce, is too strikingly indicative of the treachery and policy of the Tartars to be partially quoted; I, therefore, give a translation of this remarkable document complete. For uttering the truth in this report, of not being able to resist the barbarians—Keshen, once the Prime Minister of China, was sent in chains to the capital—thrown into prison—left starving—ordered to be cut in small pieces for the fowls of the air, and his property confiscated! (see vol. i. page 133). Such is the reward of an *honest statesman* in China.

Translation of a memorial, from the minister, &c., Keshen to the Emperor.

"Your majesty's slave, Keshen, minister of the Inner Council, and acting governor of the two Kwang,—kneeling presents this respectful memorial,—setting forth, how that the English foreigners have dispatched a person to Chekeang province to deliver back Tinghae,—how that they have restored to us the forts of Shakok and Taikok, in the province of Kwantung, along with the vessels of war and salt-junks which they had previously captured, all which have been duly received back—and how that the war-ships of these foreigners have already retired to the outer waters,—all these facts, along with his observations upon the military position of the country, its means of offence and defence, the quality of its soldiery, and the disposition of its people, observations resulting from personal investigation—he now lays before your imperial majesty, praying that a sacred glance may be bestowed upon the same.

"Previously to the receipt of your majesty's sovereign command, your slave had, with a view to preserve the territory and the lives of the people, ventured—rashly and forgetful of his ignorance—to make certain conditional concessions to the English foreigners, promising that he would earnestly implore in their behalf a gracious manifestation of imperial goodness. Yet, having done this, he repeatedly laid before your majesty the acknowledgment of his offence, for which he desired to receive severe punishment. It was subsequently thereto, on the 20th of January,

1841, that he received through the general council, the following imperial edict.

'Keshen has handed up to Us, a report on the measures he is taking in regard to the English foreigners, under the present condition of circumstances. As these foreigners have shown themselves so unreasonable that all our commands are lost upon them, it behoves us immediately to make of them a most dreadful example of severity. Orders have now been given that, with the utmost speed, there be furnished from the several provinces of Hoonan, Szecheun, and Kweichow, 4,000 troops, to repair without loss of time to Canton, and there to hold themselves under orders for service. Let Keshen, availing himself of the assistance of Lin Tsihseu, and Tang Tingching, take the necessary measures for the due furtherance of the object in view. And if these rebellious foreigners dare to approach the shores of our rivers, let him adopt such measures as circumstances shall point out for their extermination.'

"Again on the 26th of January, your majesty's slave received the following imperial edict, sent him direct from the cabinet:—

'Keshen has presented a report regarding the measures he is pursuing against the English foreigners: which We have perused and on the substance of which We are fully informed. In conformity with our previous commands, let a large body of troops be assembled, and let an awful display of celestial vengeance be made. Whatever may be required for the expenses of such military operations, may be drawn equally from the duties arising from commerce, and the revenues derivable from the land-tax, the drafts being made after due consideration, and a correct statement being drawn out of the expenditure. If these united sources do not afford a sufficient amount, let it be so reported to us, and our further pleasure awaited.'

"With respect, your slave, humbly upon his knees, has heard these commands. He would remark, that, while he has indeed made certain conditional concessions to the English, these amounted to nothing more than that he would lay their case before your majesty; and thus, in the article of trade, though it was expressly said that they desired the trade to be opened within the first decade of the first month of this year, (23rd Jan. to 1st Feb.) he still has not up to this time ventured to declare it open. Yet have these foreigners, nevertheless, sent a letter, in which they restore to us the forts of Shakok and Taikok, along with all the vessels of war, and the salt-junks which they had previously captured; and at one and the same time, they have dispatched a foreign officer by sea to Chekeäng, to cause the withdrawal of their troops, and have given to your slave a foreign document which he has forwarded to Elepoo, at the rate of 600 *le* a day, by virtue whereof he may receive back Tinghae;—conduct this, which on their part shows a more meek and compliant disposi-

tion than they have evinced before. But alas! your slave is a man of dull understanding and poor capacity, and in his arrangement of these things, he has not had the happiness to meet the sacred wishes of his sovereign. Trembling from limb to limb, how shall he find words to express himself! He humbly remembers that in his own person he has received the imperial bounty. Nor is his conscience hardened. How then should he, while engaged in the important work of curbing these unruly foreigners, presume to shrink from danger or to court unlawful repose! So far from thus acting, he has from the moment he arrived in Canton until now, been harassed by the perverse craftiness of these presuming foreigners, who have shown themselves every way obstinate and impracticable,—yea, till head has ached, and heart has rent with pain, and with the anxiety, ere even a morning meal, quickly to exterminate these rebels. Had he but the smallest point whereon to maintain his ground in contest with them, he would immediately report it, and under the imperial auspices make known to them the vengeance of heaven. But circumstances are, alas! opposed to the wishes of his heart. This condition of circumstance he has repeatedly brought before the imperial eye, in a series of successive memorials.

"Now, after that these said foreigners had dispatched a person to Chekeäng to restore Tinghae,—and had delivered up all that had been captured by them in the province of Kwangtung, after, too, their ships of war had all retired to the outer waters, it so happened that Elliot solicited an interview; and as your slave had not yet inspected the entrances of the port, and the fortifications of the Bocca Tigris, as also the troops ordered from the several provinces had not yet arrived, it did not seem prudent to show anything that might cause suspicion on the part of the foreigners, and so to bring on at once a commencement of troubles and collision from their side. Therefore the occasion of visiting, for inspection, the Bocca Tigris, was taken advantage of to grant an interview.

"Having left Canton for this purpose on the 25th of January, your slave had to pass by the Szetsze waters (the Reach from First to Second Bar): and here he was met by Elliot, who came in a steam-vessel, desiring that he might see him. His retinue did not exceed a few tens of persons,—he brought with him no ships of war,—and his language and demeanour upon that occasion were most respectful. He presented a rough draft of several articles on which he desired to deliberate, the major part having regard to the troublesome minutiæ of commerce; and he agreed that for the future, in any cases of the smuggling of opium, or of other contraband traffic or evasion of duties, both ship and cargo should be confiscated. Among the number of his proposals, were some highly objectionable, which were at the moment pointed out and refused, upon which the said foreigner begged that emenda-

tions should be offered and considered of. It has now accordingly been granted him, that alterations and emendations be made, and when these shall be determined on and agreed to, the whole shall be presented for your majesty's inspection.—Your slave then parted with Elliot.

"He now found that the Szetsze waters were yet distant from the Bocca Tigris about 60 *le* (or nearly 30 miles). Even there the sea is vast and wide, with boisterous waves and foaming billows, lashed up into fury by fierce winds—majestically grand! How widely different the outer seas are from our inland river-waters! Having changed his boat for a sea-going vessel, your slave stood out for the Bocca Tigris; and there arrived, he made a most careful inspection of every fort and battery in the place.

"Such *forts* as did not stand completely isolated in the midst of the sea, he yet found to have channels, affording ready water communication behind the hills on which they were situated. So that it were easy to go round and strictly blockade them; nor would it in that case be even possible to introduce provisions for the garrison. After this careful inspection of the place, the depth of water in the river, beginning here and proceeding all the way to the very city, was next ascertained; and the soundings taken at high water, were found to be irregular, from one *chang* (or two fathoms) and upwards, to three and even four *chang*. Hence then it has become known to all, that the reputation of the Bocca Tigris as a defence has been acquired,—first, by the circumstance that merchant-vessels require a somewhat greater depth of water; and secondly, because that in ordinary times, when the foreigners observe our laws and restraints, they naturally do not venture to avoid the forts by passing through circuitous courses. But when they bring troops to resist and oppose rather than to obey, they may sneak in at every hole and corner, and are under no necessity of passing by the forts to enter the river, and so can easily proceed straight up to the provincial metropolis. For as soon as they may have in any way got beyond the Bocca Tigris, there are communications open to them in every direction. It is then clear that we have no defences worthy to be called such. This is in truth the local character of the country, that there is no important point of defence by which the whole may be maintained.

"In reference to the *guns* mounted in the forts, their whole number does not exceed some two hundred and odd, hardly enough to fortify the fronts alone, while the sides are altogether unfurnished. Moreover, those guns that are in good order, ready for use, are not many. The original model has been bad, and they have been made without any due regard to principles of construction: thus the body of the gun is very large, while the bore is very small; and the sea being at that place extremely wide, the shot will not carry above half way. As regards then their num-

ber, they are not so many as are those which the foreign ships carry, and in point of quality they are no less inferior to those on board the foreign vessels. Again, the embrasures in which they are placed are as large as doors, wide enough almost to allow people to pass in and out: from a sustained fire from the enemy, they would afford no shelter at all to our people; and they may then at once be said, to be utterly ineffective. A founder of cannon has recently presented himself, who has already given in a model, and is about to make some experimental pieces of artillery. But should he really succeed in casting good cannon, yet can he only do so as a preparation for the future, and in no way can he be in time for the business we have now in hand. These are the proofs of the inefficiency of our military armament, which is such that no reliance can be placed upon it.

"Further, with reference to the *quality of our troops;* we find that the only way to repel the foreigners is by fighting them at sea, but to fight at sea it is necessary to have a good marine force. Now, we have at present to acknowledge the forethought and care of your majesty, in dispatching land-forces from the several provinces to Canton: but these troops, before they can meet the foreigners in battle, will require to embark in ships of war, and proceed to the outer waters. Though the objection be not maintained, that, being unaccustomed to the seas and waves, they needs must meet with disaster and overthrow; yet, seeing that the conduct and management of the vessels is a thing with which they are quite unacquainted, the services of the naval force still cannot at all be dispensed with. The recruits to the naval force of this province are, however, all supplied by its own sea-coast, by encouraged enlistment; and their quality is very irregular. Your slave had heard a report that, after the battle upon the 7th of January, all these men went to their *tetuh* (or commander-in-chief), demanding of him money, under threats that they would otherwise immediately disband. The other day, therefore, when on the spot, your slave made inquiries of the *tetuh* on the matter,—when he answered, that the report was perfectly true, and that he, having no other remedy at hand, was obliged to pawn his clothes and other things, by which means he was enabled to give each of them a bonus of two dollars, and thus only could get them to remain until now at their posts. Hereby may be seen, in a great measure, the character of the Canton soldiery. And, supposing when we had joined battle, just at the most critical moment, these marine forces were not to stand firm, the consequences would be most disastrous. For although we should have our veteran troops serving with them, yet these would have no opportunity of bringing their skill into play. Still further, our ships of war are not large and strong, and it is difficult to mount heavy guns on board them. By these observations, it is evident, that our force here as a guard and defence against the foreigners is utterly insufficient.

"Your slave has also made personal observation of the character and *disposition of the people* of this province. He has found them ungrateful and avaricious. Putting out of view those who are actual traitors, and of whom, therefore, it is unnecessary to say anything, the rest dwell indiscriminately with foreigners, they are accustomed to see them day by day, and after living many years together, the utmost intimacy has grown up between them. They are widely different from the people of Tinghae, who, having had no previous intercourse with foreigners, felt at once that they were of another race. Let us reverse the circumstances, and suppose that the English had craftily distributed their gifts and favours, and set at work the whole machinery of their tricks, *here* as at Chusan: and it might verily be feared, that the people whole would have been seduced from their allegiance; they would certainly not have shown the same unbending obstinacy that the people of Tinghae did. These plain evidences of the want of firmness on the part of the people here, give us still more cause for anxiety.

"We find, on turning over the records of the past, that when operations were being carried on against the pirates of this province, although these were only so many thieves and robbers, with native vessels and guns of native casting, yet the affair was lengthened out for several years; and was only put an end to by invitations to lay down their arms under promise of security. And it is much to be feared, that the wasp's sting is far more poisonous now than then.

"Your slave has again and again resolved the matter in his anxious mind. The consequences, in so far as they relate to his own person, are trifling; but as they regard the stability of the government, and the lives of the people, they are vast, and extend to distant posterity. Should he incur guilt in giving battle when unable to command a victory, or should he be criminal in making such arrangements as do not meet the gracious approbation of his sovereign,—he must equally bear his offence; and, for his life, what is *it*, that he should be cared for or pitied!

"But if it be in not acting so as to meet the gracious approbation of his sovereign that he becomes guilty,—the province and the people have yet their sacred sovereign to look to, and rely upon for happiness, protection, justice, and peace. Whereas, if his guilt should lie in giving battle when unable to command a victory, then will the celestial dignity of the throne be sullied, the lives of the people sacrificed, and for further proceedings and arrangements it will be, in an increased degree, impossible to find resource.

"Entertaining these views, a council has been held of all the officers in the city; namely, the general and lieutenant-generals of the garrison, the lieutenant-governor, the literary chancellor, and the commissioners, intendants, prefects, and magistrates, as also the late governors, Lin, Tsihseu, and Tang Tingching; all of

whom agree, that our defences are such as it is impossible to trust to, and that our troops would not hold their ground on the field of battle. Moreover, the troops ordered from the different provinces by your majesty having yet a long journey to come, time is still necessary for their arrival; nor can they all arrive together. The assemblage of a large body of troops, too, is a thing not to be effected without sundry rumours flying about,—our native traitors are sure to give information; and the said foreigners will previously let loose their contumacious and violent dispositions. Your slave is so worried by grief and vexation, that he loathes his food, and sleep has forsaken his eyelids. But, for the above-cited reasons, he does not shrink from the heavy responsibility he is incurring, in submitting all these facts, the results of personal investigation, to your celestial majesty. And, at the same time, he presents for perusal the letter of the said foreigners, wherein they make the various restorations before enumerated. He humbly hopes his sacred sovereign will with pity look down upon the blackhaired flock—his people,—and will be graciously pleased to grant favours beyond measure, by acceding to the requests now made. Thus shall we be spared the calamity of having our people and land burned to ashes, and *thus shall we lay the foundation of victory, by binding and curbing the foreigners now, while preparing to have the power of cutting them off at some future period.*

"It is humbly hoped that your sacred majesty will condescend to inquire regarding the meeting in council, and state of circumstances, here reported. And your slave begs, that a minister of eminence may be specially dispatched hither, to re-investigate matters. Your slave has been actuated entirely by a regard to the safety of the land, and the people. He is not swayed by the smallest particle of fear. And still less dare he use false pretexts, or glozing statements. For the real purposes herein declared, he humbly makes this report (which he forwards by express at the rate of 600 *le* a day),—in the hope that it may be honoured with a sacred glance.—A most respectful memorial."

The Emperor, in commenting on the foregoing report, says:—"Keshen has handed up to us a report. As these foreigners have shewn themselves so unreasonable, that all our commands are lost upon them, it behoves us to make of them a dreadful example of severity." His Majesty then proceeds with orders for troops to be collected from several provinces, and adds that "if these rebellious foreigners dare to approach our rivers, let such measures be taken as will exterminate them, The expenses to be drawn equally from the duties arising from commerce, and the revenues derivable from the land-tax; if these sources do not amount to a sufficient sum, let it be so reported to us."

In the beginning of February, the Chinese government thus announced the renewal of war; the document was not, however, known to us for some time.

Proclamation by the Governor and Lieutenant-governor of Canton.

"*Keshen*, imperial commissioner and acting governor of the two *Kwang* provinces, *E*, lieutenant-governor of Canton, &c., proclaim for the full information of all the inhabitants of the provincial city and suburbs:—

"It is known that the audacity and contumacy of the English rebels daily increase, until at last they have dared to enter the *Tiger's gate* and take possession of the forts, and they have also brought their war-ships into the river: this really makes the hair stand on end with indignation. At present all the dangerous passes are perfectly well and closely watched and guarded; and of the different difficult approaches to the city there are none at which guards are not planted; and if the rebellious foreigners still dare to cause disorderly disturbances—we, the governor and lieutenant-governor, will in person lead on the celestial troops, and foremost in the van of battle, with strenuous efforts, will sweep them away—and thus dissipate the anger and grief of the people. Troops are collecting from all the provinces like clouds. The imperially appointed pacificator of the rebels and generalissimo, *Yihshan*, and his colleagues *Lungwan* and *Yangfang* will arrive immediately in Canton, and will unite to exterminate (the English). This proclamation is issued on this account, and for the full information of you all; let each of you remain quiet and follow his occupation:—there is not the least necessity for any alarm, nor do you circulate reports causing uneasiness and doubt. Oppose not. A special proclamation. 2nd moon, 8th day, (February)."

Notwithstanding the crafty efforts of Keshen, he was denounced in an imperial proclamation as "weak, cowardly, and destitute of ability."

February the 19th.—Hostile movements on the part of the Chinese became so conspicuous, that Commodore Bremer, determined to return to the Bogue, which probably saved the lives of every Englishman in China.

February 26th.—This day was made public a proclamation, issued by Eleang, the successor and friend of Lin, offering large rewards for the heads of Englishmen, dead or alive; this document is an exact copy of Lin's former one, with the exception that a larger bounty is offered; viz.: 500 dollars for every Englishman alive, and 300 dollars for every one killed, provided their heads are brought in.

It should be borne in mind, that previous to this, Hong Kong was surrendered to us, and the indemnity guaranteed or paid, and nothing remained but the terms of future intercourse to regulate.

Proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor of Canton, offering rewards for the capture of Her Majesty's ships, and the heads of Englishmen, &c.

"*E*, lieutenant-governor, &c., issues the following scale of rewards:—

1st. "If the native traitors can repent of their crimes and quit the service of the foreigners, (English) come before the magistrates and confess, their offences will be forgiven; and those who are able to seize alive the rebellious foreigners, and bring them before the magistrates, as well as those who offer up the foreigners' heads, will be severally rewarded according to the following scale.

2nd. "The capture of one of their line-of-battle ships, the ship and guns will be confiscated, but all that the ship contains, as clothes, goods, and money, shall be the reward of the captors, with an additional reward of 100,000 dollars; those who burn, or break to pieces, or bore holes through a line-of-battle-ship's bottom, so that she sinks, upon the facts being substantiated shall be rewarded with 30,000 dollars; for ships of the second and third class, the rewards will be proportionably decreased.

3rd. "The capture of one of the large steamers shall be rewarded with 50,000 dollars; for the smaller, one half.

"Those among the brave who are foremost in seizing men and ships, and who distinguish themselves by their daring courage, besides receiving the above money rewards, shall have buttons (official rank) conferred upon them, and be reported for appointments in the public service.

4th. "Fifty thousand dollars shall be given to those who seize either Elliott, Morrison, or Bremer, alive; and those who bring either of their heads—on the fact being ascertained—shall get 30,000 dollars.

5th. "Ten thousand dollars shall be given to those who seize an officer alive, and 5,000 dollars for each officer's head.

6th. "Five hundred dollars shall be given for every Englishman seized alive; if any are killed and their heads brought in, three hundred dollars will be given.

7th. "One hundred dollars will be given for every sepoy or lascar taken alive, and fifty for their heads.

8th. "Those among you who in their efforts to seize the English rebels may lose their lives, on examination and proof of the facts, a reward of three hundred dollars shall be given to your families.

9th. "The foreigners of every other country are respectful and obedient, and do not (like the English) cause commotions; it is not permitted to seize and annoy them—thus will the good and virtuous remain in tranquillity.

"2nd moon, 7th day, (Febuary 27, 1841).

Imperial Edicts.

"On the 10th day of the 2d moon, (March 2nd, 1841), at midnight, a dispatch from the great military council addressed to the imperial envoy and acting governor of the two *Kwang* provinces, *Keshen;* the general commanding in the district of Kwangchow, *Ho;* the lieutenant-governor of Canton, *E;* the admiral commanding-in-chief, *Kwan;* the general, *Ko;* the adjutant general of the left division, *Yu;* and adjutant-general of the right division, *Ying.*

"On the 25th of the first moon (February 16th), the imperial orders were received.

"*Keshen* this month with haste reported that the English ships had retired to the outer seas, and that he was about to follow to examine and manage.

"The English barbarians have many times rebelled, being wavering and inconstant; when they delivered up *Shakeo, Chusan,* &c., they made it a pretence for more irregularities in seeking for schemes of coercion.

"I have before sent down my imperial will in edicts, to attack them with increased vigour and utterly exterminate them. I have moreover, ordered *Yihshan* and his colleagues, to hasten together on their journey, proclaim the crimes (of the English) and reduce them to subjection; only, should the troops not be soon assembled, it will be difficult to be assured the said rebels will not again give loose to their rebellious disobedience. I order that it be the special duty of *Keshen* to establish precautionary regulations, and plant soldiers to guard and keep (the passes). But if he remains pertinaciously stupid without arousing himself, until he suffers more defeats,—I shall hold him only responsible; the nation's laws are already prepared, and decidedly there shall not be the least favour shown to him.

"I moreover order *Ho Kihtsing* (the general) and *Ho Eleang* (the lieutenant-governor,) to respectfully obey my former orders, and with united strength and one mind, to give strict orders at the different entrances, and to be faithful and true in guarding and watching, and let there be no thought of shirking their duty, nor carelessness. Further, issue perspicuous orders to the army and people, with one mind to guard against deceivers, and not subject themselves to the delusions of the traitorous foreigners: obey with awe, be careful—of the orders. Send these orders on at the rate of 600 *le* a day to *Keshen,* &c., for their full information. *Respect this,* and obey respectfully the imperial will, as formerly communicated.

"To day the privy council have again received the imperial commands.

"Formerly, because the English barbarians, after returning to Canton from Chekeang, again rebelled, and attacked the batte-

ries. I especially appointed *Yihshan* to be the pacificator of the rebels and generalissimo, and *Lungwan* and *Yangfang* to be his coadjutors, and collecting the choicest troops from all quarters, they are to proclaim the crimes, (of the English) and reduce them to subjection. It is now authenticated that *Keshen* has reported that the English barbarians have gone forth of and given up the fort at *Shakeo*, and have sent orders to the province of Chekeang to restore the city of *Tinghae*, and he earnestly requests that I will condescend to grant that which they pray for, and in the meantime not to deal too harshly with or destroy them, &c.

"On reading the report, how could I repress my indignation, detestation and grief. I did not calculate that *Keshen* was so weak and cowardly, and destitute of ability, that he could at once go to such an extreme as this. Twice have the English barbarians rebelled, in the provinces of *Chekeang* and Canton; attacked the district cities, forts, and wounded my soldiers and great officers; contact with them is as bitter poison to my people; they have frightened and troubled my cities,—which is great and most unreasonable rebellion; and neither all that heaven canopies, nor all that earth contains will bear with them. As to their surrender of *Tinghae* and the forts, I shall not talk about it, for no credit can be placed in their words: for even should they retreat and restore the old possessions of the empire, still the officers and soldiers who have been injured, and the people who have been involved in calamities, gnash their teeth in united hostility: and both men and gods are indignant and detest them. If we do not inflict on them utter destruction and extermination, how will the just vengeance of Heaven be exemplified, and the majesty of the empire be manifested?

"Therefore I have ordered *Yihshan* and *Lungwan* to travel together, and hasten with the utmost speed to Canton; and to draw up in battle array our soldiers of righteousness (soldiers who execute the righteous decrees of Heaven,) and to exterminate the detestable brood; you must endeavour to seize and send both the leaders and abettors, and the rebellious barbarians and traitorous Chinese to Peking, that they may be punished with the utmost rigour of the law.

"The generals and lieutenant-governors of the maritime provinces ought to increase the rigour of their guard; if they come, attack them instantly; you must not permit even a shred of their sails to return: and your merit (in taking prisoners) will be duly notified.

"As for *Keshen*, who has been entrusted with a very important charge; and has been incapable of exhibiting the great principles of justice, and did not reject with scorn their absurd requests; but on the contrary, has subjected himself to the insults of these rebellious barbarians: a proceeding exceeding the bounds of reason—he has repeatedly received my directions, which did not

permit him to receive letters from the rebellious barbarians; now he dares even to transmit a paper in which he supplicates for them! Now with what intentions can he be influenced?

"According to his report, the general, lieutenant-general, lieutenant-governor, literary chancellor, the judge, treasurer, superintendent of the grain department, the *foo* and *heen* magistrates, have conjointly held a consultation; but how does it happen that the said officers have not joined with him in his memorial? There is evidently some difference of opinion. I hereby order that *Keshen* be degraded from his office of cabinet minister, his peacock s feather be plucked from his cap, and he be delivered over to the board of punishments to stand his trial."

February 25th.—The time having expired for the ratification of the treaty agreed on with Keshen, and it being well known to the British authorities that the Chinese had acted upon the Emperor's instruction, this day was occupied in preparing for the struggle; a landing was effected on South Wangtung of three howitzers, and about 150 men. The *Nemesis* proved most serviceable in the operation; after towing the troop-boats ashore, she took a good sheltered position, nearly shut in from the fire of Anunghoy, and another fort on the western side of the river; she then attacked Anunghoy with her bow-gun, and the western fort with her stern. The British force on landing were perfectly protected from the enemy's fire.

On the 26th, at day-light, the three howitzers opened (from the sand-bag battery raised on the previous night on South Wangtung) upon the Chinese fortifications on the northern island. The firing was kept up with great spirit, and the shells told with great precision on the wooden huts under the walls of the custom-house, which were speedily on fire. These defences were exceedingly well covered with sand-bag batteries, and if efficiently served would have caused a severe struggle to take or demolish them.

The attack was not simultaneous, owing to a perfect calm and a strong ebb-tide, but in the meantime the enemy were to all appearance ready for action, posted at commanding points, covered with sand-bags.

Near eleven o'clock, A.M., the *Queen* steamer commenced the action. The Chinese instantly returned the fire from the sand-batteries which they had lately erected towards Anson's Bay. The *Blenheim*, although attacked, did not return fire until she got within about 600 yards of Anunghoy, when she opened her broadside. The *Melville* took a good position within about 400 yards of the fort, and like the *Blenheim* chose a close position before opening her fire, then gave her starboard broadside, and did great damage to the fort; the object being to destroy the sand-batteries and forts, not *the people* at the guns. After a few broadsides the enemy was seen flying from the fort up the hill.

Sir F. Le Senhouse then landed with about 300 men, sweeping

all before them. The British flag was flying on the batteries shortly after one o'clock, P.M.

At the same time, the *Caliope* opened the action on the western side of Wangtung, also the *Samarang, Herald,* and *Alligator,* the advanced squadron, took a position north of the island; while the *Wellesley, Druid,* and *Modeste* attacked the western defences. Some idea may be formed of the position of the enemy, when seven men-of-war were arrayed against them, independent of the howitzers which had been battering them several hours; the defenders could not quit the fort, being shut in on every side by the river. The Chinese fire ceased about twelve o'clock, and the gallant Major Pratt landed with detachments of the 26th and 49th, followed by the marines under Captain Ellis, and the 37th M. N. I. under Captains Duff and Mee.

The fall of the forts was announced by a circular to Her Majesty's subjects thus:—

"A Chinese force of upwards of 2,000 troops of élite (strongly entrenched on the left bank of the river, and defended by upwards of 100 pieces of artillery), was entirely routed this afternoon, after an obstinate resistance, attended with great loss of life. The cannon was rendered unserviceable, the encampment and ammunition destroyed, and the late British ship *Cambridge* blown up, she having previously taken part in the action. This signal service was achieved by the advanced squadron under the command of Captain Herbert. The casualties on the side of Her Majesty's forces have been inconsiderable.

"Whampoa, 27th February. "C. ELLIOT, H. M. P."

Hostilities being at an end, the attention of the commanders was directed to assisting and saving the lives of the unfortunate enemy. To attain this object, boats were sent to pick them up out of the water, where they were floating. So ignorant were they of the characteristic humanity that distinguishes true valour, that many drowned themselves on the approach of the boats; but a great many were saved, and being brought on board, resuscitated and kindly treated, and in a few hours liberated without any conditions.

The Emperor was furious on hearing of the fall of the forts, and issued the following edict, ordering Keshen and all his family to be put to death on arriving at Peking, whither he was to be sent in chains and bare-headed.

Imperial edict, ordering Keshen to be put to death on the day he arrives in Peking.

"On the 4th day of the 3rd moon (March 26th) an imperial edict was received.

" It is authenticated that before Keshen reported that the **sankeang* †*chin, Chin-leensking,* having lost his forces through losing opportunities, cut his throat and died.

" But now it is authenticated that general *Ho* and the *seunfoo E.* have reported that the *sankeang chin, Chin-leensking,* was faithful, valiant, and a good tactician. That he had requested governor *Keshen* to block up the mouth of the river, and also requested the issue of five thousand catties of gunpowder: but *Keshen* would not allow the river to be blocked up, and only issued one thousand catties of powder, with which, moreover, was mixed up a good deal of sand and mud, which rendered the guns useless; and both father and son perished fighting in the ranks: a fate highly to be commiserated!

" Further. *E.* has reported that on the 6th day the *Tiger's gate* was laid in ruins: which intelligence has riven my very heart and liver! I did not deem that *Keshen,* from his common-place talent, could sell his country, and still have talent sufficient to gloss over his treason: a crime for which even death is not a sufficient punishment: I order that the *yulinkeun* (the Emperor's own troops, some of his guards, we presume), with the utmost rigour, to seal and lock up the temple of his ancestors and those of his relations.

" I further order *Hokih* (a Tartar) to proceed to Canton, and bring *Kesken* to Peking; and the rebellious minister and his whole family are to be put to death on the very day of his arrival.

" But since the *Tiger's gate* has been laid in ruins, the provincial city must be in danger. You, *E-Leang,* should, in conjunction with the imperial envoy, *Yangfang,* exert yourself to keep the city ditch.

" Heretofore, the rebellious foreigners dreaded the former governor and minister, *Lin;* but I, the Emperor, was deceived into listening to the rebellious minister's deceptive schemes, even so far as to deprive *Lin* of his office. Now the ruling ministers have delivered a statement, requesting me to restore *Lin* to his original office. But imperial orders have already been given to the governor *Kelung* to succeed; and it is not required to make a further change; but I confer upon *Lin* the first degree of the second rank; and join him with *E.* and his colleagues to consult on military plans (for the defence of the province). *Respect this.*"

Eight Accusations against Keshen, presented at Court by E. *Lieutenant-governor of Canton.*

1st. " He held interviews with and received documents from Elliot, on equal terms.

2nd. " After his arrival at Canton, he did not choose out and

* Province of three rivers. † A military title.

depute either literary or military mandarins to go to Elliot, to speak about affairs, but only employed in his office a traitorous Han (Chinese) named Paoupang.

3rd. "The admiral (Kwan) took the troops, and proceeded out to sea to guard and watch the public interests, but nothing whatever would Keshen communicate to him, and when he (the admiral) requested definite instructions, he was forthwith met with angry railing, and it became impossible for the admiral himself to adjust these affairs of more or less importance.

4th. "He issued orders to each of the forts, that it would not be allowed to those who might be covetous of merit to ruin matters by opening fire with their musketry and great guns of their own accord, and consequently these forts and the military stations were all lost on the same day.

5th. "He constrained Lekeen, the adjutant-general, to prepare an official despatch for him, acknowledging his (Keshen's) offences, forcing him to affix his (Lekeen's) seals to the same, and to present it to Elliot.

6th. "He changed every measure for the worse, made vague and incoherent representations to the court, and brought disaster upon the admiral (who fell at the taking of the Bocca Tigris).

7th. "At the offing of Szetsze (on the river above the Bocca Tigris) he fired salutes and went to receive Elliot, and also dispatched messengers to deliver his commands to each of the forts, that they were to observe the same arrangement, and receive Elliot in like manner.

8th. "He affixed his seal to a document dismembering a portion of our territory, and delivering it over to these barbarian men for a place of residence.

"I, E., the Lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, lay these accusations before the court.

"Macao, April 8th, 1841."

The following inventory of the confiscated property of Keshen, is translated from a Chinese paper:—

"Account of property seized by the imperial government in Keshen's houses;—Gold, 270,000 taels weight; sycee silver, 3,400,000 taels weight; foreign money, 2,000,000 taels weight; land cultivated, thirty-nine *king*—a *king* contains 100 *mow*, or Chinese acres, equal to about one-third of an English acre; pawnshops in the province of Pechele, four; pawn-shops at Shingking or Moukden, two; banking (or shroff) shops, eighty-four; large pearls, ninety-four; strings of pearls, fourteen; pearl lamps, eight; arrow thumb-rings, made of the feathers of the *fei tsuy* bird, thirty-four; pieces of coral, eighteen; ginseng, catties, twenty-four; deers' horns, catties, twenty-five; lengths of silk, 420; broad cloth and English camlet, thirty pieces; striking clocks, eighteen in number; gold watches, ten; fur garments, twenty-four; images of horses, made of pre-

cious stones, two; images of lions, made of precious stones, two; chrystal wash-hand-basins, twenty-eight; tortoise-shell bedstead, one; chariots, four; female slaves, 168."

March 3rd, 1841.—Hostilities were resumed on the part of the Chinese, from a masked battery situated on the north-east end of Whampoa. About twenty Chinese were killed, and upwards of twenty guns destroyed; her Majesty's plenipotentiary was shortly afterwards visited by the Kwang-chow-foo, (Mayor of Canton), under a flag of true hostilities when ceased.

On the 7th, the armistice granted to the Chinese having expired, the works in advance of Howqua's fort were occupied, and Captain Elliot issued an address to the people of Canton, to show forbearance to the last:—

"Your city is spared, because the gracious Sovereign of Great Britain has commanded her high officers to remember that the good and peaceful people must be tenderly considered. But if the high officers of the Celestial Court offer obstruction to the British forces in their present stations, then it will be necessary to answer force by force. And if the merchants be prevented from buying and selling freely with the British merchants, then the whole trade must be stopped. The high officers of the English nation have used their best efforts to prevent the miseries of war; and the responsibility of the actual state of things must rest on the heads of the bad advisers of the Emperor."

March the 13th. The Chinese fort at Macao passage, which had been lately strengthened and supported by flanking field-works, was taken by Captain Herbert; the enemy having displayed some spirit and energy.

The *Nemesis* (Captain Hall) with the boats of the *Sumarang*, and *Atalanta* proceeded from Macao towards Canton by the inner passage. This small force destroyed seven small batteries, with 105 pieces of cannon, together with nine sail of men-of-war junks.

The wonderful exertions of Captain Hall throughout the whole Chinese war, deserve the highest honours which can be conferred on him. His two volumes on the "Nemesis" are even a faint tribute to his gallant, energetic, and skilful conduct.

19th. A flag of truce having been fired on, the remaining defences in Macao passage, the Dutch folly, and a large flotilla of boats were taken and destroyed; the city of Canton placed under the guns of the squadron, and the foreign factories occupied by the British troops.

20th. A suspension of hostilities was agreed upon between the new imperial commissioner Yang, and Captain Elliot. Pending the final settlement, ships-of-war were to remain near the neighbourhood of the English factories. The port was opened to the ships of all nations.

While this armistice was in force, the three commissioners at Canton, Yih, Lung, and Yang, issued the following address to the

people at Canton; it is another added to many existing proofs, how erroneous has been the estimate of good faith on the part of officials in China.

"It is well known the *tiger's* gate of the province of Canton, is a fortified pass of the utmost importance; now the said rebellious barbarians, seeking and making causes of quarrel and war, the forts have already been subjected to their attacks; and we, the said leaders, troops having been already prepared at all points, have received the imperial orders to head the grand army to the attack and extermination (of the said barbarians); and when we fix on an early day to commence operations, the rebellious barbarians either make false professions of their wishes to submit, or in fear slink off: in either case we cannot *fix* them.

"The turning, inconstancy, and tergiversation of the rebellious barbarians have reached the extreme, and the supreme ruler, in his glorious and sublime majesty, trembles with indignation, and has commanded us to lead on our armies, and decidedly not again allow them to beg for reconciliation, If any make pretexts, and do not hasten to have all prepared, until they even sink into neglect and remissness, all the officers at the maritime entrances and military stations shall be held responsible.

Further, the imperial will has been received imperatively to take the leaders of the rebels, and send them in cages to the imperial city, there to suffer the utmost extremity of the law. And if they are not seized and firmly retained, or ordered out of the port and to go far away, this also shall be imputed as a crime to the defensive military; the military code is ready, and decidedly there shall be no indulgence.

"It is proper that we hasten to issue a proclamation according to the late state of affairs (i. e. war not peace, separation not harmony.) We therefore invite all brave and hardy sailors to enter immediately; those who distinguish themselves shall be reported for rewards: thus great favours and severe punishments, are both within their own choice. Especially obey it, be attentive to it. Oppose not. A special proclamation. 3rd moon, 15th day."

May the 10th.—Since the truce of the 20th March, every facility had been given to British commerce, and friendly intercourse had taken place between the four new commissioners, sent to Canton to arrange the demands of the British government, and Her Majesty's plenipotentiary.

Captain Elliot had an interview with the Prefect of Canton, and having been perfectly satisfied that a plot was hatched for the destruction of the British forces and merchants, hastily returned to Hong Kong. On the previous day, summary punishment had been inflicted upon a native in the public streets, for daring to recommend peace. New cannon were cast in large quantities, and numerous batteries completed and manned along the banks of the river, both above and below the factories; an immense influx of

strange soldiers took place from distant provinces. May the 20th. The natives who were in the secret, were discovered to have left the city in thousands, notwithstanding a proclamation issued by the Prefect, calming their fears. Copies of this document were served on the foreign merchants. An abstract will suffice. "And you, the said foreign merchants, ought also to remain quiet in your lawful pursuits, continuing your trade as usual, without alarm or suspicion."

21st.—Captain Elliot issued a circular, recommending all British merchants to leave Canton before sunset, which they accordingly did, excepting parties belonging to American houses. About ten o'clock P.M., the Chinese commenced the attack with fire-rafts against the British vessels, which continued throughout the whole night, but without doing any damage.

22nd.—A boat belonging to the American ship Morison, with four seamen, an officer, and three passengers, sailed for Whampoa, with a "chop" written in large characters; they were all taken prisoners, and more or less wounded. At day-light, the Nemesis, Modeste, Pylades, and Algerine, having completed the destruction of the fire-rafts, moved towards the western fort at Shameen, and silenced them in a few minutes.

The *Nemesis* pushed towards a flotilla of war-junks, sinking thirty-nine with an equal number of fire-boats and fishing-smacks. In the midst of this flotilla, the Chinese had a floating battery furnished with heavy guns, which if properly served would have done great damage.

While these scenes were going on, Yihshan the Chinese commander dispatched 2,000 of his troops to the British factories in search of arms; indiscriminate plunder commenced, and not a particle of property was left.

Monday the 25th May.—The British forces under the command of Sir Hugh (now Lord) Gough, arrived in the Macao passage about two miles from the city, and it was three o'clock P.M. before everything was ready for attack. The Chinese now opened their fire upon the ships, at the same time they put in motion some fire vessels, which drifted across the river, and set fire to the suburbs. The enemy continued firing from the city walls for the remainder of the day. To the eastward of the forts, was a hill with a fortress upon the top of it. This was soon occupied by a detachment of the 49th. To the eastward of this hill in low ground, and close to the suburbs, was a village filled with Chinese troops, numbering not less than 4,000 men, between it and an entrenched camp with which it communicated. The camp and village were soon cleared, under Major-general Burrell, with the 18th and 49th.

Night approaching, the assault on the city was deferred for the following day. The first thing they observed before ten o'clock A.M., was a white flag displayed from the walls. A mandarin now visited General Gough, wishing to propose terms of peace, but was

referred to Captain Elliot, who was with the advanced squadron in the river.

The truce enabled Lord Gough to make such preparations as would secure his taking possession of the city on the following day. Captain Elliot dispatched an officer as soon as his terms were complied with, the messenger missed his way, wandering about all night, and only reached his commander a few minutes before the assault was to have commenced. One of the arrangements entered into was, that the Tartar troops were to evacuate the city, and retire to a distance of sixty miles, which was accordingly done.

29th.—Two days after the city was ransomed, large bodies of troops were discovered upon the heights about three miles to the rear of the head-quarters. Lord Gough, after providing for a strict watch to be kept on the city, (thinking this a ruse) attacked this body, which amounted at different times to 10,000 or 15,000 men, and totally routed them. The destruction of life on the side of the Chinese was very great; some say 1,500 killed and 5,000 wounded. The loss on our side was 14 killed in action, and about 120 wounded. The heat was fearful, and our troops suffered on that account severely. Had they stormed Canton, the slaughter would have been terrific.

A.D. 1841, May the 31st.—The sum of 500,000 dollars was this day paid, and the troops left the heights above Canton, and returned to their ships; the British authorities a second time exhibiting magnanimity and forbearance unparalleled in history.

August the 10th.—Sir H. Pottinger arrived as sole plenipotentiary and minister to the court of Peking; an extract from his address to the British merchants, will best illustrate the state of affairs, after nearly two months truce.

"Macao, August 12th, 1841.

"Sir H. Pottinger had intimated to the provincial government of Canton, that he was willing to respect the existing truce, but that the slightest infraction of its terms, will lead to an instant renewal of hostilities: an event highly probable from the well-known perfidy and bad faith of the provincial officers. Sir H. Pottinger cautions Her Majesty's subjects, and all other foreigners, against putting their lives or properties in their power."

August the 26th.—A circular from Sir H. Pottinger of this date, announced the capture of Amoy, after a short defence. Five hundred pieces of cannon were rendered useless, together with immense magazines full of munitions of war.

A.D. 1841, October the 2nd.—Eight months had elapsed since the evacuation of Chusan, when a circular from Sir H. Pottinger announced the re-capture of Tinghai, the capital of the Chusan group. The exertions made during the cessation of hostilities must have been extraordinary, for nearly two miles facing the city, was one continued line of embankments with openings for guns. From

the munitions and great stores of provisions found, the batteries must have been considered unimpregnable.

Among other illustrations of the truth of the statement frequently advanced, that the Chinese officials misrepresented to their government at Peking, the true record of facts, I give the following report of Yukeen to the Emperor, after the capture of Chusan, (Tinghae is the chief town) in October 1841. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the blowing-up of the steamer, the destruction and flight of our troops, are entirely unfounded in truth.

"A rough, or original, report—or sketch—of the imperial envoy and great minister, *Yu*.

"I report the loss of *Tinghae*, through the great disturbances caused by the disorderly and rebellious barbarians; this despatch is forwarded at the rate of 600 *le* a-day.

"I report, looking up, praying for the imperial glance on the affair.

"Your slave humbly begs to state, that on the 15th day of the 8th moon (September 2nd,) the rebellious barbarians stole into *Tinghae;* but on being attacked they immediately retreated: I now proceed to state the circumstances in a duly prepared report.

"About the *shin* period—3 to 5 p.m.—on the 18th day (October 2), a military flying despatch announced, that on the 13th at noon (September 27) thirteen sail of barbarian ships had arrived on the look-out in the harbour (of Tinghae), and when they had reached beyond *Chah Shanmun*, they were anchored unobserved. Afterwards, three steam-vessels and one three-masted ship, came into Chuhshan mun (bamboo-hill bay, or roads). General *Koyan*, &c. led on his troops and opened fire, and *shot away the mainmast of the barbarian ship, which then rat-like run away.*

"On the 16th day they first passed to *Keihseangmun* and attacked *Tungkeangpoo*, but our troops successively opening their fire, *the rebels did not dare to advance.*

"On the 17th day,—in the *chow* period—1 to 3 a.m.—the rebel steamers attacked the city of *Tinghae.* The *Chintae Ko* fired off guns with his own hand and good aim, set fire to the powder *on the steamer's deck, and blew her to atoms.*

"Afterwards the *teenshe* of *Tinghae, Tangkin*, under the care of the naval officer commanding, and the deputed *Tungche, Wang-Wekeih*, arrived at the encampment (at *Chinhae*), bringing 900 taels of silver, and the official seals of the *heen* district of Tinghae.

"On questioning Wang Wekeih, he reported that on the 17th day (October 1) during the *we* period—1 to 3 p.m., the city of Tinghae was lost."

October the 10th.—The city Chinhae, the key of Ningpo, yielded to our spirited attack. One hundred and fifty pieces of brass ordnance were taken, exclusive of iron cannon, and many hundred gingalls. Many of the Chinese high officers ran away or com-

mitted suicide, but some of their soldiers stood their ground, and were forced from their guns by the bayonet.

13th.—The commander having sailed for Ningpo, the Chinese soldiers laid down their arms, and actually refused to fight, the consequence was that their officers fled, and the squadron anchored within 100 yards of the walls of the city, and our troops took up their quarters in the city.

The following official report from the general commanding in Chekeang province, on the capture of Chinhae (at the river Ningpo entrance) and of Ningpo, shews the utterly defenceless state in which we found this vast and unwieldy empire, and how completely panic and disaffection had incapacitated the people from making any resistance to our arms.

Report from the Tetuh, or general, of the province of Chekeang, on the loss of Chinhae and Ningpo.

"Your slave, *Yu Pooyun*, kneeling, reports (as follows):

"On account of the district of Ningpo being unoccupied or deserted (by the Chinese troops), it is now necessary to establish regulations for its defence and safety, and looking up, I pray for the imperial glance on the affair.

"I, your slave, humbly state, that on the 26th day of the 8th moon (Oct. 10, 1841), because of the loss of Chinhae, I retreated on Ningpo, to defend it; I then took a hasty view of matters, and forwarded a post-haste dispatch at the rate of 600 le a-day: this is on record. And I immediately headed and led on officers and troops, whom I distributed and appointed for the particular and stricter defence of the sixth gate of Ningpo; but it was of no avail, as the walls were broad, and twenty le in compass; and the regular garrison in the city before did not amount to 4000 men; and these, besides, were distributed to guard the different military stations and encampments; and there hardly remained 700 and odd men in the town, and although the troops who had been defeated at Tinghae and Chinhae, hastened to return with all speed, still out of every ten men not more than one or two returned, and these, moreover, were frightened, and had lost their nerve, and it was difficult by any influence to prevail on them to keep their ranks.

"*Yukeen*, from the 26th day of the moon, when he retreated from Chinhae, and entered Ningpo on the same day, during the *such* period—from seven to nine p.m.—and escorted by *Fung Shintae* and others, with some hundreds of soldiers of the province of Keangnan, retreated night and day to Yuyao and Chaouhing. The officers and troops who were in the neighbourhood merely pretended to accompany and guard him (*Yukeen*):—but it was the *name* only, not the *reality*—and generally they did not enter and keep the city (Yuyao); and as they (*Yukeen* and his escort) passed

through the district, all the people were in a great fright, and ran away, hiding themselves, crowding on the road, and trampling each other down; and the sound of weeping and wailing spread all over the country; and a starving, helpless class of vagabonds seized the opportunity of combining with banditti, and to plunder the people of their wealth and goods; I, your slave, met in consultation the chefoo of Ningpo district, *Tang Tingtsae*, and we directed the civil and military officers who were in the city to examine and seize (the robbers) and immediately to repress and punish; but when the city had become in a slight degree tranquil, unexpectedly the steamers and barbarian ships came right in upon Ningpo, on the north-east side below the city, sounding the depth of water. The guns belonging to the city had been sent in the 6th moon of last year to Tinghae and Chinhae; so we were at the time unprovided with any guns to fire off; and men's hearts were excessively agitated. Connecting all these matters, and considering that I, your slave, have been to this time the general of the province of Chekeang, and constantly living in camps, there are very many of the gentry of the city district whom I have not seen, I depended wholly on the district magistrate, *Tang*, who possessed the people's entire confidence, to issue official orders to fill the ranks, and guard and defend (the country); and as to the former orders (to defend the city), only the third and sixth gates of the city overlooked the river, but as there was no artillery, and also the fire from the barbarian ships, and their *fire-arrows*—rockets—being murderously destructive, I became fearful that we had nothing to rely on (for opposition or defence). Every place in the whole province of Chekeang is of the last importance; and at present there are no troops to be distributed (for its defence). I, your slave, alone have utterly exhausted my mind and strength, in heading and leading on the civil and military officers, and in devising and establishing means of maintaining fast hold (of the province); at the same time, I have summoned the defeated troops to collect, together with the stout and brave villagers, and called them to the rescue; and also sent flying summonses to the officers and troops of each province to also hasten for the safety (of Chekeang). I look up for help and support from Heaven's dread majesty (the Emperor); altogether hoping that if the city is preserved, all the inhabitants will be preserved.

"I have thus, in a flying despatch, respectfully stated the deserted and unoccupied state of the district of Ningpo, the power and authority of which is in the most imminent danger; and the circumstances of establishing means and regulations for its guard and safety; and, prostrate, I beg for the imperial glance of the great Emperor, and instructions how to act.

"A respectful report. 21st year, 8th moon, 26th day.
"(Oct. 10, 1841.)"

In a report from Yihking to the Emperor, it was stated that the Chinese "braves" had killed Sir H. Pottinger, and that there were

"*five ship-loads of dead bodies of the barbarians taken back to Tinghae:*" (Chusan) the Emperor thus adverts to the subject.

"Yihking, has sent up a document, relative to attacking and capturing traitorous natives. It has also been represented, that *the rebel leader, Pottinger, attacked Tinghae, but was killed by a gun;* but it is now said that this is false. It still appears that there *was a barbarian chief killed, called Pa. (?) Two other barbarian* chiefs received severe wounds. *There were five ship-loads of the dead bodies of the barbarians taken back to Tinghae.* Besides the above report states, that a barbarian chief was caught, and many traitorous natives. Let there be no remissness or delay, until the rebels are swept from the land. Respect this."

The Chinese authorities entertained an idea, that by seductive promises, they could induce the British soldiers and their followers to desert.

An abstract of the proclamation from the imperial commissioner Yihking, on the 30th January, 1842, states that "there are many natives amongst the black barbarians who have been taken captives by the English rebels, who grievously oppress them, and in the day of battle will place them in front, where they will have to stand the whole brunt of the conflict.

"If in the day of battle, either red or black barbarians will cast away their arms, and refuse to fire; they shall in all cases be spared alive. Any who shall deliver up a barbarian chief, shall be rewarded with a high dignity; any who shall take the common "demons," (privates) shall have a large sum of money; and any who shall give up a foreign vessel, shall have all the goods it contains." Our troops and fleet wintered at Ningpo and Chusan.

A.D. 1842. March the 10th.—Ever since the capture of Ningpo in October, vigorous efforts had been making all over the empire, to exterminate the barbarians; but until this date, nothing of a serious nature occurred. At daylight a number of Chinese troops, estimated at from 10,000 to 12,000, advanced upon the south and west gate of Ningpo, got over the walls and penetrated to the market place, here they were met by the British troops, and the slaughter was dreadful.

In the meantime a vast number of fire-boats lashed together, were floated down the river, but did no damage. There were exactly similar attempts made on Chinhae, but on a smaller scale, with similar success. Tsz-ke about ten miles from Ningpo, had been making extensive preparations; which was well known to the commander of the British forces.

March 15th.—The repulses at Ningpo and Chinhae, had frightened the imperial troops at Tsz-ke, and before a retrogade movement could be completed, they were totally routed, and upwards of 1,000 killed. The troops here were in appearance and bodily strength, superior to any hitherto met with, and numbered from 8,000 to 10,000. The admirable position chosen, shewed consider-

able military skill in their generals, and they held their ground with some obstinacy.

May the 21st.—A circular from Admiral Parker of this date, announced the capture of Chapu. By the indefatigable exertions of Commanders Kellett and Collinson, two officers of first-rate talent in their noble profession, and distinguished for their scientific energy and enterprize in surveying and sounding, the Cornwallis, Blonde, and Modeste were enabled to take up a good position against the sea-batteries, consisting of two works mounting twelve guns, about one-third the way up a steep hill, and crowned with a Joss house, which was occupied by the enemy. There were three other masked batteries mounting thirty guns. The Chinese force was estimated at 8,000 regulars, 1700 of whom were Tartars. There were from 1200 to 1500 of the enemy buried, and but few prisoners taken. The preparations for warfare were on a very large scale, such as a gun foundry, gunpowder manufactory, and extensive arsenals, vast quantity of gingals, matchlocks, bows and arrows; all of which were destroyed.

A severe typhoon (hurricane) occurred in the neighbourhood of Canton in 1841; the effects of which were greatly magnified in the report made to Peking, whereupon the following imperial edict was issued, which shews the tone and feelings of the Emperor towards the English at that time.

"*Yihshan* and his colleagues have reported that the ocean has been agitated by typhoons, and the public offices and landing places of the English barbarians entirely destroyed, and one shipwrecked.

"By the report it is authenticated, that on the 4th day of 6th moon (July 21) between the hours of 3 and 5 p.m. a typhoon commenced which forced the waves to run mountains high, and at the same time torrents of rain descended. The large and small barbarian vessels anchored in *Tseenshakeo* (the Typa) were sunk by the waves, and the great and small "flower" boats belonging to native traitors, were either entirely destroyed, or driven out to sea; of these that have escaped, large and small, the number exceeds forty. The masts of all the ships were carried away, and of the barbarian banditti and native traitors, the number drowned exceeds calculation; all the tents and mat-sheds were blown away by the wind, none were saved. The new-built landing places were swept clean away, and nothing left but an empty space, and the sea was covered with floating corpses. Such is the report.

"I, the Emperor, having turned over and looked at the rest, feel most grateful for Heaven's favours; but while thus rejoicing in happiness, I should entertain a wholesome dread of Heaven's awful majesty—(*rejoice with trembling*). The cup of the iniquities of the said barbarians is full; their disorderly and illegal conduct has destroyed the people; long and much have they travelled in unrighteous paths; but at last they must bow their heads to heaven's extermination. All this has been accorded by secret,

silent influences: the intelligent gods aid and protect in silence. The murderous influences are swept clean away, and the boundaries of ocean are established in quiet. It is proper that we should with sincerity burn incense, to offer up our righteous thoughts. I order *Yihshan* and his colleagues to go in person to all the temples, and reverently announce my thanksgivings; and on the 29th day of the moon, to fast and sleep within the city; and on the 30th day to perform all the ceremonies in the different temples. I further order the *Teachangking*, to reverently attend to all the preparations. *Respect this.*" 1841.

1842, June the 16th. The whole British forces arrived safe in the Yangtzekang river, at a point where it joins the Woosung. So confident were the Chinese of defending this important entrance, that they hailed the enemy with cheers. At daylight our squadron weighed anchor, and the enemy opened fire, which continued on both sides for two hours; when that of the Chinese began to slacken, and the marines and seamen were landed. 253 guns, of which forty-two were brass, were taken in the batteries. The whole were mounted on pivot carriages. The British naval force had two killed, and twenty-five wounded, the land forces sustained no injury. The Blonde frigate and Sesostris steamer had twenty-five shots in their hull, the first fourteen and the other eleven. On the 17th some of the lighter vessels advanced up the Woosung river, and destroyed a deserted battery, mounting fifty-five guns, of which seventeen were brass.

On the 19th two batteries, close to the city of Shanghai, opened their guns on the advanced division, but on receiving a couple of broadsides the enemy fled; the batteries, which contained forty-eight guns (seventeen brass) were instantly occupied, and the troops took possession of the city, in which were extensive granaries belonging to the government. These were opened and freely given to the people. The next day the Admiral proceeded up the river Woosung about fifty miles, and met with other field-works, which he destroyed. The total number of ordnance captured on these encounters was 364, of which seventy-six were brass lately cast, with devices and characters which signified that they were intended to subdue the barbarians.

Shanghai was captured, after scarcely a momentary resistance, on the 19th. The garrison fled. The expedition was detained at Woosung until the 6th of July, when it advanced up the Yangtzekang, and on the 11th reached a military position, mounting thirteen guns, which opened fire on the leading ships, but were soon silenced, and the guns, batteries, and military buildings destroyed. At this place the main body of the fleet was retarded by adverse winds for nearly a week.

On the 20th the whole force, amounting to seventy sail of vessels, arrived and anchored abreast of the city of Cheakiang. At a distance of three miles from the city was a camp, with a large force. The troops in this camp only fired a few volleys and dispersed, but

were prevented from approaching the city. The Tartar troops in the city opened a heavy and incessant fire of cannon, gingals, wall pieces and matchlocks. The wall was gallantly escaladed under a heavy fire from the Tartar troops, who disputed the ramparts, and prolonged the contest for some hours, and it was late in the evening before they disappeared. The city is rather more than four miles in circumference, the works were admirably constructed, so that nothing but cannon could have made any impression on it, being pierced with narrow embrazures and loopholes, and flanked with transverse walls. The enemy was not less than 3,000, of whom full 1,000 were killed, with about forty officers. The Tartar general seeing the city taken, retired to his house, made his servants set fire to it, and sat in his chair till he was burned to death.

There were various exaggerated official statements of the "determined resistance" offered to our troops by the Chinese arms. This in fact was but a part of the whole tone of amplification with which everything was purposely magnified. The following detail of our loss, in at least fifteen actions, will show the worthlessness of the Chinese army, and how incapable it was to resist the daring gallantry of our troops and seamen.

British and Chinese loss, killed and wounded, during the war, from July 5th, 1840, to July 21st, 1842, according to the official despatches from the Commanders-in-chief of our army and navy. The killed in battle include soldiers, seamen, marines, sepoys, and camp-followers. The wounded ditto, and the slightest scratch was called a wound.

Date.	Name of Action.	Ordnance Captured.	British and Indian force.			Chinese.*		
			Killed.	Wounded.	Total.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
1840 July 5	Tinghae, Chusan	91	None	None	None	Unknown		
1841 Jan. 7	Chuenpee fort (1)	66	None.	38	38	Immense.		
	War junks (1)	82						
	Tycocktow forts (2)	25						
	Carried forward							

* It is impossible to give the actual loss in killed and wounded of the Chinese. The official reports frequently advert to the "great loss," "dreadful slaughter," &c., of the enemy. The numbers here given are those mentioned in the British statements. After a careful examination, in China and in England, of various data, and from eye-witnesses of the engagements, I cannot estimate the Chinese loss at less than 18,000 or 20,000 killed and wounded. Most of the wounded perished, unless where kindly attended to by the truly Christian spirit that ever pervades our medical officers in the army and navy.

British and Chinese loss, &c.—(continued.)

Date.	Name of Action.	Ordnance captured.	British and Indian force.			Chinese.*		
			Killed	Wounded.	Total.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
1841	Brought forward -	264		38	38			
Feb. 25	Anunghoy batteries and N. Wantong forts	about 300	None	5	5	about 500	very	many
Feb. 27	Cambridge and war junks	98	1	8	9	about 300	ditto	ditto
Mar. 18	Defences of Canton	123	None	6	6	about 400	ditto	ditto
May 25	City and heights of do.	106	14	112	126	about 1500	about 5000	6500
Aug. 26	Amoy and defences	550	None	9	9	Very	se	vere
Oct. 1	Chusan - - - -	136	2	27	29	400	to	500
Oct. 10	Chinghai citadel -	150	3	16	19	about 150	Ma	ny.
1842 Mar. 9	Ningpo, night attack	—	1	5	6	about 500	Very	great.
Mar. 10	Chinghai, ditto -	—	None	None	None	about 32	Ma	ny.
Mar. 15	Tsekee (Segoan) -	—	3	22	25	800	to	1000
May 18	Chapoo - - - -	92	13	52	65	1000	to	1500
June 16	Woosung batteries -	250	2	25	27	200	to	250
June 19	Shanghai - - - -	49	None	None	None	Unknown.		
July 21	Chinkeanfoo - - -	—	30	126	156	Slaughter terrific, 1000.		
	Total - - -	2118	69	451	520	Estimated at 18,000 to 20,000		

Remarks.—(1 and 2.) The general tone of the despatches during the war may be illustrated by the following words from the official reports on the actions: "The Chinese have suffered severely; their loss, including that on board the war junks, cannot be estimated at less than 500 to 600, out of a force calculated at 2000 men. The slaughter in the lower fort, when carried by storm, was considerable." * * * "The loss of the enemy, from the number of killed lying in every direction, must have been most severe." * * * "The service has been performed with trifling loss on the part of Her Majesty's forces." * * * "The loss on our side has been small, and would have been less but for the explosion of an expense magazine in the fort, after capture."

—(General Orders, Fort William, February 24th, 1841; and Sir Gordon Bremer's despatches,)

Thus it will be seen that the British forces, army and navy, had not one man killed, and but for the magazine explosion, which was accidental, there would not have been a dozen wounded, even slightly. The killed alone of the Chinese is supposed to have been at least five hundred men in this action! This may be viewed as a fair sample of the whole Chinese war.

The following is a return of Her Majesty's ships on the coast of China, in 1840, 1841, *and* 1842.

July, 1840	No. of Ships	Guns.	Men.	August, 1841.	No of Ships.	Guns.	Men.	Sept. 1, 1842 At Nankin.	No. of Ships.	Guns.	Men.
Third rates	2	144	1080	Third rates	2	144	1080	Third rates	2	144	1240
Fifth rates	2	86	570	Fifth rates	2	86	570	Fourth ...	1	50	500
Sixth rates	4	106	700	Sixth	2	54	350	Fifth	4	104	1260
Sloops	5	88	615	Sloops	5	86	615	Sixth.....	4	90	750
Brig	1	10	55	Brigs	3	50	165	Sloops	14	232	1855
Troop ship	1	2	44	Surveying vessels ..	2	10	133	Steam vessels... ...	2	8	290
	15	436	3064	Troop ship	1	2	44	Brigs	3	30	180
								Surveying vessel ..	1	2	30
					17	412	2962	Hospital ship ...	1	20	310
								Troop ships	5	44	574
									37	784	7069

The additional force was about 5,000 British troops, and nearly 7,000 Indian troops, together with seamen and marines, making a total of upwards of 19,000 men.

Our whole contest with the Chinese, resembled the war which might have been expected between the Brobdignags and Lilliputians.

In page 147, will be found instructions to soldiers, but their articles of war are calculated to strike terror, thus: "When an enemy advances," says the penal code, "he who shrinks, or whispers to his comrade, shall be decapitated."

Having succeeded in breaking the spirit of their soldiers by this mode, they adopted a pretty similar one with the barbarians. In front of the mouths of their cannon, or hanging over the walls of a fort, might be seen the picture of a tiger's head suspended, with streaks of red, resembling blood, intended to frighten our troops. The Chinese were ordered to advance, clashing two swords, for the same purpose.

Commander J. Elliot, in his interesting narrative of the expedition, says: "The appearance of the ship ('Conway,') created a great sensation, and the natives were apparently busy throwing up fortifications, which being examined by the telescope, proved nothing but mats extended on poles, with painted ports, to give them the appearance of forts."

Referring to the period of the dispute with Lord Napier, the commander proceeds, "our countrymen at Canton were one morning astonished at seeing the shore apparently bristling with cannon, but on examining them with their glasses, they had put up in the front of a mat-fort a range of earthen jars, with their open end pointed towards the river. We found that it was a common practice to stick a large round piece of wood into the muzzle of a three-pounder painted white, with a black spot, as large as the bore of a thirty-two pounder, and as the white muzzle was continued along the line of guns, it became very difficult by merely looking at them to discover the deception."

Lord Jocelyn says: "The description of some of the Chinese forts, hastily thrown up, on the approach of the ships, was ludicrous; many consisting of bamboo mats, pierced as if for guns to astound the barbarians, for little did they imagine, that through the glasses from the ship, this childish deception was easily discovered.

"The Algerine, a ten-gun brig, commanded by Lieutenant Mason, came into harbour; in passing a town called Chapoo, a place of great trade with Japan, he had been fired upon by a strong fort, mounting a great number of guns. He immediately ranged his little vessel up under the batteries, but for three hours the Chinese kept up a steady fire, when, with nearly the last remaining charge, the *little* brig *silenced* the batteries; then anchoring her close under, Lieutenant Mason waited an hour to see if they wished a renewal, and then took his departure to join the squadron."

An eye-witness at Chuenpe and Tykokto, in 1841, says: "We do not expect to find in the construction of Chinese forts any exhibition of engineering skill; they have not had a *Vauban*. It appears, however, that the materials they use for the upper part of their works, is a composition of chunam, upon which our shot made little impression. Most of their guns were of small calibre, the iron wretched, a single blow of a hammer being sufficient to knock off the trunnions. The stockades were well built, but the situation badly chosen, being commanded by the neighbouring hills. From their freshness they could only have been a few days built—just at the time the British authorities were negotiating, i. e., being bamboozled."

The rapidity of our successes is thus seen: Amoy, 26th August, 1841; Chusan, 3rd October, 1841; Ningpo and Ching-hae, 10th March, 1842; Repulse of enemy at Ching-hae, 10th March, 1842; Chapoo, 18th May, 1842; Woo-sung, 16th June, 1842; Shang-hae, 18th June, 1842; Chin-kiang-foo, 21st July, 1842; peace at Nankin, 29th August, 1842.

During this short period, notwithstanding adverse weather, eleven fortified cities and encampments fell into our hands, on an unknown line of coast of nearly one thousand miles in extent. Had we proceeded at once to Nanking, instead of thus wasting our

strength and resources, peace would have been immediately obtained.

To proceed with the close of the narrative.

August 1842. Arrangements were made for placing a strong British garrison at Chin Kiang, as it commands the entrance to the grand canal.

The remainder of the expedition sailed for Nanking on the 3rd of August, which is situated about forty miles distant, and three miles from the Yangtzekang; but connected by a variety of canals.

On the 11th every thing being ready for an attack, a white flag was displayed, several friendly conferences ensued, ending on the 29th by formally signing and sealing a treaty of peace.

It is understood that the Chinese government had at length become really aware of its own weakness and of our strength; that the Emperor had made preparations for flight into Mantchouria, and that the three commissioners sent to Nanking to procure peace were instructed to obtain it on any terms which might be asked. Instead, however, of forming a treaty in accordance with our position and adequate to our wants, the old treaty *framed by the late Mr. Poulett Thompson in* 1840,—on the suggestion of Sir George Larpent and others (see page 40)—which had been printed at the Foreign Office in Downing Street, and sent out as a rough outline for the guidance of Captain Elliott in 1841, with a blank after the words "the cession of the *islands* of ————————," and with another blank after the words "Indemnity money ————————," this old draft of a treaty was sent on shore by Sir Henry Pottinger with *s* struck out of the word "*islands*," and the word "Hong Kong" alone left there; for reasons some of which will be explained in the last chapter of this work. The terms of peace having been read, Elepoo the senior commissioner paused, expecting something more, and at length said "is that all?" Mr. Morrison inquired of Lieutenant-colonel Malcolm if there were anything else, and being answered in the negative, Elepoo immediately and with great tact closed the negotiation by saying, "*all shall be granted—it is settled—it is finished.*" Such were the preliminary negotiations of the following treaty—

"Her Majesty, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, being desirous of putting an end to the misunderstandings and consequent hostilities which have arisen between the two countries, have resolved to conclude a treaty for that purpose, and have therefore named as their plenipotentiaries, that is to say: Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., a Major-general in the service of the East India Company, &c. &c. And his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China, the high commissioners Kíying, a member of the Imperial

House, a guardian of the Crown Prince, and general of the garrison of Canton; and I'lípú, of the Imperial Kindred, graciously permitted to wear the insigna of the first rank, and the distinction of a peacock's feather, lately minister and governor-general, &c., and now lieutenant-general commanding at Chápú:—who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

1st. "There shall henceforward be peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, and between their respective subjects, who shall enjoy full security and protection for their persons and property within the dominions of the other.

2nd. "His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees, that British subjects, with their families and establishments, shall be allowed to reside, for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint, at the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Fuhchoo-fú, Ningpo, and Shánghái; and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., will appoint superintendents, or consular officers, to reside at each of the above-named cities or towns, to be the medium of communication between the Chinese authorities and the said merchants, and to see that the just duties and other dues of the Chinese government, as hereafter provided for, are duly discharged by Her Britannic Majesty's subjects.

3rd. "It being obviously necessary and desirable that British subjects should have some port whereat they may careen and refit their ships when required, and keep stores for that purpose, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., the island of Hong Kong, to be possessed in perpetuity by Her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors, and to be governed by such laws and regulations as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., shall see fit to direct.

4th. "The Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of six millions of dollars, as the value of the opium which was delivered up at Canton in the month of March, 1839, as a ransom for the lives of Her Britanic Majesty's snperintendent and subjects, who had been imprisoned and threatened with death by the Chinese high officers.

5th. "The government of China having compelled the British merchants trading at Canton to deal exclusively with certain Chinese merchants, called Hong-merchants (or co-hong), who had been licensed by the Chinese government for that purpose, the Emperor of China agrees to abolish that practice in future at all ports where British merchants may reside, and to permit them to carry on their mercantile transactions with whatever persons they please; and His Imperial Majesty further agrees to pay to the British government the sum of three millions of dollars, on ac-

count of debts due to British subjects by some of the Hong merchants, or co-hong, who have become insolvent, and who owe very large sums of money to subjects of Her Britannic Majesty.

6th. "The government of Her Britannic Majesty having been obliged to send out an expedition to demand and obtain redress for the violent and unjust proceedings of the Chinese high authorities towards Her Britannic Majesty's officer and subjects, the Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of twelve millions of dollars, on account of the expenses incurred; and Her Britannic Majesty's plenipotentiary voluntarily agrees, on behalf of Her Majesty, to deduct from the said amount of twelve millions of dollars, any sums which may have been received by Her Majesty's combined forces, as ransom for cities and towns in China, subsequent to the 1st day of August, 1841.

7th. "It is agreed, that the total amount of twenty-one millions of dollars, described in the three preceding articles, shall be paid as follows:—

"Six millions immediately. Six millions in 1843; that is, three millions on or before the 30th of the month of June, and three millions on or before the 31st of December. Five millions in 1844; that is, two millions and a half on or before the 30th of June, and two millions and a half on or before the 31st of December. Four millions in 1845; that is, two millions on or before the 30th of June, and two millions on or before the 31st of December.

"And it is further stipulated, that interest, at the rate of five per cent. per annum, shall be paid by the government of China on any portion of the above sums that are not punctually discharged at the periods fixed.

8th. "The Emperor of China agrees to release, unconditionally, all subjects of Her Britannic Majesty (whether natives of Europe or India), who may be in confinement at this moment any part of the Chinese Empire.

9th. "The Emperor of China agrees to publish and promulgate, under His Imperial Sign Manual and Seal, a full and entire amnesty and act of indemnity to all subjects of China, on account of their having resided under, or having had dealings and intercourse with, or having entered the service of, Her Britannic Majesty, or of Her Majesty's officers; and His Imperial Majesty further engages to release all Chinese subjects who may be at this moment in confinement for similar reasons.

10th. "His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to establish at all the ports which are, by the second article of this Treaty, to be thrown open for the resort of British merchants, a fair and regular tariff of export and import customs and other dues, which tariff shall be publicly notified and promulgated for general information; and the Emperor further engages, that when British merchandise shall have once paid at any of the ports the regulated customs

and dues, agreeable to the Tariff to be hereafter fixed, such merchandize may be conveyed by Chinese merchants to any province or city in the interior of the Empire of China, on paying a further amount as transit duties, which shall not exceed per cent. on the tariff value of such goods.

11th. "It is agreed, that Her Britannic Majesty's chief high officer in China shall correspond with the Chinese high officers, both at the capital and in the provinces, under the term "communication;' the subordinate British officers and Chinese high officers in the provinces, under the term 'statement,' on the part of the former, and on the part of the latter, 'declaration;' and the subordinates of both countries on a footing of perfect equality; merchants and others not holding official situations, and therefore not included in the above, on both sides, to use the term 'representations' in all papers addressed to, or intended for the notice of the respective governments.

12th. "On the assent of the Emperor of China to this Treaty being received, and the discharge of the first instalment money, Her Britannic Majesty's forces will retire from Nanking and the Grand Canal, and will no longer molest or stop the trade of China. The military post at Chinhai will also be withdrawn; but the islands of Kulang-su and that of Chusan will continue to be held by Her Majesty's forces until the money payments, and the arrangements for opening the ports to British merchants, be completed.

13th. "The ratification of this treaty by Her Majesty the Queen of Britain, &c., and His Majesty the Emperor of China, shall be exchanged as soon as the great distance which separates England from China will admit; but, in the meantime, counterpart copies of it, signed and sealed by the plenipotentiaries on behalf of their respective sovereigns, shall be mutually delivered, and all its provisions and arrangements shall take effect.

"Done at Nanking, and signed and sealed by the plenipotentiaries on board Her Britannic Majesty's ship 'Cornwallis,' this twenty-ninth day of August, 1842; corresponding with the Chinese date, twenty-fourth day of the seventh month, in the twenty-second year of Taoukwang.

"(L.S.) HENRY POTTINGER,

"(L.S.) KIYING (in Tartar).
"(L.S.) I'LIPU (in Tartar).

"Approved and ratified by the Emperor on the 24th day of the 9th month, in the 22nd year of his reign, (Oct. 27th, 1842.)

Note.—This treaty was ratified by Her Majesty, and the great seal affixed, on the 31st of December, 1842. The ratifications were exchanged at Hong Kong, June 26th, 1843."

This treaty was sufficiently restrictive, but under its first clause Englishmen could have gone to and resided in *any part* of China,

although *trading* residence would be confined to five ports. But the wily Tartar Keying took measures to counteract even this small advantage, and, at the same time, craftily devised a plan of isolating Hong Kong from freedom of intercourse with the opened ports. This was done by the following "supplemental treaty," on which further comment is reserved for the discussion on our present position in China.

Supplementary Treaty.

"Whereas a treaty of perpetual peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, was concluded at Nanking, and signed on board Her said Majesty's ship Cornwallis on the 29th day of August, A.D. 1842, corresponding with the Chinese date of the 24th day of the 7th month of the 22nd year of Taoukwang, of which said treaty of perpetual peace and friendship the ratifications under the respective seals and signs manual of the Queen of Great Britain, &c., and the Emperor of China were duly exchanged at Hong Kong, on the 26th day of June, A.D. 1843, corresponding with the Chinese date the 29th day of the fifth month, in the 23rd year of Taoukwang; and whereas in the said treaty it was provided (amongst other things) that the five ports of Canton, Foochow-foo, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai should be thrown open for the resort and residence of British merchants, and that a fair and regular tariff of export and import duties and other dues should be established at such ports; and whereas various other matters of detail connected with, and bearing relation to, the said treaty of perpetual peace and friendship, have been since under the mutual discussion and consideration of the Plenipotentiary and accredited Commissioners of the high contracting parties, and the said tariff and details having been now finally examined into, adjusted and agreed upon, it has been determined to arrange and record them in the form of a supplementary treaty of (seventeen) Articles, which articles shall be held to be as binding and of the same efficacy as though they had been inserted in the original treaty of perpetual peace and friendship.

1st. "The tariff of export and import duties which is hereunto attached under the seals and signatures of the respective plenipotentiary and commissioners, shall henceforward be in force at the five ports of Canton, Fuhchoo-foo, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai.

2nd. "The general regulations of trade which are hereunto attached under the seals and signatures of the respective plenipotentiary and commissioners, shall henceforward be in force at the five aforenamed ports.

3rd. "All penalties enforced or confiscations made under the third clause of the said general regulations of trade, shall

belong, and be appropriated, to the public service of the government of China.

4th. "After the five ports of Canton, Foochow, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, shall be thrown open, English merchants shall be allowed to trade only at those five ports. Neither shall they repair to any other port or places, nor will the Chinese people at any other port or places be permitted to trade with them. If English merchant vessels shall, in contravention of this agreement, and of a proclamation to the same purport to be issued by the British plenipotentiary, repair to any other ports or places, the Chinese government officers shall be at liberty to seize and confiscate both vessels and cargoes; and should Chinese people be discovered clandestinely dealing with English merchants at any other ports or places, they shall be punished by the Chinese government in such manner as the law may direct.

5th. "The fourth clause of the general regulations of trade on the subject of commercial dealings and debts between English and Chinese merchants, is to be clearly understood to be applicable to both parties.

6th. "It is agreed that English merchants and others residing at, or resorting to, the five ports to be opened, shall not go into the surrounding country beyond certain short distances to be named by the local authorities in concert with the British consul, and on no pretence for purposes of traffic. Seamen and persons belonging to the ships shall only be allowed to land under authority and rules, which will be fixed by the consul in communication with the local officers; and should any persons whatever infringe the stipulations of this article, and wander away into the country, they shall be seized and handed over to the British consul for suitable punishment.

7th. "The treaty of perpetual peace and friendship provides for British subjects and their families residing at the cities and towns of Canton, Foochow, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, without molestation or restraint. It is accordingly determined that ground and houses, the rent or price of which is to be fairly and equitably arranged for, according to the rates prevailing amongst the people, without exaction on either side, shall be set apart by the local officers in communication with the consul, and the number of houses built or rented will be reported annually to the said local officers by the consul, for the information of their respective viceroys and governors; but the number cannot be limited, seeing that it will be greater or less according to the resort of merchants.

8th. "The Emperor of China having been graciously pleased to grant to all foreign countries whose subjects or citizens have hitherto traded at Canton, the privilege of resorting for purposes of trade to the other four ports of Fuhchoo, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, on the same terms as the English; it is further agreed

that should the Emperor hereafter, from any cause whatever, be pleased to grant additional privileges or immunities to any of the subjects or citizens of such foreign countries, the same privileges and immunities will be extended to and enjoyed by British subjects; but it is to be understood, that demands or requests are not on this plea to be unnecessarily brought forward.

9th. "If lawless natives of China, having committed crimes or offences against their own government, shall flee to Hong Kong, or to the English ships of war, or English merchant ships for refuge, they shall if discovered by the English officers be handed over at once to the Chinese officers for trial and punishment; or if before such discovery be made by the English officers, it should be ascertained or suspected by the officers of the government of China whither such criminals and offenders have fled, a communication shall be made to the proper English officer in order that the said criminals and offenders may be rigidly searched for, seized, and on proof or admission of their guilt delivered up. In like manner, if any soldier or sailor, or any other person—whatever his caste or country—who is a subject of the crown of England, shall, from any cause, or on any pretence, desert, fly, or escape into the Chinese terrritory, such soldier or sailor or other person shall be apprehended and confined by the Chinese authorities, and sent to the nearest British consular, or other government, officer. In neither case shall concealment or refuge be afforded.

10th. "At each of the five ports to be opened to British merchants, one English cruizer will be stationed to enforce good order and discipline amongst the crews of merchant shipping, and to support the necessary authority of the consul over British subjects. The crews of such ship of war will be carefully restrained by the officer commanding the vessel, and they will be subject to all the rules regarding going on shore and straying into the country, that are already laid down for the crews of merchant vessels. Whenever it may be necessary to relieve such ship of war by another, intimation of that intention will be communicated by the consul, or by the British superintendent of trade where circumstances will permit—to the local Chinese authorities, lest the appearance of an additional ship should excite misgivings amongst the people, and the Chinese cruizers are to offer no hindrance to such relieving ship, nor is she to be considered liable to any port charges or rules laid down in the General Regulations of Trade, seeing that British ships of war never trade in any shape.

11th. "The posts of Chusan and Koolungsoo will be withdrawn, as provided for in the treaty of perpetual peace and friendship, the moment all the moneys stipulated for in that treaty shall be paid; and the British plenipotentiary distinctly and voluntarily agrees that all dwelling-houses, storehouses, barracks, and other buildings that the British troops or people may have occupied or intermediately built or repaired, shall be handed over on the eva-

cuation of the posts exactly as they stand, to the Chinese authorities, so as to prevent any pretence for delay, or the slightest occasion for discussion or dispute on those points.

12th. "A fair and regular tariff of duties and other dues having now been established, it is to be hoped that the system of smuggling which has heretofore been carried on between English and Chinese merchants—in many cases with the open connivance and collusion of the Chinese custom-house officers—will entirely cease; and the most peremptory proclamation to all English merchants has been already issued on this subject by the British plenipotentiary, who will also instruct the different consuls to strictly watch over and carefully scrutinize the conduct of all persons being British subjects, trading under his superintendence. In any positive instance of smuggling transactions coming to the consul's knowledge, he will instantly apprize the Chinese authorities of the fact, and they will proceed to seize and confiscate all goods—whatever their value or nature—that may have been so smuggled; and will also be at liberty if they see fit, to prohibit the ship from which the smuggled goods were landed from trading further, and to send her away as soon as her accounts are adjusted and paid. The Chinese government officers will at the same time adopt whatever measures they may think fit, with regard to the Chinese merchants and custom-house officers who may be discovered to be concerned in smuggling.

13th. "All persons, whether natives of China or otherwise, who may wish to convey goods from one of the five ports of Canton, Fuhchoo-fú, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shánghái, to Hong Kong, for sale or consumption, shall be at full and perfect liberty to do so on paying the duties on such goods, and obtaining a pass or port-clearance from the Chinese custom-house at one of the said ports. Should natives of China wish to repair to Hong Kong to purchase goods, they shall have free and full permission to do so, and should they require a Chinese vessel to carry away their purchases, they must obtain a pass or port-clearance for her at the custom-house of the port whence the vessel may sail for Hong Kong. It is further settled, that in all cases these passes are to be returned to the officers of the Chinese government, as soon as the trip for which they may be granted shall be completed.*

14th. "An English officer will be appointed at Hong Kong, one part of whose duty will be to examine the registers and passes of all Chinese vessels, that may repair to that port to buy or sell goods, and should such officer at any time find that any Chinese merchant vessel has not a pass or register from one of the five

* *In the Chinese this sentence follows:* "At other ports in the four provinces of Kwangtung, Fukien, Kiangsu and Chekiang, such as Chapu and other places, which are not open marts, Chinese merchants are not to presume to ask permits to go to and from Hong Kong. And if they do thus, the magistrate of Kanlung and the English officers, are jointly at the time to make investigation and report."

ports, she is to be considered as an unauthorised or smuggling vessel, and is not to be allowed to trade, whilst a report of the circumstance is to be made to the Chinese authorities. By this arrangement it is to be hoped that piracy and illegal traffic will be effectually prevented.

15th. "Should natives of China who may repair to Hong Kong to trade, incur debts there, the recovery of such debts must be arranged for by the English courts of justice on the spot; but if the Chinese debtor shall abscond and be known to have property, real or personal, within the Chinese territory, the rule laid down in the 4th clause of the General Regulations for Trade, shall be applied to the case; and it will be the duty of the Chinese authorities, on application, by and in concert with the British consuls, to do their utmost to see justice done between the parties. On the same principle, should a British merchant incur debts at any of the five ports and fly to Hong Kong, the British authorities will, on receiving an application from the Chinese government officers, accompanied by statements, and full proofs of the debts, institute an investigation into the claims, and when established, oblige the defaulter or debtor to settle them to the utmost of his means.

16th. "It is agreed that the custom-house officers at the five ports, shall make a monthly return to Canton of the passes granted to vessels proceeding to Hong Kong, together with the nature of their cargoes; and a copy of these returns will be embodied in one return, and communicated once a month to the proper English officer at Hong Kong. The said English officer will on his part make a similar return or communication to the Chinese authorities at Canton, showing the names of Chinese vessels arrived at Hong Kong or departed from that port, with the nature of their cargoes; and the Canton authorities will apprize the custom-houses at the five ports, in order that by these arrangements and precautions all clandestine and illegal trade under the cover of passes may be averted.

17th. "*Or Additional Articles relating to British small Craft.* Various small vessels, belonging to the English nation, called schooners, cutters, lorchas, &c., have not hitherto been chargeable with tonnage dues. It is now agreed in relation to this class of vessels, which ply between Hong Kong and the city, and the city and Macao, that if they only carry passengers, letters, and baggage, they shall as heretofore pay no tonnage dues. But if these small craft carry any dutyable articles, no matter how small the quantity may be, they ought in principal to pay their full tonnage dues. But this class of small craft are not like the large ships which are engaged in foreign trade, they are constantly coming and going, they make several trips a month, and are not like the large foreign ships, which on entering the port cast anchor at Whampoa. If we were to place them on the same footing as the large foreign ships, the charge would fall unequally; therefore, after this, the smallest of these craft shall be rated at seventy-five tons, and the largest not

to exceed one hundred and fifty tons; whenever they enter the port (or leave the port with cargo), they shall pay tonnage dues at the rate of one mace per ton register. If not so large as seventy-five tons, they shall still be considered and charged as of seventy-five tons, and if they exceed one hundred and fifty tons they shall be considered as large foreign ships, and like them charged tonnage dues at the rate of five mace per register ton. Fuhchoo and the other ports having none of this kind of intercourse, and none of this kind of small craft, it would be unnecessary to make any arrangement as regards them.

"The following are the rules by which they are to be regulated:

1st. "Every British schooner, cutter, lorcha, &c., shall have a sailing letter, or register, in Chinese and English, under the seal and signature of the chief superintendent of trade, describing her appearance, burden, &c., &c.

2nd. "Every schooner, lorcha, and such vessel, shall report herself, as large vessels are required to do, at the Bocca Tigris; and when she carries cargo, she shall also report herself at Whampoa, and shall on reaching Canton, deliver up her sailing-letter, or register, to the British consul, who will obtain permission from the hoppo for her to discharge her cargo, which she is not to do without such permission, under the forfeiture of the penaltie slaid down in the third clause of the General Regulations of Trade.

3rd. "When the inward cargo is discharged, and an outward one (if intended) taken on board, and the duties on both arranged and paid, the consul will restore the register, or sailing-letter, and allow the vessel to depart.

"This Supplementary Treaty to be attached to the original Treaty of Peace, consisting of sixteen articles, and one additional article relating to small vessels, is now written out, forming, with its accompaniments, four pamphlets, and is formally signed and sealed by their excellencies, the British plenipotentiary and the Chinese imperial commissioner; who in the first instance, take two copies each and exchange them, that their provisions may be immediately carried into effect. At the same time, each of these high functionaries having taken his two copies, shall duly memorialize the sovereign of his nation, but the two countries are differently situated as respects distance, so that the will of the one sovereign can be known sooner than the will of the other. It is now, therefore, agreed, that on receiving the gracious assent of the Emperor, in the vermilion pencil, the imperial commissioner will deliver the very document containing it into the hands of his excellency, Hwang, judge of Canton, who will proceed (to such place as the plenipotentiary may appoint) and deliver it to the English plenipotentiary to have and to hold. Afterwards, the sign manual of the sovereign of England having been received at Hong Kong, likewise graciously assenting to and confirming the treaty, the English plenipotentiary will dispatch a specially appointed officer to Canton, who will deliver the copy containing the

royal sign manual to his excellency, Hwang, who will forward it to the imperial commissioner as a rule and a guide to both nations for ever, and as a solemn confirmation of our peace and friendship. A most important Supplementary Treaty.

" Signed and sealed at Hoomunchai, on the 8th day of October, 1842, corresponding with the Chinese date of 15th day of the 8th moon of the 23rd year of Taoukwang.

L.S. H. B. M's. Plenipotentiary. (Signed) HENRY POTTINGER.

L.S. H. E. the Imperial Commissioner. (Signed) KEYING,—in Tartar."

On the 7th December, 1842, after the declaration of peace, and four months after the treaty was signed, the minds of the people of Canton were excited by inflammatory placards posted on their factory walls and directed against the English. In the early part of that day a dispute commenced between some Chinese and Lascars, and the latter being pursued took shelter in the " Creek Hong." The mob first attacked a brick wall on the western side of the company's garden, by which they obtained entrance into Mr. Murrow's house; this they quickly plundered of its contents.

They next set fire to the British flag-staff, factory, &c.

Intimation was forwarded to Howqua before night came on, but no efficient force was sent; even the fire engines that arrived were not allowed to be worked. The mob were in undisputed possession of the place for twenty-four hours, when 200 troops dispersed them.

The following correspondence then took place; and it illustrates the policy then commenced, and since persevered in, of endeavouring to force the British merchants to quit Canton, and reside at Hong Kong. For this reason they have ever since been refused the protection of a British ship of war, at Canton, to which they were entitled by the treaty of Nanking.

Eight British merchants addressed a memorial to Sir Hugh (now Lord) Gough, stating that it was their opinion the recent attack was premeditated, and praying that he would allow the Honourable Company's small steamer, *" Proserpine,"* to remain in front of the factories, as the local authorities were unable to quell the riot, until life and property were sacrificed.

In answer to this, Lord Gough, with a promptitude and manly British feeling becoming his high character and station, permitted the small steamer to remain at Canton, until such time as he could communicate with Sir Henry Pottinger.

December 13th.—Seventeen British and East India merchants waited on Sir Henry Pottinger, with a copy of their address to Lord Gough, and his Lordship's answer, together with the following

additional remarks, in the hopes of prevailing on his Excellency to grant them some security for their lives and property;—the grounds were:—

1st. "That there appeared no doubt of the fact, that the attack on the foreign factories had been determined on for some time previously to its occurrence, and that the parties employed in it were regularly organized.

2nd. "That although an affray between some Lascars and Chinese, was the ostensible cause of its commencement at that particular time, the attack would have taken place sooner or later, had no such circumstance occurred.

3rd. "That the local authorities were unable or unwilling to afford sufficient protection, in time to prevent a considerable sacrifice of life and property, and the causes which occasioned such a result, are liable at any moment to recur.

4th. "That there is a spirit of hostility to the English, very general among certain orders in Canton, and that the common people are guided and influenced by parties who have means and ability of giving effect to their operations, in a more systematic manner than could be expected from an ordinary mob."

Sir H. Pottinger, on 16th December, 1842, replied at considerable length to these fair statements of the British merchants,—rated them in no measured terms for presuming to ask protection for their lives and property,—to a certain extent justified the Chinese mob, ordered the small steamer to be withdrawn from Canton, and thus announced his intentions for the future:

"I must, at once finally, most explicitly and candidly acquaint you, that no conceivable circumstances should induce me to place Her Majesty's government in so false and undignified a posture, as I should consider it to be placed in, were I to send troops and ships of war to Canton, in opposition to the request and wishes of the local government, in order that you might carry on your trade under the protection of such troops and ships of war."

Not content with this rebuke, Sir Henry Pottinger told the British merchants in China, that "they had not in any single iota or circumstance striven to aid him in his arrangements," that they had "thrown serious difficulties and obstacles, if not positive risk, in the way of his arrangements," &c.

The British merchants, in a letter of 23rd December, 1842, to Sir Henry Pottinger, respectfully deprecated the "severe public censure" thus cast on them, and declared that for the past sixteen months they had peaceably and unobtrusively carried on their trade at Canton, without any protection or control on the part of the British authorities. Had the protection then properly sought been granted, the outbreaks that have since occurred, would probably have been prevented: but I shall avail myself of the last chapter to discuss this point, and to endeavour to do justice to the

British merchants in China, whose character and conduct have been unfairly represented to the Home authorities.

From time to time there have been outbreaks since at Canton, indeed, life and property are now far less secure than they were before the war.

In July, 1844, our merchants there owed their protection to an American brig of war, the *St. Louis*, which went to their assistance from Whampoa. At this very period there were three regiments, six pennants, (including a seventy-four and two frigates) a general, an admiral, and a plenipotentiary at Hong Kong. But for any assistance they could render in time to Canton, they might as well have been at the Sandwich Islands. On 18th March, 1845, the colonial treasurer, vice consul, and chaplain, were attacked and plundered while peaceably walking outside the city walls of Canton. In July, 1845, the consular officers were pelted with mud and stones within a few hundred yards of the Canton consulate.

On 8th July, 1846, another disturbance commenced at Canton, the mob endeavoured to burn and destroy the British factories. Our countrymen being without any military or naval assistance, armed themselves, shot several of the assailants, and restored tranquillity. Still, a ship of war was refused to protect British lives and property. It is understood that Lord Palmerston has ordered a vessel of war to be stationed at Canton.

It would be humiliating to our national character, to place on record the correspondence which has passed relative to the defenceless and degrading position of the British residents at Canton. It has been studiously endeavoured to force the merchants to reside at Hong Kong; and to accomplish this, they have been left exposed to a furious mob, which the Chinese authorities acknowledge they are unable to control. The merchants, with proper spirit, have organized themselves into a military body, and ordered three hundred stand of arms and accoutrements from England. The Canton authorities seeing this determined spirit, and aware of their utter powerlessness, have, it is stated, applied to Governor Davis for a British ship of war to be stationed at Canton. Even this has been but partially complied with—for instead of sending one of our smart frigates, like the "*Iris,*" (26), a small half-armed steamer belonging to the East India Company, has been despatched to protect the lives and property of Englishmen. On a recent occasion, last year, Captain Steenbille, of the Danish frigate *Galathea,* opportunely sent his marines from Whampoa to Canton, for the protection of our countrymen.

These proceedings fully attest the imperfections of the treaty of Nanking, which has been so erroneously lauded, and they evince the worthlessness of Hong Kong, even for the last remaining plea in its favour, that it is a protection to the trade of Canton.

The Chinese repository for September, 1846, alludes to further assaults thus: "On the 25th ult. *a murderous attack* was made

on a small party of foreigners. They were in a hong-boat, returning from a short excursion on Honam, when, as they were passing through a creek, gangs of ruffians furiously assailed them with brickbats and stones. '*The foreign devils have killed our people, and we will kill you to revenge their death;*' these and many similar words they used; and, suiting the action to the language, they tried hard to effect their deadly purpose, heedless of remonstrances on the part of the boatmen and the foreigners. When the boat passed under the stone bridge (the Machung-kiau) they threw down a shower of heavy stones, quite enough to have sunk the boat and destroyed the whole party in it. But in their fury most of them missed their aim. The boat, however, when it had passed the bridge was almost a wreck, and only two of the seven boatmen were at their posts, all of them having been hit, and one received a deep gash in the forehead by a sharp tile. One stone, brought off, weighed eighty-five and one-third pounds.

"Two things should be noted particularly in judging of this attack: the party in the boat had not been into the village, and had given no offence; the assailants only knew that they were foreigners, and as such determined to kill them to revenge what had been done at another time and in another place.

"Most of the Chinese soldiers have been withdrawn from the vicinity of the factories; and all manner of hucksters are congregating, and filth and vermin accumulating in the adjacent streets —just as they were before the late riot!"

The general impression now is, that England will be again involved in war with the Government of China. The Tartars stimulate the mob, and cause the most violent placards to be posted on and around the English factories. By the last mail it is stated, that "the patriots posted another violent chop on the 16th, stating that they were determined to have the heads of twenty foreigners in satisfaction of the lives lost during the attack on the factories in July.

"A circular was immediately issued by the chairman of the protective committee, advising the community to be prepared to defend the factories, should their destruction be attempted, and a letter sent to Her Majesty's consul informing him of the posting of the placard, the translation of which, as follows, may be relied on as correct.

"By the latest accounts, all was quiet: the *Nemesis* had been ordered to resume her position opposite the factories, and the prospect of immediate assistance, in the event of another riot, must be very encouraging to the protective committee.

PLACARD. 1st. "The rules of proceeding, and established laws of our great Emperor, in every way exceed those of the preceding dynasty, in regarding the lives of the people as of paramount importance. Where local officers, in any case of loss of life, give decision even in a slight degree at variance with the truth, or not

corresponding with the testimony of the deceased's relations, the immediate degradation and dismissal of such officers, may be deemed a proof of the importance attached, and the attention paid to human life: as for the loss of the life of one Chinaman, those of two foreigners are required to make good the loss. The laws of His Majesty are most clear, and from the obedience rendered to them all, by all classes of people whatever, does it result that those above have been for a long time past, on good terms with those below. In the fifth moon of this year, however, there were upwards of twenty Chinese slain by foreigners, their bodies thrown into the water, and buried in the fishes' bellies; but our high officers have treated the matter, as though they heard it not; have regarded the *Fankwei* as though they were gods; have held the Chinese as the flesh of fish, and have despised the lives of men as the hair of the head: they persisted in making no representation to the throne, neither did they settle the matter as they ought. The myriad people lamented and were indignant: woe entered the marrow of their bones; in the public halls, although their hearts were set on imparting to each other their resentful feelings, yet had they no available counsel to follow. They have no resource left, but to appoint a day, when, amongst those present at the general consultation, certain may come forth, and concerning all these (slain men) demand of *Pwanáfáh* of the *Chungwo hong* (Minqua) among the foreign hongs, if he will point out the leaders and followers of the *Fánkwei* who were engaged in the fight, that they may be ready to light a fire that shall burn without restraint, or devise means to lay their hands upon them, that there be left not a single life of a Chinaman without its substitute. Thus to give rise to the excesses of the *Fúnkwei*, is indeed much to the loss of the respectability of the empire. Should *Pwanáfàh*, audaciously maintaining his design of aiming at profit, shelter or assist the *Fánkwei*, and refuse to give straightforward testimony, then will we take his flesh to eat, his skin to sleep upon, to make glad the hearts of men, ere we stop.

" [The respectful declaration of all the colleges, or public debating rooms in the city of Canton.]

" *(Posted on the north wall of the Factories on the night of the 15th September.)*

2nd. " Upon the land of Hong kong are the residences of those who go to and fro, trading up to Canton, and down to Macao. Now since the *Fánkwei* have settled thereon, those who dwell around, have suffered no slight hurt: their wives have endured their licentiousness, their honest men all obey their call (as servants.) The string of their iniquities is completed, the villagers gnash their teeth, the myriad people are intensely indignant. Alas! they petition their rulers, but they do them not justice; whence it comes that the protracted stream of evil influence, deepens the more, the longer it continues. There are withal cer-

tain native traitors, who in their covetous plotting and scheming after gain, have so slight a respect for propriety, principle, thrift and modesty, as to have established, on behalf of the *Fánkwei*, boats to carry passengers and freight between Hong Kong and the city: thus giving outlet to numerous offences, they are ever secretly carrying foreign letters. All our countrymen who travel back and forward know it well; calamity, growing freely, is as the hair of our head in number. Furthermore, if the *Fánkwei* hereafter pretend that the sailing and freighting of these boats is, by its long existence, law, should we wish to put an end thereto we shall not be able; if we deal with them (or serve them) it will be difficult afterwards to attack them: what is there like arresting the calamity, ere it shall have budded? we, of all the assembly halls, if in twenty days from the circulation of this paper, the said passage boats shall not have ceased to ply, should again dare to carry foreigners to and fro, fattening themselves to the prejudice of men's families, to the ruin of their houses, upon ascertaining the facts, will, with united hearts and with all our strength, destroy and exterminate these passage boatsmen; assuredly, shall they not leave injury everywhere behind them. May prosperity thus have a means of returning to us!"

For the past two years Her Majesty's government have been urged to provide against this state of things, and advised to open negotiations for another and better Treaty. It was stated that if the island of Chusan were evacuated, without Canton city being opened conformably to the treaty of Nankin, bloodshed, disturbance, and another war would ensue. Nevertheless, Chusan was evacuated, although the treaty of Nankin was not fulfilled in the spirit or in the letter, and Canton was not opened, although distinctly promised by the treaty.

The following proclamation, by Keying, the Chinese Plenipotentiary, acknowledges on paper the right of the British to a residence in the city of Canton; but the actual power is still denied, and a mere promise held forth that as soon as the Emperor can control his subjects, the English will receive admission into Canton. Yet, on the faith of this futile promise, Chusan was evacuated, although its return was in fact the only means of preserving peace with China:—

"Keying, High Imperial Commissioner and Governor-general of the two Kwang, &c., &c., &c., and Hwang, Lieutenant-governor of Kwantung, &c., &c., &c., hereby proclaim to the entire body of gentry and common people, the manifestation of the Imperial goodness.

"Whereas Canton is the general resort of merchants from every country beyond the seas, yet since the accession of the present Dynasty, for upwards of two centuries, foreigners have never entered the city; on which account the British Envoy, having year after year, repeatedly intimated the desire for admission to the city,

we, the Governor-general and Lieutenant-governor, have each time directed the local authorities to urge it upon the gentry and common people; but the popular feeling has proved averse to the measure, so as to cause its execution to be deferred.

"Now, the English Envoy having reverted to this subject of the former negotiations, we, the Governor-general and Lieutenant-governor, addressed our joint admonitions to the gentry, through them to be transmitted to the inhabitants. From the statement under the signature of the said gentry, it appeared that the inhabitants of the city and suburbs displayed equal unwillingness to foreigners entering the city. There were, moreover, inflammatory placards stuck up in all places.

"Whereupon we, the Governor-general and Lieutenant-governor, in our reply to the Envoy, minutely detailed the state of affairs. The British Envoy, in his dispatch to us, insisted that as at the Commercial Emporium of Foo-chow, and at all the others, free entrance is permitted into the cities, the same should be allowed at Canton, &c.

"Ye gentry and people must consider, that since amicable relations are established between the two countries, the Emperor extends his kind regards equally towards foreigners and natives. Moreover, at the other ports where trade is carried on, such as Foo-chow, Ningpo, and Shanghae, (with the single exception of Amoy, which has neither walled city or suburbs,) the English are admitted within the walls without having given rise to any disturbance. Only at Canton do there exist difficulties, and (the proposal) is objected to.

"We can but suppose that you, the gentry and people, are not conversant with the facts and difficulties of the case; and hence a great variety of public opinion has arisen. But it is likely that there be men fond of disturbance, who make this a pretext for exciting commotions. Wherefore, we now issue this proclamation to the gentry and people, within and without the city, for their information. You must each and all break down the barriers of separation, and set aside jealousies and animosities, no longer as hitherto offering vexatious opposition. For the due preservance of harmony, we, the Governor-general and Lieutenant-governor, in connection with the English envoy, will place affairs on a sure, good, and permanent footing. Let all reverently obey, and not oppose this special proclamation.

"Taoukwang, 25th year, 12th month, 16th day.

"(13th January, 1846)."

This proclamation acknowledges an inability to control the people, or an unwillingness to comply with the treaty. Our exclusion from Canton city, induces the people still to treat us as "outside barbarians,"—hence the present disturbances.

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THE FOREIGN MARITIME COMMERCE OF CHINA (EXCLUSIVE OF OPIUM AND TREASURE) WITH THE WESTERN NATIONS, FOR 1844 AND 1845.

The Consular Ports.	England and India.	United States of America.	France.	Holland.	Portugal.	Belgium.	Denmark.	Sweden.	Germany.	Total trade, including Miscellaneous Flags.	English tonnage dues.	English Import and Export Duties.	Tonnage Inwards. England.	Tonnage Inwards. America.
Canton.	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	Tons.	Tons.
1844 Imports	3,451,312	529,938	7,328	50,203	133,212	13,112	11,263	3,958	1,244	4,201,570	18,493	516,410	111,350	23,273
1844 Exports	3,883,828	1,448,671	8,045	123,968	1,629	1,959	..	33,299	26,624	5,528,022				
Total	7,335,140	1,978,609	15,373	174,171	134,831	15,071	11,263	37,257	27,868	9,729,592				
1845 Imports	2,321,692	536,910	1,808	16,826	178,763	" "	4,305	24,877	26,765	3,046,942	12,654	488,332	86,087	38,658
1845 Exports	4,492,370	1,728,975	20,152	137,698	47,579	" "	30,577	38,916	90,994	6,622,726				
Total	6,814,062	2,265,885	21,960	154,544	226,342	..	34,882	63,793	117,759	9,669,668				
Consular Ports:														
1844 Shanghae, Imports	501,335													
" Exports	487,528	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..	42,505		
Amoy, Imports	80,650													
" Exports	12,612													
Ningpo, Imports	Unknown.													
" Exports														
Fuh-choo, Imports	None.													
" Exports														
1845 Shanghae, Imports	1,082,207													
" Exports	1,259,091	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	431	6,669	6,655	
Amoy, Imports	147,494													
" Exports	15,478													
Ningpo, Imports	10,398													
" Exports	17,495													
Fuh-choo, Imports	4,537	11,513	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,029	520
" Exports	683	776												
Total for 1844	8,417,265	1,978,609	15,373	174,171	134,831	15,071	11,263	37,257	27,868	9,729,592	18,493	516,410	111,350	23,273
Total for 1845	9,351,445	2,278,174	21,960	154,544	226,342	..	34,882	63,793	117,759	9,669,668	13,087	537,506	86,087	38,658

The total shipping inwards of the port of Canton was in 1844, vessels 306; tonnage 142,000.

The French imports were entirely from Manilla, and the greater part of the exports to the same place. Dutch trade chiefly with Batavia and the eastern archipelago. The Belgian, with Singapore and Antwerp. The Swedish with Bombay and New York. Danish with Singapore and Copenhagen. German with Singapore and Hamburgh. The trade returns of the Consular Ports of Amoy, Fuh-choo, and Ningpo are very imperfect. For instance, the British imports of Amoy for 1845 are put down at £147,494—the greater part of which was in piece goods, re-shipped or never landed for want of a market. Thus the ship "*F. Corsell*" arrived with a general cargo of £28,877—and departed with it again for Manilla, and yet this sum is included in the import trade of Amoy. So also with other ports. The object has been to give if possible an apparent importance to places where there was little or no trade. The imports of the United States from China for the year ending 30th June, 1846, were 1,178,188 dollars, at 4s. 4d. per dollar, which makes £255,273; and the exports 6,595,881 dollars=£1,428,874.

CHAPTER II.

INTERNAL TRADE, COASTING TRAFFIC, AND MARITIME COMMERCE OF CHINA WITH THE ENGLISH, AMERICANS, AND OTHER WESTERN NATIONS.

It is difficult to convey in a succinct form, and without the aid of tabular statements, a clear view of the commerce of China, internal and maritime. Our knowledge of the former is very limited, and excepting Shanghai, almost the whole trade with Europe, America, and the East Indies, centres still in Canton, at the extremity and in one of the most barren provinces of the empire. In order to lay a foundation for further observations and future comparisons, an endeavour will be made to explain the existing commerce of China, beginning with the

Inland Trade—China possesses a greater variety of productions, than any country in the world. Whilst at its southern extremity the cocoa-nut still flourishes, its borders on the river Amoor furnish the fur-animals in equal proportion to any obtained in Siberia. The marshy soil and plains of the extensive delta between the Yellow River and Yangtzekang possess all the advantages of the Netherlands and Egypt, whilst Kweichoo, Kokoner, and part of Yunnan vie with Switzerland in towering mountains, and in mineral treasures with the Cordilleras. There is a transition from the most barren soil, worse than the Desert of Saharah, to the most fertile spots in all Asia, and as an allwise Providence allotted to each peculiar riches, the most opposite ones are met in China together. An idea that domestic animals ought never to encroach upon the food of man, has rendered the bullock scarce, and the sheep scanty; and confined the riches of the husbandman to a pig, which lives on refuse, and to a lean goat, browsing on a barren mountain. The jealousy of the government has chased the horse from the plough and waggon, because its subjects might employ the animal in war, and man is compelled to do the labour of the beast. Were it not on that account, China would have rich meadows, large droves of cattle, and wool, as well as hides, for exportation. An all-absorbing desire to possess always grain, and especially rice, in abundance, has made the Chinese husbandman bestow all his care upon this one subject, to the neglect of kitchen vegetables and fruit trees. A perhaps well-founded fear of the mandarins, that if the mines of the country were generally opened, the attention of the people would

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be withdrawn from more useful pursuits, has rendered them very strict, in merely permitting the working of a very few, and those only to a certain amount. Were it otherwise, the south-western provinces would export gold, silver and copper, as they did formerly tutenague. But there are the labourers, of an enterprizing, greedy and patient nation, who only require an impulse to fulfil its great destiny in procuring the greatest diversity of productions that can possibly be collected in any single empire.

From the most ancient times, the great use of water communication was discovered; and the nation has for more than two thousand years been endeavouring to make canals, wherever natural obstacles did not prove insurmountable. Thence arose the inland communication between the Yangtzse and Canton, and the extensive hydraulic works which connect the capital with every province. Though the primary object by digging them, was to furnish irrigation for the fields, still there is throughout the whole breadth of the land, not a single important point to which canals do not diverge; there is not a city, except in the high mountains, without being intersected by them; and there is moreover not the smallest one, on which boats do not ply, whilst some on the great channels of intercourse are covered with vessels of every description. The avenues of the inland trade are therefore open and practicable in every direction. But careful as the Chinese are in this respect, they are equally indifferent about roads, which are almost unknown. Hence the rude state of the mountainous parts, and uncivilized condition of north-western China, where few canals exist.

If we examine the character of the nation at large, their gain-seeking propensities are prominent, and in the steady pursuit of lucre, no matter what the means are, they challenge a compeer.

Pedling, trafficking, and trading are therefore instinctive with them, and a child which has scarcely learnt to speak, will lay out a few cash to buy sugar-cane or cakes, and retail them by the roadside; a penny thus gained, is more esteemed than a pound obtained without cheating or bargaining. The first thing an infant learns is "to lisp in numbers;" the first enterprize of the urchin is to cypher; and it is a rarity to find a man not versed in this science, for the very coolie and clown keep their accounts. China exhibits one grand mart of traders, everything is purchasable, everybody vendable; the Emperor trades, his ministers' traffic in everything, and where such examples are given we must expect to find myriads of imitators. We ought therefore not to wonder at the ingenuity which converts all substances into articles of commerce, nor at the fertility of genius to discover the best market; where such a spirit prevails, we may easily suppose, that the inland trade will be flourishing.

Notwithstanding, however, this practical commercial tendency of the nation, the government has adopted a different theory.

Considering agriculture the only source of permanent riches, and trade often hostile to the pursuit of such a laborious profession, various laws have been issued to check its growth. The merchant, by being constantly on the move, contracts ideas which are not very much in accordance with the orthodox policy of the ruling authorities, and hence the adoption of what is termed a salutary restraint. Thus there are laws and by-laws without end, hindrances, prohibitions, regulations, filling pondrous volumes, to abridge the liberty of the subject in disposing of his goods and chattels to the best advantage, and to try the cunning of the subject, how to circumvent and to evade. The supreme government pretends to look upon all trade with utter contempt, and hence has never burdened it with heavy duties, leaving its minions to oppress it by exactions, fees and grinding, so as to render smuggling inevitable, and a custom officer's situation the most lucrative office in the gift of the crown, and the proper position of a *Mantchoo Tartar*.

When taking, however, the whole of the despotic nature of the government into consideration, the restrictions upon the inland trade have not been so severe, as from its grasping character might have been expected. One sound principle of the autocratism of China is never to oppose public opinion if too powerful, but to reserve for itself the privilege of making prohibitions; not to punish the many of transgressors, for that would endanger its very existence, but to choose a few individuals and make them the scapegoats for the whole. Thus have the Natives overcome the repugnance of their rulers, and their endless annoyance in confining traffic in a narrow sphere, by their numbers and determination, accompanied by a willingness to offer up occasionally a holocaust to appease the wrath of the Mandarins.

Every country, as thickly populated as China, has an immense pressure upon its resources, but the very circumstance of over population calls forth a spirit of invention in those who are pressed for a bare subsistence to prolong life, and has most powerfully operated upon commerce, not only in discovering the articles of trade, but also in lowering the profits by incessant vigorous competition. The princes of China were early taught to issue the least valuable metal coin in existence, to make it divisable in endless fractions, because the individual share amongst the majority of the nation in the riches of the country, was so very trifling, as to render a silver piece for the very few only available. This being the medium of small transactions, the shareholders in every speculation are necessarily numerous, and where a capital of one hundred dollars is required, there are perhaps ten partners. Even where a capitalist stands at the head, and furnishes all the cash, his people prefer having a small share, however trifling soever, in the concern, to receiving a settled sum of monthly or annual wages; for the gains by traffic, how great the difficulties soever,

are more precious to a Chinaman, than money obtained directly without barter and bargaining.

Amongst the myriads of petty traffickers and pedlars, there is however a considerable spirit of combination, so that even small traders have their meetings, where resolutions are passed, and measures conjointly adopted, for successfully carrying their designs into effect, and insuring a flourishing commerce. Of the extent and capital of such unions there are numberless gradations, from petty hucksters to large established companies, who however with the exception of the salt merchants, are not as such privileged, or under a charter of government. The Mandarins have wisely refused to interfere forcibly with the proceedings and enterprize or combinations by which money is realized, and merely content themselves either with sharing in or swallowing up the profits.

A few general remarks on these associations may be useful.

1st. Shopkeepers who trade in similar goods form themselves into bodies, not so much for mutual assistance, but for selling their articles at a certain rate, or for stopping trading altogether, if either the public or the Mandarins will not accede to their propositions. In enforcing these obligations upon all the members, they are very strict, and whosoever clandestinely evades their rules, is sure to be persecuted with inveterate vengeance.

2nd. People that trade to certain parts of the empire form themselves into sureties for mutual protection, assistance and administration, and thus ensure a better treatment of their persons, and security to their trade. The most celebrated associations of this description are the Shanse merchants, who with their caravans traverse the whole breadth of the empire, and journey in far greater numbers than even Mohomedan pilgrims, over Arabia, the deserts now tributary to China, as well as Mongolia, Mantchouria, Turkestan, and Tibet, until they arrive at the confines of Bokhara and Siberia. They are men of large capital, and their investments are considerable. In this spirit of enterprize, cheerful endurance of fatigues for the sake of gain, perseverance and patience, they are perhaps unsurpassed.

3rd. In each large empire, where a number of merchants from a certain province or large city trade, there are large, commodious, and neat houses erected by the countrymen, known under the name of Hwuykwan, to which generally a temple or some garden is attached; and here the merchants assemble at stated times, hold deliberations, propose and reject measures, and act in many respects as a company. These are very respectable institutions, command considerable capital, and act frequently with much unanimity and success.

4th. *Monopolists.*—The Chinese government having prohibited the unlimited use of some articles, such as saltpetre, sulphur, iron, and horses, looks to trustworthy men, that they shall deal in them

only in such quantities as will render them harmless, and sell to government at a prescribed rate, generally under the actual value. According to law, none can buy from them, except he bring a certificate from the authorities; and this must be retained by the merchant to account for the quantity of his imports and sales. We may call them "licensed monopolists," who form themselves into companies to carry on their business with greater effect, and levy the largest possible tax upon the public. Still, we cannot view them in the same light as our commercial privileged companies.

The self-constituted monopolists are a race of merchants, that combine with each other for better or worse, and defy laws, regulations, and prohibitions with great tenacity and perseverance. The most formidable among them are the corn monopolists, men of iron nerve, unmoved by sufferings, who, with infinite tact, raise and lower the price of rice in concert, or withdraw it for some time altogether from the market. They are rather numerous, and have more than once defied government; for their large profits permit them to bribe the underlings richly. There is no other bond amongst the members but self-interest, this is strong enough to hold the associations together. As an instance of this description, the cotton monopoly at Canton may be mentioned: a number of Fokeen merchants had there agreed to export exclusively the foreign article to their homes and to Formosa, under certain conditions, agreed upon amongst themselves. This prerogative they maintained in spite of competition and capital, and most successfully defeated, during many years, all the plans for interfering in their business.

The only company of privileged merchants are the salt monopolists, who may be found throughout the vast empire. The bargain between them and the government is, that they should buy the salt at a certain price from the manufacturer, and sell it, likewise, at a fixed rate to the consumer, and for this privilege they pay a sum of money into the hands of an inspector. The money thus furnished by these traders amounts to more than *seven million taels* per annum. This, however, is merely a direct tax; to the mandarins, and even the Emperor, it remains to make, from time to time, application, either in their own personal behalf, or for public exigencies: in this respect, they are not much better off than the Hong merchants of yore. But they have, also, the means of revenging themselves upon the common people, by raising their prices, the government faithfully assisting them in driving intruders from the market, and seizing smugglers. The latter, however, especially on the sea-coast, where immense quantities of salt are manufactured, are too strong to be suppressed, and carry on lucrative illicit trade in the commodity. There are not many instances of these companies becoming bankrupt, and individuals who have a share in the salt concern are, from that circumstance,

considered rich. Several mandarins are appointed to examine their ledgers, to assist in the transportation, and to take effectual measures to prevent any want of this necessary article.

It may be proper to mention pawnbrokers, for though these are not strictly merchants, they are, nevertheless, monopolists, and form companies, not merely confining themselves to take articles in pawn, but speculating to a considerable amount in everything which promises profit. So great is their influence upon the people at large, that when they stop their business, there is a stagnation of all trade (see description of pawnshops at page 96). The government fully recognises their establishments and companies, exacts for this a trifling direct tax, but looks upon them as a never-failing source of supplies whenever any wants are felt. There exists, generally, the best understanding between them and the authorities, who find it a decided advantage to assist them, and thus render the poorer classes obedient to their rule. Rich officers often become partners, though nominal only, and even public money on high interest is entrusted to their care. The populace, however, bear pawnbrokers a never-dying grudge; and after their having acquired considerable capital, the lower classes frequently, with one accord, plunder their whole property, without the civil powers being able to rescue them from the ruthless hands of the rabble. Yet, though they are the source of much woe and grinding oppression, they still deserve the credit of keeping the wheels of commerce revolving by seasonable supplies, by their semi-banking operations.

We may now proceed to an examination of the particulars of the inland trade. This may conveniently be divided into northern, central, and southern.

1st. *The Northern.* We are accustomed in Europe, to find amongst the nations of a colder clime more manufactural industry than in the south; there are more wants, and, therefore, a great many ready devices to supply them. Such, however, is not the case in China. Little mechanical skill exists there to work up the raw produce of the land, and to heighten the natural riches of the country, by adapting the same to general use: up to the present moment, the majority of the peasantry still wear sheeps' skins, dress themselves in cottons imported from the other provinces, and scarcely even manufacture from hemp or wool the coarsest stuffs for their own consumption. The same awkwardness is also perceived in their workmanship of metal, which is of the rudest description. Their dwellings are comparatively miserable, for they do not well understand to bake and burn the clay, and are content to live in filth and misery. Peking is the largest capital in Asia, it contains, in its walls, the wealth of Eastern and Central Asia. From the wide Chinese Empire, with all its tributary states, the most opulent princes, officers, merchants, and intriguants, make the court alternately their home, and spend their

substance. One would, therefore, expect that the inhabitants would, by their ingenuity, administer to the various wants created by luxury, and excel all others in manufacturing skill. Instead of this, however, Peking imports almost every article, and though the Empress breeds silkworms, and weaves herself, to encourage this branch of industry, there are no others to imitate her example.

Second-rate cities in the southern provinces, exhibit a far greater variety of trades, and ingenuity of execution, than is evinced in the huge assemblage of buildings with which the imperial court is surrounded.

There is, in fact, little commerce at Peking beyond the immediate wants of the inhabitants.

De Lange, the Russian minister at the court of Peking, accounts for merchants and other traders not wishing to come to the capital from different and distant provinces. He states, that the great lords oppress the merchants (strangers) to such a degree, and take their goods from them upon any frivolous pretence; and for payment, there is not the least hope held out.

For this reason, all merchants of any standing in Peking, put themselves under the protection of some of the princes of the blood, or high ministers; and by this means, with the aid of a large sum of money paid annually, they are able to escape the extortions of the mandarins, and common Tartar soldiers. Without such protection, no merchant could stand the unjust calls made on him; where every one in office thinks he has a right and fair claim on people who live by trade. As to looking for redress, it is useless, as the goods are ordered to be brought to the tribunal of justice; and he is reckoned a clever fellow that will ever see them again.

One reason of the inconsiderable trade of the north, is the want of roads, since the nature of the soil admits of very few canals. Goods must, therefore, be transported on the backs of men, and although wages are very low, and there are plenty of men to engage in the work, still transportation becomes, in this manner, expensive.

The sundry disadvantages, however, under which the inland commerce labours, are greatly obviated by the industry, enterprize, and money-seeking disposition of the inhabitants of Shanse province. To say that they are the Jews of northern China, would be a very faint description of their restless desire after gain. They will convert every article which can be found, how unseemly soever, into merchandize, and laugh at dangers and fatigues, if they can realise some cash. The consequence is, that there are great capitalists amongst them, that banking establishments must have a Shanse partner, and that the caravans are almost exclusively composed of this race.

Chihle is the most sterile province of the empire, but the establishment of the court within its jurisdiction, is some compensa-

tion for its natural defects. It has, however, scarcely any exports, excepting a very inferior kind of date, and some kind of agate stone, and salt. The latter article, when obtained at the sea-side, is piled up along the Peiho river, opposite to Teéntsin, in large mounds, to the number of 400 or 500, containing no less than from 4,000 to 10,000 peculs, and then overlaid with earth until there is a demand for it. The vessels that carry it up into the country, amounting to no less than one thousand in number, ply without cessation. Teentsin supplying this necessary of life not only to its own province, but all the north-western parts of territory belonging to the empire, has in the manufacture and transportation of this article, a very flourishing trade. The salt merchants, natives of Shanse, who engage also largely in banking, are looked upon as the most wealthy individuals in the neighbourhood, and as the arbitrators of the whole trade. The moment they commence carrying away their saline stores, all is bustle, every branch of industry thrives, and the whole populace is employed; but as soon as they stop, scarcely any merchant dares to speculate. The trade varies very much, and humid weather, as well as encroachments of the sea upon the salt-beds, make great havoc upon this perishable commodity. The fixed sum paid to government is at present 430,000 taels, allowing this to be the twentieth part of the actual trade, the amount of capital employed in this branch would be 8,600,000 taels; a very considerable sum. There has latterly been a great increase, so that the revenue, as it stands above, has been almost doubled.

The inland trade of this province, is considerably increased by the rendezvous of about 6000 grain junks from all parts of the empire, carrying no less than 2,561,000 shih of rice. Although this enormous quantity is stored up in the granaries of the capital, and given to the officers, Mantchoos and Mongouls, still a great deal is sold, and causes no trifling speculation at Teéntsin, where the grain market, in August, is one of the largest in the whole world. But this is not the only source of traffic. To all the sailors and captains of these boats a certain quantity of stowage is allowed, on their own account, and their articles pass free of custom-house duties. Teentsin, therefore, resembles on their arrival in July and August a great fair, presenting every imaginable article for sale, and judging from the number of speculators, there is a great trade, though divided amongst thousands of shareholders. It is impossible to speak of the actual amount; but it is not overrating the amount of capital employed in it, if making it equivalent to the quantity of grain carried by the junks.

Chihle has another article of exportation, in coals, of rather an inferior description, obtained on the spot, and sent to the southern districts, where fuel is extremely scarce.

On the eastern frontier of this province at Shanhoekwan is the great thoroughfare for the cattle, which come from Mantchoo

Tartary. This traffic has however lately greatly decreased, and last year the whole of the duties realized was only 28,000 taels, about one-tenth of the former revenue. One thirtieth upon the prime cost is the average duty raised, and this would give a fair estimate of this branch of trade.

Shense.—The sterile mountainous nature of this province sharpens the intellect of the inhabitants, and drives them from their homes to seek somewhere else a subsistence. They are, however, notwithstanding these defects, as much attached to their country as the Swiss; and never fail to return as soon as they have amassed sufficiently to spend their future days with ease, or even to support for a year or more their relatives in affluence, after which they resume their toils in a distant station.

The principal articles of exportation are iron, porphyry, jasper and other stones; also musk, for the deer abounds in the mountain recesses and dells. The gin distilled in the province is very famous, and an article of considerable exportation. Shense exports some rudely made agricultural implements, swords and cutlery, felt, ready-made clothing, and a few simples. It also carries on a small trade in flour and other provisions.

Shantung by its internal navigation enjoys very great advantages, from the circumstance of the great canal traversing its whole breadth, and no less than five flourishing cities are situated on its banks. But it is merely a transit barter, greatly favoured by the Chinese government, because besides a single custom-house—Lintsing, the fixed annual receipts of which are 19,000 taels—it places no other obstacles in the way of this commerce, which from time immemorial has been in a flourishing condition. Shantung produces a great variety of drugs, known only in the Chinese pharmacopeia. It also provides the south with pears and cale, a delicious vegetable; the value of the export not being less than one million taels, as it is much sought after. The principal manufactures are felt,—the caps worn by the Chinese in winter coming invariably from this province; and this is a very important branch of trade, employing several millions of capital. The inhabitants weave also tolerable carpets, and moreover, manufacture a kind of silky hemp-cloth, much worn by the lower orders, as a general article of dress. The merchants, however, are not natives of the province; and the people therein do not make good sailors.

Shense has iron, copper, and gold mines, and carries on its trade in those articles, which are principally found in the south. To the north, there are several extensive fertile plains, where millet grows to great perfection, and forms a considerable article of exportation to Mongolia.

Kansuh has in its southern mountain-range gold and mercury for exportation, and also musk. Its tobacco is celebrated throughout China, and several millions worth of this commodity are annually exported. The principal trade is carried on with Turkestan,

though foreigners have usurped it. To prohibit the intercourse, government levies no duties, and everybody, as long as he remains within the confines of China, is at full liberty to pursue whatever branch of commerce he may choose, without any fear of being taxed.

The eastern provinces constituting this part of the empire, are richly watered, have extensive plains, produce grain in abundance, maintain a large and thriving population, and will at no distant time, exercise a paramount influence upon all Asia. Including in this division, Chekeang, Keangse, Keangsoo, Ganhwuy, Honan, Hoonan, and Hoopih, we have an arena of 414,261 square miles; cultivated fields paying to government taxes 3,640,313 king, 84 *mow*, and inhabitants equal in number to all Europe, namely 197,755,099; and these not enervated, but a hale strong people. Add to this, that the water communication by rivers and lakes is always open, so that all parts enjoy the most unfettered mutual communication with each other, the inland trade must therefore be of great magnitude. A more mature examination of the subject, however, is interesting. There is a great and healthy mass of human beings, athletic and industrious, without caste, religious prejudices, or political restraint upon its enormous and unwearied industry, and yet the withering influence of the Confucian automaton system, and a well arranged, thoroughly digested code for crushing all enterprize out of the beaten track, presents the majority of them, in a low state of indigence, and barely able to maintain life. The isolated efforts therefore of individuals, so capable to extract from the soil the largest possible quantity of nourishment, is lost for every other grand effort which requires combined strength, and some more elevated views of future advantage. A man, who would for instance propose to change into pasturage some of the rice fields between the Yellow river and the Yangtsze, which on account of their lowness are frequently inundated, so that the crop rots in the ground, would be decried as the worst enemy of the country, anxious to introduce starvation. It might even be reasonably expected, that the grazing of cattle would afford far greater profits than a precarious crop. If anybody in good earnest suggested, that the declivity of the hills of Ganhwuy, instead of being drawn up in terraces and sown with some vegtable, or a very indifferent crop of rice, should be covered with mulbery trees, to encourage the production of raw silk, both for home consumption as well as for exportation, he would be punished as a traitor, ready to take the bread out of the mouths of his fellow-citizens. Referring to a smaller spot better known to us viz. Chusan, if there some innovator should propose, that instead of rearing the miserable dwarf fir on the hills, the tea shrub might be generally substituted, and many hands now almost starving in cultivating small fields, turn their attention to preparing the leaf; the simple answer would be, that the people

must have fuel for cooking their rice, and that to curtail them this necessary of life, would be teaching them to commit suicide. The consequence of this all-pervading principle is, that the greater part of the trade is confined to the necessaries of life, and that free and active commercial speculations, very soon find their level, and exhaust themselves in paltry efforts. The nation has still to learn, that it is not exactly the cultivation of rice and sweet potatoes which ensures the best prospect of a maintenance, but rather such a crop, whatever be its name or nature, which yields the largest return.

The above may perhaps account for our magnificent ideas respecting the inexhaustible resources of commerce in a country like central China, not being realized. Take in Europe an equal arena, with a third of the population, with trifling advantages of water carriage, and still the inland trade will on a fair average amount to ten times the amount, which we find in the most flourishing provinces of China. We must not be led into error by the numerous boats and junks, many of which carry bulky and very valueless articles; one of our moderately laden ships, would be an equivalent for a hundred of the largest vessels.

Another very remarkable circumstance is, that some agricultural productions capable to be reared to a large extent, are just confined to a few spots. Two instances may suffice: raw silk, an article of so general consuption, is up to the present moment only produced at Hoo-choo-foo, in a very considerable quantity. Again, tea which grows in great perfection in numerous places of Chekeang, is nevertheless confined to a few mountains of Ganh-wuy. The best description of gunpowder tea, is produced on a miserably cragged mountain in Taichoo. The same remark also applies to manufactures. It is perhaps almost incredible, that there are two districts only where the silks with which all China is provided, are manufactured, and these are Soochoo and Hoochoo. Nanking furnishes satin, and nothing else; some district in Keangse the porcelain; and another the grass cloth: and whatever is made beyond these, is of the most wretched description, barely adequate to furnish a house-wife with the article for common wear. Canton makes in this instance an exception; but it was not the Chinaman, but the foreigner, that called forth so much ingenuity, and the imitative power of the populace, so as to emulate their countrymen. If this is once fairly displayed in other parts, the result may be the same, and perhaps on a larger scale, for there are unbounded stores of untouched treasures, which the minds of enterprizing foreigners will discover. If they be permitted to traverse the country without let or hindrance, a few years will suffice to prove the correctness of the above assertion.

The commerce of Chekeang, the northern part of which province is in the most civilized condition, has inland water com-

munication, and under the Sung dynasty was the capital, but the southern districts are mountainous, and possess no local advantages. The grand mart of the inland trade is Hangchoo, very much celebrated for its crape manufactures, which in vividness of colour, and beauty of texture, are not exceeded in any part of the world. It likewise furnishes large quantities of embroidery; the amount of both articles, with various other silks, exported annually, is estimated at 12,000,000 taels. The value of raw silk furnished is still more considerable. In Shaouking, moreover, is a kind of fermented liquor made; with which the empire is supplied, and the whole exportation is not under 6,000,000 taels per annum in value. Hams cured at Kimhwa, and in far greater quantities than even the Westphalian in Europe, are vended in the other provinces; it also exports much raw cotton. The imports are rice for Keangsoo, on the great canal, cotton manufactures, felt from Shantung—sugar—pulse, &c. The two custom houses of Piksinkwan, and Nansinkwan, pay annually 384,160 taels, a large sum considering the low duties, and other circumstances; which proves without doubt, that the transit must be very considerable.

Kangsoo is fertile, well watered, has throughout a very easy water communication, and is rich in produce. Suchan is the centre of the trade, and the largest manufacturing city in the empire, if not also the most populous; it exports more raw silk than any other place, and may be said to provide all Northern China with this article. It moreover furnishes a great many small fashionable articles for the use of females, and is in this respect the Paris of China. On a very moderate calculation, the manufactured goods of this metropolis and the environs are not under sixteen million taels per annum. The satin of Nanking is valued at three millions. In other parts of this province the famous cloth "nankeen" is fabricated, which though having lost his purchasers in the foreign market, still finds many consumers at home, for it is durable and wears well. The average amount of this article would be about five million taels worth per annum. Keangsoo supplies the southern provinces with grain in dry years, and receives a quantity of raw produce, such as pulse and flour, iron, copper, and tin, in return. The trade is always active, and employs a large capital, at all the cities along the grand canal, but Chinkeang and Yang-choo are the greatest traffic mart. This place is remarkable for carrying on a slave trade in beautiful women. The Chinese government permits parents to sell their children in time of need, and winks at this abuse of dealing in human flesh. Weichoo-foo has a very large trade, the citizens being famed for their cunning and versatile commercial genius, and their great art in employing capital to advantage.

The following custom-houses tariff, with the annual sums derived from them, show the extent of the transit trade:—

Henshoo, 191,149 taels; Yangchoo, 55,723 taels; Kwaigni, 7,661 taels; Hwaegan, 201,960 taels; The Woohoo, 190,042 taels; Fungyang, 79,820 taels.

Ganhwuy has one great staple article with which it supplies China and the foreign market, viz.—green teas, to the extent of six or eight million taels worth annually. It produces, moreover, the best varnish, an article of general consumption throughout Central China. Ink is very much in request, and no where is the article made to equal it in quality. The exportation is not under under two millions taels annually. The province imports a great variety of wrought and raw goods. There is no transit custom-house. The principal trading town is the metropolis of the province, Gan-king-foo on the Yangtzekang. The internal canal communication is by no means first-rate, and most of the commerce of this province is carried on in the waters of that river.

Keangsi has a very bustling and gain-seeking population. The country though mountainous, especially in the south, has nevertheless very good water communication by means of the Kan river, which flows through its whole length, and also participates in the advantages of the mighty Yangtsze stream. Keangsi has rich mines of gold, iron, tin and lead, the greater part of which are clandestinely worked, as the government do not appoint officers to superintend them, but to curb the propensity of the inhabitants in extracting hidden treasures. Keangsi abounds in excellent hemp, its grass cloth is the finest, in great demand, and not at all equalled by the Canton imitation stuffs. There is much trade in drugs, a very multifarious article, since the Chinese pharmacopeia admits of the utmost variety, and no nation is so fond as the Chinese to avail itself of every herb for medical purposes. Of all the branches of commerce, this is one of the most flourishing, and the mountains which produce them are more valuable than if they contained a gold mine. The Keangsinese have successfully transplanted the Fokeen black tea, and recently exported about one or one and a-half million of taels worth for the foreign market. But the grand staple article is the porcelain, made at Kinkinching, which provides all China with this article, as it is the only place where it is made in such perfection; hence the immense exportation of eight million taels worth, to all parts. The largest emporium is at Nanchang-foo, and next to it Kew-keang-foo, both of which have a large transit trade. At Kootang the duties are 173,880 taels; and at Kanchow 46,471. It is at these stations where most of the goods destined for the south, for the north, and *vice versâ* pass, but the duties are very moderate.

Hunan and Hoopih are very rich provinces in themselves, and carry on a great trade in raw produce. There is a large commerce in coals, with which the junks belonging to these provinces provide all the country along the great canal. Several minerals, such

as iron, lead, and copper, abound. Both provinces export grain in considerable quantity, and also tobacco. The only manufacture for foreign consumption is paper, which is sold in other provinces to great advantage. Though many junks are employed in the carrying trade, the value of this export though bulky is small, and of the imports in comparison considerable. Both countries furnish horses and asses for exportation. Woochang-foo is a considerable trading town, at the confluence of the Honkeang and Yangtsze, and the inhabitants own a great many river craft. Yuk-choo-foo is celebrated for its exportation of grain. The mountains furnish a variety of drugs. All along the banks of the Yangtsze, which forms the boundary between the two provinces, may be observed a continuation of junks, of rather grotesque build, resembling very much the Roman galleys, beautifully varnished; some instead of being coppered have a layer of small pieces of Chinaware, like mosaic work on their bottom.

Hunan is by excellence an agricultural country, furnishing grain in abundance, whenever the Yellow River, as frequently happens, does not destroy its dykes. This is the grand staple article of export to the north-western provinces, and to Mongolia viâ the Yellow River, its principal high road of commerce. It exports rhubarb and musk; but not one manufactured article. There is no custom-house to levy transit duties, so that it is impossible to arrive even at an approximation of the existing internal commerce. The fruits, such as almonds and walnuts, find a market in other provinces.

INTERNAL TRADE OF THE WESTERN AND SOUTHERN PROVINCES OF CHINA.—Under the former is comprized Szechuen and Kweichoo, the latter the Switzerland of China, both containing some uncultivated ground, and grand mountain scenery. The population however compared with other parts of China, is scanty; Szechuen having on 166,800 square miles, about 21,435,000 inhabitants; and Kweichoo, 64,554 square miles, 5,288,219. There are still the unsubdued tribes, which maintain their own rule, undisturbed in the mountain fastnesses, and though thorns in the side of the Chinese government, they still set all the power of the Celestial Empire at defiance. The northern parts of Szechuen are well watered by the various tributary streams of the Yangtsze, and therefore allow the husbandman not only to cultivate for his own use, but also for exportation to Kokonor. But the rivers are mostly very rapid, and though light boats can descend, it is almost impossible to ascend, so that after having arrived at the place of their destination the boats are broken up. The navigation, therefore, on the Yangtsze is by no means so flourishing as further down, where the inhabitants possess greater skill in managing their river craft, and are also more enterprizing, whilst the Szechuenzenese rarely for any length of time leave their country. They have no manufactures, and what

they sell to their neighbouring wild tribes comes from the western provinces. The south abounds in medical herbs, and amongst other things in rhubarb, the best in all China. This is the principal branch of inland trade, which the country possesses, and on the most moderate calculation it exports no less than three million taels worth to other parts of China. The musk deer is likewise found in the southern mountain ridge, and is sold in considerable quantities. The gold of its mines finds even its way to Canton, and the northern provinces of India. Brass is also made, but the copper and zinc mines are clandestinely worked, though the exportation of the former article is so large, as to provide the greater part of China with the metal; hence we may draw a conclusion as to the amount. Every other manufacture for the use of the people at large is imported.

Kweichoo very much resembles the southern part of Szechuen, both in production above the ground, as well as metallic riches. It has silver to pay for the want of grain, which cannot be produced in sufficient quantity. Its mines supply at the present moment nearly all the mercury used in the manufacture of vermillion, and become richer, the more they are dug. It has also iron in abundance. There are few streams and canals for the transportation of goods, and the irrigation of fields, and the natives are still on a very low scale of civilization; so that every thing they consume in the shape of manufactures, must come from abroad. Its iron and gold mines possess very great celebrity, but it is impossible to form an estimate of the annual produce. There is very little internal trade, because the roads during the greater part of the year are almost impassable; and the inhabitants are too fond of their homes to undertake distant journeys.

Fokeen is mountainous, and in many parts a very barren province. It has very little inland communication, the busy scene of its enterprize being the wide ocean. It supplies the greater part of the best black tea consumed in China.

This has to be transported over the high hills, which form the boundary of Che-keang, and thence by a tedious and expensive land carriage to all China, and to the frontiers of Siberia. The camphor tree is in perfection. With sugar it supplies the far west and north, though mostly by way of sea, and the best sugar-candy is made within its territory; it has, likewise, iron in abundance, tobacco of the best kind, principally in demand in central China, but a great want of grain, so that its importation constitutes a principal branch of the trade; its indigo is likewise in demand, so also its alum. Of manufactures it has very few; the most considerable are grass-cloth, umbrellas, and coarse China ware. These make up, especially the latter, very bulky cargoes; but it has to import many necessaries of life, and most manufactures.

A French mathematician, Le Comte, who "ran over all China in five years, from city to city," in 1687, says "that the provinces

of Honan, Foo-keen, and Kwang-tung, are more barren than the other provinces, though their mountains are not wholly useless, as they bear all sorts of trees, suitable for ship-building. The inhabitants cut off the boughs, tie eighty or one hundred together, and make floats (rafts), of them, of nearly a mile long, and drag them along the rivers and canals, till they have sold them all. These timber merchants, build temporary houses upon these floats, in which themselves and family reside during the voyage, which lasts three or four months.

Kwang-tung has excellent inland communication by water, and possesses both manufactures, as well as raw produce for the home trade. The staple article is sugar, and latterly, also an inferior kind of green tea, which was transplanted with success from the northern provinces, and is principally manufactured for American consumption. Kwang-tung also produces cassia and betel nut, and has very productive iron mines. But the manufacturing industry, principally engendered and extended by foreign intercourse, has greatly multiplied the exports to the interior, so that no city in the empire has superior skill to the Cantonese. There are the Canton silks, cotton, and grass-cloth manufactures, cheaper, although not as durable as those of other provinces, and lacquered ware better than anywhere else; jewellery of the best description; stone cutting of various kinds, and in every shape, and a great variety of knick-knacks, such as mirrors, toilets for ladies, pictures, &c., for which Canton has no rival in China, and with which it provides the whole empire. The industry, however, is concentrated in the metropolis, and only a few cities, such as Fuh-chow, participate in the same skill of working up rude materials. When one takes the multitude of articles into consideration, which Canton sends forth to the other provinces, the amount cannot be far below the whole of the foreign trade. Whenever articles are met with handsome and neat, it will be found on enquiry that they were made at Canton. Canton provides nearly the whole empire with glass-ware. The whole duty on exports and imports, however, was only 96,000 taels, which shows at once that the duties must be very moderate. Canton does not trade to one part of the empire, but is a general mart for all the provinces, and there is not a city of any commercial importance, which has not its merchants established at Canton, and sends some of its productions to the place. However, the exports exceed by far the imports, the latter being scarcely two-thirds in value, when compared with the former. Canton has everywhere its agents, and its corresponding houses, much capital is lodged there for the sake of a profitable return, and a disturbance in the trade of this emporium is felt to the very borders of Siberia and Tibet.

Kwang-si is just the opposite to the former. A great part of the country is still in a state of nature, or inhabited by aborigines. There are splendid forests, which supply the Canton market with

timber; the cassia obtained here is the best in all China, and the exportation not under three to four million taels worth per annum. It is also rich in grain, which mostly finds its way to the neighbouring populous metropolis. The navigation on the Chookeang, which disembogues itself at Canton, is free, and has no custom-houses, so that the most bulky articles may be carried with very little cost westward. Kwangsi, however, is almost wholly restricted in its commerce to Kwang-tung, having only very trifling dealings with Yunnan.

This province is rich in metallic stores, produces and exports some of the articles which are found in India, but not in great quantity, and has also precious stones. With other districts little commerce exists, and the Yuanese buy most of their manufactures for gold and silver bullion, at the Canton market.

The trade carried on by land between China and the regions around must be very great, but it is only possible to give some scattered details. The commerce with Russia will be described when treating of Kiachta, where it is conducted on the frontiers of the two empires. With the nature and extent of the trade with Corea, we are unacquainted, so also with that of Mongolia and Mantchooria.

Fung-hwang, on the confines of Mantchooria, is said to be the only place where the Koreans are permitted to trade. There are two fairs held annually, with such restrictions on both sides as exist at Nagasaki (Japan). But on these and other places, connected with the trade of millions of people, we are in a state of lamentable and injurious ignorance.

A considerable trade is carried on between Chinese Tartary and Kumaon; the goods exported from Almora, over the Himalayas, into the Chinese territories, between October, 1840, and May, 1844, amounted in rupees, to 79,375. The largest item is 17,000 for broad cloth; and for coarse cloth 14,000 rupees; mole-skin, 4,000; grain, 24,000; and tobacco, 3,000; the remaining items consist of various drugs, spices, &c.

The imports from Chinese Tartary during the above period, amounted in rupees to 155,700. The principal articles were, tincal or borax, 85,000 rupees; salt, 20,000; woollens, 3,000; kuldar rupees, 15,000.

The imports are purchased by the Almora merchants, from the Booteans, who reside on this side of the Snowy Range, they are the carriers between the two countries, and have a monopoly of the trade, which is a great obstacle to its extension. It is said the Almora merchants proposed to enter into a bond to pay our government 40,000 rupees annually, if they would abolish the Bootia monopoly, which is a self arrogated one, strictly maintained.

The Bootians profess to be subjects of China, although they principally reside in the British territories, and allege that they have

the sanction of that government for continuing the monopoly, which is not improbable.

The goods sold to the Bootians, are rarely paid for in cash, and bonds are taken, made payable in cash and goods, at the season of return traffic. The Kuldar rupees are the only cash return in India coinage.

It would be desirable to make further examination relative to this trade, and to ascertain the means for its extension. If we can establish a regular commercial intercourse with China, through the north-west provinces of our Indian empire, it would be a great benefit to both countries.

TIBET AND CHINA.—The chief trade of Tibet, is with China. The caravan, which reaches Lassa in October, sets out for China in June, and employs eight months on its route to Peking. About 500 men travel together. The principal imports to Lassa, are coarse silk, piece goods, canvass, European broad cloth, silver bullion, pearls, coral, chinaware, and a large quantity of tea. The exports are coarse woollens, gold bullion, Hindostan cotton manufactures, shells, rhinoceros horns, and peacock feathers. The Tibetans carry on a trade with Assam, in silver bullion, and rock salt, silks, rice, and cotton goods. Nepaul serves as an entrepôt; there are upwards of 3,000 Nepaulese residing at Lassa, where they act as gold and silver smiths, and retail dealers in coarse woollen cloth. More than 130 Cashmerians reside at Lassa, who import shawls and woollen cloth, and export bullion and teas in great quantities. In Bootan, the Deb Rajah, sends annually a caravan with Bengal produce to Tibet. The importation into Bengal consists of gold bullion in exchange for cotton manufactures. Their coin resembles the sicca rupee.

It is said that the Tibetans are adverse to dealing with Europeans; such is not the fact, for during Major Turner's embassy, they applied for leave to build a Tibetan monastery in Calcutta, and would have done so but for the Chinese at Lassa, who put a stop to their intercourse with us. They have many articles of great commercial value, and are rich in various productions; many more would probably be found if an intercourse were well established, and supply created by demand and by the temptation of new comforts and luxuries. Under these circumstances, it were well if we could establish a consul there, for trade with Tibet would be very likely to extend into the northern provinces of China. As it is a cold climate, woollen cloths are an almost indispensible necessary; if the trade could be established, the independant tribes of the Great Khano country, a bold, hardy, and highly industrious race of customers and merchants, and who care nothing for China, would soon drive the trade into the province of Szehuen.

Among the productions are gold, which is found in the rivers;

silver, copper, iron, and lead; the lapis lazuli, and the finest borax; white and red salt. Wheat, barley, peas, and various vegetables are abundant. The district of Lassa produces sheep, hogs, horses, mules, asses, buffaloes, wild sheep, and fowls in great quantities. Much rice is cultivated in the environs of Lassa. The Tibetans manufacture silks, cloth, and camlet, which find a ready market in India. Any thing made in the country is esteemed simply because it is the residence of the Dalai Lama, and consequently the stronghold of the religion of Budha.

A large traffic is conducted with the Mohamedan countries west of China. The country westward of Tibet is Ladakh; the rajah of which, a Mohammedan, has been placed under the control of the Chinese resident at Lassa, in order to restrain the incursions of his subjects in Tibet. This country borders also upon the Sikh states. Iskardo or Beldestan, is said to be eight marches north-east from the city of Cashmere. A high road leads from Iskardo to Yarkand, in Chinese Turkestan, over which merchants travel in caravans. Bokhara and Kokan may be said to include all Turkestan (not Chinese). The rulers of these countries, and the chief portion of their subjects, are Usbecks and Mohammedans of the Sunite sect. The connexion of Bokhara with China is friendly.

The bazars of Bokhara are supplied with European merchandize by the caravans from Russia, and with some British fabrics by the native merchants from India. A considerable trade is carried on from Bokhara to Cashgar and Yarkand, where European goods find their way in exchange for teas.

The natives of Budakshan are on the best terms with the Chinese. The duty charged by China is one in thirty on all traders, except the Cashmerians, who pay one in forty, as their commerce is extensive.

A caravan from Yarkand to Peking will occupy better than four months in the journey. This is occasioned by the Chinese government compelling them to travel one road, which is a great round: on the way there is a most difficult pass which is guarded: but no obstruction whatever is given to the Natives going to Peking, or remaining there. The military posts throughout the journey are very numerous, and the centinels are composed of Usbecks and Chinese. The trade in raw silk and cattle, is extensive: the goods taken from Peking are chiefly tea, and various manufactures.

From Yarkand, Ladak (i.e. Little Tibet) may be reached in about sixteen days. Thence to Cashmeer, a caravan will take twenty-five days; a quick rate of travelling in fourteen days.

Yarkand to Oksu is about twenty days journey, the country being very woody.

There is a considerable traffic with Ava: Grosier, the Jesuit missionary, in his description of China, early in the seventeenth century, states that at Pou-eul, a village in the province of Yunnan, which is on the frontiers of Assam, Ava, and Laos, people col-

lect from the adjacent country; but that the entrance is forbidden to foreigners, who are only permitted to approach as far as the bottom of the mountains, where an exchange of commodities takes place; the chief article from China is cha (tea), which is rolled up like tobacco. According to Arrians Periplus, this trade was carried on much after the same form sixteen hundred years ago; the people are described as men of short stature, with large foreheads and flat noses, called Sefatae or Bafadae. These come every year to the frontiers, not being permitted to enter the country. They make baskets of leaves, which they sew together with the fibres of bamboo, and fill them with the leaves of a certain plant (tea), rolled up into balls, which are of three sorts, depending on the size and quality of the leaves; and denominated balls of the larger, middle, and smaller size; these are carried all over the country.

The Singphos of Assam are separated from the Singphos of Burmah by the Palkoi Chain of mountains. The Chinese carry on a considerable trade with these Singphos, and through the medium of their country with Assam.

The Chinese province of Yunnan is separated from a navigable channel of the Irrawadi only by a mountain chain. The merchants, by a short journey across the mountains, arrive at a place called Catmow, on the banks of that river.

Boats are here procurable for conveying goods; and dropping down the Irrawadi, due south, in three or four days, anchor at the mouth of a river called Nan-yang. They ascend this river in a north-west direction, and in five or six days they reach Mingkung, the chief depôt of the Chinese trade. This town is about twenty days' journey from Assam.

The following remarks on the principal articles of trade, may be recorded as useful for reference:

EXPORTS.—*Alum* is exported in large quantities to India, price about one and a half dollar per pecul; the market is well supplied, but it is often found adulterated. The consumption in China is considerable for the purification of water, and sizing bamboo-paper for foreign printing. The Parsees are the principal exporters.

Aniseed stars are sent chiefly to India; the price about eight and a half dollars a pecul. Oil of aniseed goes to Europe and the United States; the average export is about 200 peculs, at 110 dollars per pecul.

Arsenic, obtained by sublimation from the native sulphurit of arsenic or hartall, is sent almost all to India, where it is extensively used as a medicine.

Bamboo and bamboo ware. There is scarcely a domestic article in which the bamboo is not a whole or component part, from the cradle to the coffin. The export is large, but no account is kept.

Clothes sent to South America, made of nankeen and grass-cloth; no returns of the amount.

Cassia is exported to all parts of the world from China; it is set

down at 36,000 peculs, price about nine dollars per pecul; it was formerly all smuggled. The Ceylon and Malabar cassia is reported to be much inferior to the Chinese. The wood, bark, leaves, and oil, of the cassia tree, are in request: the cassia oil is rated at 150 dollars a pecul; the trade in the article is about 250,000 dollars annually.

China-ware when first introduced to Europe, brought an enormous price; comparatively little is now exported, and that of an inferior sort; a table set of 276 pieces, sells from twelve to seventy taels; breakfast set, twenty pieces, three taels; tea set, 100 pieces, thirteen taels. The amount of export 50,000 dollars.

Cubebs are chiefly shipped to India, and are valued at eighteen dollars a pecul; 18,500 pounds, were sent to England in 1830; but the Dutch carry on a large trade, as the best are obtained in Java.

Furniture. Mostly shipped to private orders; cabinet work is good, but the veneering is poor, owing probably to inferior glue.

Curiosities. These include the various fancy articles made in China, viz: screens, cups, fans, vases, lacquer-ware, ivory, and curiosities of every device and shape. Fans are an article of large export to South America; in 1836—37,170,000 fans were shipped to America at one and a half dollar per thousand.

Gamboge, is found in China and Siam, and used as a pigment and medicine. It is largely exported from China and Singapore; price ranges about fifty dollars per pecul.

Glass beads. Twenty years ago, the Chinese were large importers of glass, but they now export it. In 1836 there were 1,345 boxes shipped, at eighteen dollars per box.

Glue.—The Chinese glue is inferior to the British; cow-hide glue is exported to India, and fish glue made from the noses and sounds of fish is used in cooking as a jelly.

Grass-cloth.—This beautiful fabric, the linen of China, is made from the fibres of the sida, and is universally used by the Chinese, and dyed of various colours; the exports are chiefly to South America and India.

Hartall or Orpiment.—Chiefly exported to India for the Mohammedans. Six hundred and twenty peculs sent in 1836, at fourteen dollars per pecul.

Kitty solls, or paper parasols, are exported to India and the Straits, in boxes of 100 each, and are put down at nine dollars per box.

Lead, white and red, is manufactured by the Chinese in great quantities, and chiefly for home use. Captains of ships supply themselves for painting; the export is insignificant; the quality very inferior to European paint.

Marble slabs.—This article was prohibited from export, but sent to India, Sydney, and America. The prohibition is now taken off. The colours are red and blue, and the slabs, which are about a foot

square, make a handsome pavement for halls. Ten slabs go to a pecul, and sell for twenty-five dollars per 100.

Mats are exported from China to all parts of the world; but principally to India, America, and Australasia. Table mats are very beautiful; the demand has increased for them, and consequently augmented the importation of rattans. Thousands of people are employed in the manufacture of mats for boat sails; fifty mats of six feet by four, go to a bundle, or 100 catties; price fifteen dollars per bundle. There is a large exportation from Chusan. The annual exportation to the United States is upwards of 10,000 rolls of forty yards each, at four dollars a roll.

Mother o'Pearl sent to South America, and elsewhere, in small quantities.

Nankeens.—So named from Nanking, where it was originally made. There are many imitations, but the Chinese excel in it still. The prices vary from forty-five dollars to ninety dollars per hundred pieces. It is extensively worn by the natives; the exportation is trifling.

Pictures.—There are many shops in Canton and Macao, where oil paintings are for sale, and where portraits are taken; no duty has ever been levied on them. Rice paper pictures are largely exported to South America; the elegant colouring of them is well known. The paper is improperly called "*rice* paper," as no rice is used in its manufacture, it is simply the pith of a plant that is used.

Pearls.—False pearls are made in China in immense quantities, for the use of the Chinese, and for export to India, where they are much worn as ornaments. They are packed in boxes of 100,000 in each box, which is about one pecul; and they are valued at fifteen dollars per box.

Paper.—The export of coloured paper is very considerable to India, as the climate does not injure it, and foreign paper sized with glue, does not so well stand the tropical heat and moisture; the consumption is great. With the exception of a fine paper, called Nankin, (which is made from cotton wool), all other paper is made from bamboo. When strong paper is required, two, three, or four sheets are joined together, for ledgers and account books.

Preserves.—The Chinese candy almost everything eatable, such as millet-seeds, bamboo-shoots, ginger, &c., which are hawked about the streets, and exported to all countries, particularly to India, the United States and South America. The total is about 10,000 boxes, valued at 50,000 dollars. A box is twenty-five catties.

Rhubarb grows in China and Tartary; the price varies from thirty-eight dollars per pecul upwards. About 1,500 peculs are exported at an average of fifty dollars per pecul. The Chinese is inferior to the Russian or Turkey rhubarb.

Silk organzine or silk thread, is used in weaving piece goods. Silk-thread, ribbons, and piece goods are largely exported to America; silk piece goods are exported in large quantities to Mexico, Peru, and Chili.

Silk.—The mulberry is cultivated all over China, except in the most northerly regions. The best is called Nankin raw silk, and chiefly exported to England. In 1833—34, the price was from 300 dollars to 350 dollars per pecul. The annual exportation was 14,000 bales; in 1836—37, upwards of 20,000 peculs, at 500 dollars per pecul; and since that period the exportation has greatly increased.

Shoes.—Chinese shoes are seldom exported, except a few embroidered pairs; little or no calf skin is used; horse, cow, and buffalo hides are tanned with saltpetre and urine: the leather is porous and bad. The price varies from fifty cents to one dollar per pair. Considerable quantities are shipped for South America.

Soy.—This well-known sauce is made from the Dolichos bean, which grows in China and Japan; the beans are boiled soft with wheat or barley of equal quantities, and left for three months to ferment; salt and water are then added, when the liquor is pressed and strained. Good soy is agreeable when a few years old; the Japan soy is superior to the Chinese. Large quantities are shipped for England and America.

Silver ware and gold ware.—The shops in Canton make display of gold and silver ware of an elegant style of chased workmanship. Sydney and South America are the best markets.

Sugar-candy, made by chrystalising raw sugar; the best comes from Fookeen, called "Chinchew," from which district, especially from the port of Amoy, the exportation is likely to increase; formerly large shipments went to America, now the export is chiefly to India.

Sugar was probably first cultivated in China, where its properties were known long before its introduction to Europe. The cultivation of sugar is scarcely sufficient to supply the China market. The varieties of the cane are numerous, and the process of manufacture simple; but all performed by manual labour. The sugar in use with the Chinese is about five dollars per pecul. It is very extensively consumed in every part of China.

Tobacco is almost wholly exported to the Eastern Archipelago; it is much weaker than the American; the quantity sent is not large.

Tea.—The total exportation of tea by sea from China, is upwards of seventy-five million pounds, viz.: England 50,000,000; United States 20,000,000 lbs.; and all other countries 5,000,000 lbs. which, at twenty taels per pecul, amounts to 11,280,000 taels of silver at eighty pence the tael, £3,760,000. The present duty of two taels five mace does not include shipping and other charges;

the old duty was five taels, and included all charges paid the Hong merchants.

Turmeric.—The root of an herbaceous plant, less in use as dye than as a spice in making curries; price from five to seven dollars a pecul.

Tortoise-shell ware.—Made into various fancy articles; exportation considerable to all parts of the world.

IMPORTS. *Agar-agar.*—The Malay name for a jelly or glue, made from a marine fucus; it is brought from the Eastern Archipelago. The bamboo lattice work for lanterns is covered with paper, which when saturated with this gum is semi-transparent. It is used also in the manufacture of silk and paper, and is preferable to flour for making paste, as insects avoid it. When boiled with sugar, it forms a sweet jelly. and much resembles our calves-foot jelly. Its cheapness and admirable qualities, render it worthy of attention in other countries. It is obtained in New Holland, New Guinea, and other adjacent islands. It is found extensively in Ireland, and called "Irish moss." From 450 to 500 peculs are imported annually by the Chinese, at prime cost of one and a half to two dollars per pecul.

Amber.—This fossil is found on the shores of the Indian Archipelago, and in small quantities on the coast of China; the greatest portion of amber comes from the eastern coast of Africa; its value formerly was very great as an incense, and for ornaments. Transparent yellow pieces are the best; the price is from eight to fourteen dollars per catty, according to size and quality.

Ambergris.—Is a substance found in the intestines of the spermaceti whale; 362 ounces have been found in a single whale. A great portion of it is picked up after strong winds on the shores of the Indian and Pacific Ocean. The best kind is solid, opaque, ash-coloured, fatty, inflammable, resembling wax, and gives off an agreeable odour when heated. It has no taste or smell when cold. The pure white is bad.

Arrack.—A spirituous liquor distilled from different substances in different countries; in Ceylon it is made from the juice of the cocoa-nut; in Java from rice chiefly. The rice is first boiled, and when cool, a quantity of yeast is added, and the whole pressed into baskets, and placed over tubs for eight days; during this time the liquor flows from the rice, which is then distilled, mixed with sixty-two parts of molasses, and three parts of toddy, and then left to ferment for a week; when the fermentation is over, the arrack is distilled two or three times, according to the strength required. Java arrack is sold at forty cents a gallon, and some for thirty cents.

Assafœtida is the concrete juice of the ferula assafœtida tree, which grows in Persia; it is brought to this market from Bombay, and ranks high in the Materia Medica of the Chinese physician. The vessels employed to carry it are so imbued with the odour,

that they spoil most other goods: it is an unimportant article of trade.

Bees-wax has been introduced by foreigners from India and Europe, though the Chinese collect it largely themselves. The islands of Timor and Timorlaut send 20,000 peculs annually to China and India, at a prime cost of five dollars per pecul; the consumption is small in the eastern parts of China; wax is only employed to incase the tallow, which from the heat of the climate in the southern districts never becomes hard.

Betel-nut.—Is a large article of import; 25,000 peculs is the amount returned, but there is an immense quantity imported in Chinese junks from Hainan, of which we have no account. The leaf of the betel pepper, and the nut of the arica palm, (Arica-catechu), together constitute this article, which is improperly called betel-nut.

It is used as a masticatory throughout the east, but as an article of commerce, the nut is sold separately, under the name betel-nut, because it is always used with the leaf of the betel pepper. The areca-nut resembles the nutmeg in shape and colour, but is larger and harder. The produce of a single tree is about fourteen pounds, and the cultivators sell it at half a dollar a pecul. The betel pepper is the vine from which the leaf is obtained, and for which alone it is cultivated. The flavour is peculiar, between a herbaceous and an aromatic taste: it is cultivated throughout the south of China. When prepared for use, the nut is cut into slices and wrapped in the fresh leaves, together with a quantity of quick-lime, to give it a flavour. All classes, male and female, chew it; they say it sweetens the breath, strengthens the stomach, and preserves the teeth, to which it gives a reddish hue: there is probably less objection to its use than tobacco, and its taste is more pleasant.

Most of the betel-nut imported in China, comes from Java, Singapore, and Penang. Betel-nut is not so generally used in the south of China as among the southern islanders, and in the north of China it is a luxury, as the pepper does not grow freely there.

Beche-de-Mer.—A sea slug, which forms an important article of commerce between the islands of the Indian Archipelago and China. It is found on all the islands from New Holland to Sumatra: its common length is about ten inches. It is smoked and dried. The Chinese use it by itself, or as ingredient in other dishes; they consume large quantities under the belief that it is aphrodisiac. The varieties are divided into thirty in number, and vary in price from eighty dollars down to one and a half dollars per pecul. That from Macassar sells at sixty-four dollars per pecul.

Birds'-nests.—Are principally brought from Java and Sumatra, and are usually divided into seven classes or qualities, of which four are clean and three unclean. The nest is made by a small bird (Hirundo esculenta), and is like isinglass, of a white colour

inclining to red. The weight of the nest is about half an ounce, and in size it is larger than a goose egg; when dry, white, and clean, it is most valuable: the quality varies according to situation and time of taking; if procured before the birds are fledged or with eggs, they are then clean and more valuable: if the birds have left them, they are valueless, being dirty and streaked with blood and feathers. The nests are procurable twice a year; the best are found in deep, damp caves, which gave the idea that they are composed of the spawn of fish or of beche-de-mer. The quality of birds-nests depends on the proportion of which the white, gelatinous substance bears to the red fleshy part; feathers and other extraneous matter are mixed up with the texture. Best kind from Cochin China, and called the "highest snow-white swallow's nest;" wholesale price fifty dollars per catty; retail price sixty-six dollars per catty. The inner part of the swallow's nest is a beautiful net-work, and is said to be spun from the body of the bird, as that of the caterpillar, spider, &c. The entrance into the principal organ of digestion is furnished with a ring of peculiar vessels, which secrete the material of which the nest is formed.

The method of procuring this extraordinary article of commerce, is solely confined to those accustomed from their youth to the trade, the nest being only approachable by descent many hundred feet perpendicular by bamboo ladders over a surging sea: the extravagant prices given for the nest induces many to peril their lives for its obtainment. The Chinese are the only people that use them. The best, or white kind, bring nearly thrice their weight in silver; the second quality 1,200 dollars, and the third or dirty kind about 200 dollars. The principal part of the best kind is sent to Peking for the court use. The Japanese make no use of them. In preparing them for use, great labour is bestowed to remove every stick or feather: they are then stewed into a jelly. The sale of birds'-nests is a monopoly with all the governments in whose dominions they are found; it is estimated that about 244,000 pounds, at a value of 1,263,570 dollars, are annually sent from the Eastern Archipelago to China. Java alone sends 27,000 pounds, valued at 60,000 dollars.

Camphor.—The camphor brought to China is from Sumatra and Borneo. In Sumatra the best is obtained in a district called Barus, and all good camphor bears that name. It appears that the tree is cut down to obtain the gum, and that in not one-tenth of the trees is it found: as they are not cultivated. Barus camphor is getting scarce: the tree must be destroyed before it is ascertained whether it is productive or not. About 800 peculs are annually brought to China; the proportion between Malay and Chinese camphor is as eighteen to one; the former is more fragrant, and not so pungent as the latter.

Cloves are the flower of a large tree, which grows in the Molucca

Islands, at Penang and Singapore, and to some extent at Sumatra. There are four varieties of cloves; the best, large and heavy, have an acid taste, and oily feel. The clove trade is chiefly in the hands of the Dutch. The Molucca cloves, in the Canton market, bring from twenty dollars to thirty dollars per pecul; Malay between twelve dollars and fifteen dollars. The annual importation is more than 400 peculs. Mother cloves, and an inferior description, price from ten dollars to twelve dollars per pecul; the average production of a tree is about ten pounds: the Chinese use them sparingly.

Clocks.—Under this article, clocks, watches, hard-ware, and fancy cutlery are imported, to the extent of 130,000 dollars, of which one-half may be calculated as of British make; the other half, French and Swiss manufacture. Twenty years ago, half a million dollars of these goods were imported. The Chinese now make clocks for their own use.

Canvass.—This article is confined to the foreign shipping, but matting not being so flexible, it is sometimes used for junks. I have seen canvass sails in some of the Chinese vessels of war. If a good and cheap sail cloth could be exported, there ought to be a large demand in China.

Cochineal.—About 300 peculs of this article are imported at 100 dollars per pecul. Attempts have been made without success to raise it in Java, Spain, and India. The climate of Japan and China being similar to Mexico, it is likely to be introduced, as it is an indispensable article for dying silks, of scarlet and crimson colours. The Americans bring it in a purer state than what comes direct from Mexico by Manilla.

Coral is brought from all the islands of the Indian Archipelago in native vessels, and is wrought into ornaments; it was formerly a large article of import, and came in the East India Company's vessels from the Mediterranean; it sells from forty dollars to sixty dollars a pecul.

Cotton.—The importation from India has been considerable. There were delivered in 1843, 818,600 peculs, of which 578,775 were Bombay; 89,200 Bengal; 141,860 Madras; and 8,832 American. The average of all kinds is about 750,000 peculs at nine and a-half dollars per pecul, giving a total of 7,125,000 dollars. The Bombay and Madras cotton has slightly increased, the Bengal decreased, and the American is increasing.

Cotton manufactures.—The British white long cloths still command the market; eight years ago the price was five dollars per piece, and now two to three dollars. The grey long cloths are chiefly British. Shipments are now from the United States. In domestics we cannot compete with the Americans; the following statement will give some idea of the imports in 1844:—

White long cloths 438,647 piecess amounting in value to 1,623,192 dollars; grey long cloth 671,249 pieces, amounting in

value to 2,109,540 dollars; grey sheeting and drilling 500,000 pieces at 2-25 dollars amounting to 1,125,000 dollars. I have seen Russian cottons at Canton.

Cambricks.—In this article trials have been made: chintzes were formerly smuggled, but now enter at two mace per piece. Swiss and French are preferred to English. Goods should be selected that are covered with large flowers and leaves, on a green ground; but no formal figures nor Chinese representations will sell.

Cotton yarn and cotton thread.—This article is nearly all English and is much in favour. In 1843-44—1,500 bales were imported, the total importation is 40,000 peculs, at an average value of twenty-five dollars per pecul. Nos. eighteen to thirty-two are the most saleable. On its first introduction great complaints were made by the native spinners of their distress in consequence of its introduction: water and mule yarn are both used.

Cutch, or *Terra Japanica.*—This article was supposed to be an earth, and obtained from the natives of Japan; but it is now ascertained to be a gummy resin which is extracted from a tree growing in Persia; it is imported from Bombay and Bengal, and used for dying red. Valued at four dollars to five dollars per pecul.

Elephants' teeth.—The exquisite workmanship of the Chinese in carved work, will always keep this article in ready demand: from three pounds of ivory the Chinese will make a tray that will sell for 100 dollars. The ivory imported is re-exported in carved work, such as miniature boats, chessmen, fans, and boxes, which as specimens of carving are unequalled in the world. China is principally supplied from Siam; the largest teeth are valued at 120 dollars per pecul; the usual range is from fifty dollars to eighty dollars per pecul.

Fish maws are the stomachs of fishes, and are a great luxury to the Chinese: they are chiefly brought in junks from the Indian islands. Supposed to have strengthening and aphrodisiac properties.

Flints, uncut, are imported as ballast at fifty cents per pecul; they are used in tinder boxes and in glass manufactories.

Glass and glass-ware.—Forty years ago broken glass-ware was an important item in the trade, but the Chinese are making their own glass, and improving rapidly. In Canton alone there are a great number of small establishments; it is only elegant chrystal ware that is saleable at Canton. 10,000 dollars is the nearest estimate can be given of the annual importation. Window-glass ought to sell well in the northern ports.

Ginseng.—The root of a tree, as an article of trade is confined to the Americans. The paternal estate of the Emperor in Tartary furnishes a supply to the market, which he allows his subjects to buy at its weight in gold; the Co-hong were compelled to purchase annually 140,000 dollars worth, and for that sum were presented with a few catties: the Chinese esteem it a cure for

all ills. In 1842-43, the quantity imported was 3,000 peculs, and the price forty-eight dollars per pecul. It is an uncertain fluctuating trade. When first introduced from America the profit was enormous.

Gold and silver thread: large quantities are brought in from England and Holland; the Dutch is the best in embroidering dresses, caps and shoes; it is in constant demand.

Benzoin or Benjiman, the concrete juice of a small tree which grows in Borneo; but unlike the camphor tree it is cultivated. The different varieties bear a high proportion to their goodness, the finest quality from fifty dollars to 100 dollars per pecul; it is the frankincense of the East, and has been used for incense in the Roman Catholic, the Hindoo, Mohammedan, and Budhistic temples, and probably in the Israelitish worship. Wealthy Chinese fumigate their houses with its grateful odour. The Parsees are the only foreigners who import benzoin; the price has declined of late years.

Olibanum.—A gum resin which grows in Arabia and India, and is in similar use as benzoin as a perfume, but in more general use from its cheapness: the price is three dollars; the best is as high as ten dollars per pecul.

Dragons' blood is the juice of the calamus rolang or rattan, and grows wild in Borneo: its uses are various in medicine, varnishes, and painting; the Chinese esteem the gum highly: the price after purifying it, is about eighty dollars or ninety dollars per pecul.

Horns and bones, chiefly from the neighbourhood of the Persian gulf. Buffaloes' horns are worked into lanterns of the most beautiful kind; also into buttons and boxes of an elegant finish; 500 peculs have been imported into Canton in one year.

Rhinoceros' horns.—The best come from Cochin-China, and sometimes sell for 300 dollars a piece: the worst come from India, which are sold for thirty dollars a piece. The Chinese work the finest into elegant cups and other articles; but its chief use is in medicine: it is also an article of commerce between China and Japan.

Linen is almost entirely purchased by the foreign community: the Chinese wear no under garments, strictly speaking, and their own linen cloth is cheaper than ours.

Metals.—The consumption of metals from foreign countries depends on the price; if high, the Chinese use their own. There are in China mines of lead, tin, quicksilver, calamine, &c.

Copper is found in Borneo, Japan, Sumatra, and Timor. The copper found in Japan contains gold in alloy: it is brought to market in bars six inches long, weighing four or five pounds: it is the most valuable found in Asia. The Dutch and Chinese export from Japan more than 2,000 tons annually. There is an alloy found in China called white copper; it has superseded English copper from the bright silver-like appearance when polished.

Dish covers, plates, candlesticks, and various ornamental and domestic articles are made of this "white copper."

Iron is an article of importance in China, where it can be imported at a low figure. It is seldom brought in pigs; bar-iron from one to three inches wide, rod of half inch and less: bar is 1-80 dollars to two dollars per pecul; and rod three dollars to 3-50 dollars; and scrap about 2-50 dollars per pecul. When the price in England rises above this, the Chinese fall back on their own mines, which are numerous: the average import is about 23,000 peculs.

Lead.—The market price for pig and sheet lead is from four dollars to five dollars per pecul; China is supplied from England and America: the English had all the trade at one time, but the Missouri mines furnish it so much cheaper that English lead is completely excluded. About 40,000 peculs is the amount imported. There is a great consumption in lining tea chests, and camphor boxes. The Chinese melt it into sheets in an ingenious manner. The latest return shows 120,000 dollars which may all be considered as American.

Spelter.—This was formerly monopolised, so that no foreigners could buy or sell it.

Tin.—This metal is found pure and abundant in the island of Banca, price about fifteen dollars to seventeen dollars per pecul; the whole importation does not exceed 5,000 peculs. Tin plates are brought from England and the United States, and sell for ten dollars per box of 112 pounds, containing from 80 to 120 plates. The most current article is marked J. C., and each 112 pound box contains 225 sheets.

Quicksilver.—This formerly amounted to 3,000 peculs, but the rise in the price of it in Europe led the Chinese to work their own mines. A great part is converted into vermillion by oxydization, and used for painting on porcelain; the price ranges from 80 dollars to 130 dollars a pecul.

Steel.—Swedish and English steel was a large article of commerce, but has declined; the Chinese are not skilled in working it, and their attempts at cutlery are very imperfect: they estimate steel merely as iron of a good quality, and are unwilling to give a good price for the metal.

Rattans are made up in bundles of 100, and sold as low as six cents a bundle by the natives in Borneo, where the principal quantity is obtained; they are imported to the extent of 20,000 peculs annually in foreign bottoms, besides an immense quantity in native vessels. The Chinese use them for mats, chairs, baskets, and beds; and they build houses or sheds in the south of China of them for five dollars each house.

Rice.—This is the only article the Chinese ever offer a bounty for; the price fluctuates according to the seasons from one and three quarter dollars to eight dollars per pecul. Siam and the

Indian Islands, particularly Bali and Lombock, supply large quantities.

Saltpetre was prohibited, and none could be entered through the custom-house. The Chinese had an idea foreigners imported it to make gunpowder. It comes from Sumatra by Singapore, and it used to sell for thirty dollars per pecul.

Sharks' fins.—These are sought for in every direction for the market; the Chinese esteem them highly as a stimulant, and tonic; about 500 pieces are in a pecul, and sell for six dollars to eight dollars a pecul. The very best sells for 125 dollars a pecul; the difference is owing to the age and species of the shark.

Soap.—This article so essential to cleanliness, is increasing in consumption: the Chinese make none: some is brought from Bengal of a coarse gritty substance.

Sea-horse' teeth.—Imported through Macao, and brought from California, and Western America; used in the same manner as ivory and in good demand, as are also the teeth and tusks of the walrus.

Wine, beer, and spirits.—With the exception of a little cherry-brandy and what is consumed by the officials, all attempts to introduce these liquors have as yet failed. A free intercourse with China would probably promote the consumption.

Woods, ebony and sandal.—Of ebony, Mauritius' is the best, and sells for three dollars a pecul; Ceylon' two dollars; and Manilla one a-half dollars. The Chinese forests supply them with a large quantity of beautiful woods. The Portuguese bring seven different kinds of sandal-wood principally from the island of Timor; price from two dollars to fourteen dollars per pecul.

Woollen goods.—The Dutch blankets are preferred to English, and sell as high as twelve dollars a pair; a large quantity of Saxon and Belgium ladies-cloth, imitation of English, sold much cheaper, which is the inducement with the Chinese to buy, in everything. Longells (scarlet) is the prevailing colour, and may be quoted eight dollars to nine dollars a piece. Dutch camlets sell for double the price of English: they were formerly all smuggled; broad cloth Spanish stripes 30,000 pieces, 600,000 yards, at one and a quarter dollar per yard 750,000 dollars; longells, 50,000 pieces at 7-50 per piece 375,000 dollars; English camlets 10,000 pieces at twenty-two dollars per piece 220,000 dollars; Dutch camlets 1,000 pieces at thirty dollars per piece 30,000 dollars. The woollen trade has not increased, and the Russian barter trade has driven the English out; Belgian and Saxon cloths are interfering with us. Rich Chinese wear silks wadded with cotton which look better and wear longer.

COASTING TRADE OF CHINA.—The Chinese, as shown at page 194, were probably the first who invented the compass, and were navigators of the sea at a very early period. This is however the only improvement of which they can boast; quadrants, sextants,

and chronometers, are entirely unknown to their mariners. What they did a thousand years ago, they do now, creeping along the coast, if possible in sight of land, thereby obtaining a very accurate knowledge of the landmarks, and becoming versed in currents, tides, and the shifting of winds. But a Chinese sailor is hopelessly lost in the high seas, and celebrates the day on which he again beholds the land, with the fervour of a discoverer. This may in part account for the otherwise inexplicable circumstance, that a nation so devoted to the sea and having so many excellent sailors, has not latterly ventured beyond the nearest port in Japan, and the west coast of Formosa, and even carry on no trade with the Koreans. And yet they are not people that fear a heavy sea, but have served on board of our ships and men-of-war with far greater credit than Lascars.

The government has not latterly been favourable to marine trade, because those engaged in it were beyond its immedi. control, and in many instances braved the whole force of the Celestial Empire.

There are only two provinces extensively engaged in maritime commerce, whilst the sailors of the other parts confine themselves to short voyages, and never go beyond the beaten track. These are Kwangtung and Fookeen, the great carriers of every kind of produce by sea.

Commencing with the south, the island of Haenan has a great variety of articles for the northern market. Its sugar, areca nuts, rose and eagle woods, are taken in Chaou-choo junks to Shanghai and Teëntsin, and give invariably a profitable return. The exportation of the former is not under 600,000 peculs per annum. The natives do not engage in these distant voyages, but prefer a trip to the southern ports of the Asiatic continent in search of grain, of which on account of their arid plains they stand very much in want. Between Haenan and Canton, there is a mere coasting trade in small craft, not extending beyond the metropolis. The boats bring thither their surplus produce, some of which is the same as that imported from the Indian Archipelago; but the staples are sugar and cotton, which are mostly re-exported from Canton to other provinces.

Canton itself has a very flourishing marine trade to Teëntsin and Shanghai. All its manufactures, its abundance of sugar, its accumulated stores of cotton, indigo, cassia, aniseed, and a variety of smaller articles, fill hundreds of junks bound for the north; and its exports are not below eight millions of dollars per annum. In return for these articles, the junks bring back considerable sums of bullion, drugs from Shantung, and Leoutung, felt, fruits,—such as dates, pears, and grapes; and mutton. This is one of the most profitable branches of commerce which the city possesses.

From Canton to Chaou-choo on the eastern extremity, the

natives are not at all in the habit of going beyond the coast of this province. There is at Tanshwuy not far from Hong Kong, a very large exportation of salt, greatly to the detriment of the gabelle, since it is smuggled into the interior. To every settlement 10,000 peculs per month is the allotted average, for Canton perhaps ten times the quantity. Haehong is another commercial place rich in resources, and principally engaged with Canton to barter their goods. All along the coast, sugar, an article always in demand, is produced. This is collected by the Chaou-choo (Teachoo) junks, which throughout the year with a number of smaller articles go to Kaonchoo in Shantung, to Shanghae, and Teëntsin, the average tonnage being no less than twenty million peculs per annum.

Fookeen has far more extensive relations, and whilst its craft crowd in every harbour of that province, there is not a single Canton junk seen in them. The maritime enterprise, however, is confined to the coast south-west of Fuhchoo; beyond that, the inhabitants merely ply in small coasting vessels, from city to city, without venturing to Chekeang or any other province.

The southernmost trading place is Chaonan, a very flourishing port, not far from Namoa. In the neighbourhood large quantities of alum are obtained, and hundreds of junks, principally for the Canton and foreign markets, are freighted with this article. Sugar is likewise found here, and taken to the north, whilst other junks go in ballast to Haenan, and thence proceed to Teentsin.

Cheopo, a little higher up, is principally connected with Formosa, but the country produces, likewise, sugar of very superior quality, and also some camphor. The junks by becoming partly the carriers of Taewan (Formosa) produce, such as rice, sugar, camphor, and oil-cakes, the latter a very important article for manuring the land, in Fookeen, maintain a constant intercourse with Canton, whilst visiting Ningpo and Shanghai.

Amoy was once the most flourishing emporium of China, and even now yields as much money in customs as the whole of the province taken together. There are some manufactures which are exported for the surrounding region, viz.: coarse China-ware, fine grass-cloth, paper, and umbrellas, articles much in demand, and a great variety of smaller ones, suited to the tastes of the Formosa settlers, and the people in the Indian Archipelago. Several kinds of fruits, dried as well as fresh, are likewise sent to other markets. But Amoy stands in want of almost every other thing, which have to be imported from Formosa, Canton, and in fact from all the harbours of the extensive coast.

About four millions of taels may be considered as the annual average exports and imports, but the principal and most lucrative branch, is the carrying trade, in which hundreds of Amoy junks are engaged, which go from harbour to harbour, and return home perhaps once a-year.

Amoy has sent forth myriads of emigrants, who are settled in all parts of the Indian Archipelago, and constitute the most thriving commercial community in these regions; they are in possession of large capital, and are the bankers of all the native tribes.

Tsuen-choo (Chin-choo), has its principal relation with Formosa, engaging very largely in the exportation of grain, and hemp, and oil-cakes, and trading like the former ports, to the north. It is from this district that the great mass of the colonists of that island have sprung, and imported all the turbulence and low habits which characterize the parental stock. There is a regular slave-trade carried on with the mainland, the victims being, however, not prisoners of war, but poor starving creatures, who either sell themselves to pay off debts, or leave a sum of money to their parents, or are sold by their relations. They remain, however, only a short time in bondage, and many then work as free labourers, at their pleasure.

Hwugan is another sugar emporium. Fuhchoo is rich in home produce, timber, bamboos, and tobacco; its exports of these articles to almost every part of the north, are very large. The city is, therefore, wealthy, and the merchants have credit, so that their paper constitutes a currency, and the bullion is hoarded up in coffers. The average of the Foochoo trade is annually five to six million taels. An extraordinary circumstance showing how much policy distorted and inappropriate, interferes with the natural course of things, we mention here, that this metropolis, though the natural place for exporting the black teas, which grow in its neighbourhood, has never enjoyed this traffic, and merely supplied Formosa with a few hundred peculs of an inferior article; and even now, since the commerce is open, it has become a matter of great doubt, whether it ever will become an emporium.

The province of Fookeen stands in want of many necessaries of life, so that the balance of trade, in the various acceptations of the word, is against it. From the north, pulse, drugs, salted and corned meat, fruit, and silk-piece goods, are the principal articles of import. Formosa, an inexhaustible source of production, supplies grain, hemp, and oil. This island is an invaluable acquisition, and were it not a part of China, the Fookeenese would suffer from starvation, and find no outlet for their overflowing population. The emigrants give themselves up entirely to agricultural pursuits, and leave the trade to their countrymen, so that the colony owns no junks, and the inhabitants born on the soil remain attached to it, and seldom approach the sea. That about ten millions of taels worth could be produced on the west coast of the island, the east-coast being still unreclaimed from the aborigines, is only to be explained by the iron industry of Chinese settlers, the best in the world for bringing waste soil under cultivation. Formosa employs about nine hundred sugar junks, varying from 1,000 to 5,000

peculs tonnage, about double the number of rice junks, and 100 with camphor, hemp, and sardines; the rice junks make the voyage two or three times annually.

The southern parts of Che-keang, carry on a coasting trade in small craft, for Woosung, Taechoo, and a number of other places, and bring the home produce to Ningpo, Shih-po, &c. This consists of cotton, some kinds of very fine green teas, and various provisions. The only emporium of any consequence is Ningpo, and next to it, Sohapoo; the metropolis Hangchoo, being on account of the immense rapadity of the Tseentong river debarred from this privilege. The former emporium supplies silks, raw and wrought, drugs in large quantity, and cotton; the latter of the best quality, and bearing a far higher price than the Indian. Its imports are sugar, with southern productions; the trade for such a city, with no large island communication; is considerable. It sends its junks to Mantchoo Tartary, to Teentsin, and Kavuchoo; to the latter place in very large numbers, to convey felt and skins; to the former, pulse and wheat, of the best description. Amidst all its disadvantages, Ningpo has capital, and the markets, especially those of Tseki, have a spirit of enterprise, which leads them to Canton, and to the frontiers of Siberia.

Chapoo is a small emporium, only remarkable for its intercourse with Japan. It has, however, much intercourse with Fuhchoo, and as the emporium of Hangchoo may be considered as of some importance, since such a large metropolis consumes very much, and supplies with its manufactures, the maritime districts.

It is extraordinary, that such a fertile province as Kangsoo, should only have one harbour, viz.: Shanghai, where its trade is carried on. Jealousy, and fear that seafaring vessels would soon appear in crowds, and thus interrupt the island commerce, confined the junks to this single port, and up to the present moment, the difficult and tedious progress through the great canal is preferred to the more easy and safe navigation of the sea.

Shanghai, however, is a great emporium, not in itself, but on account of the large number of merchants who are crowding there to make purchases, and these come from the most distant parts of Central Asia. Shanghai exports largely, and more than any other emporium in China, manufactures to Teentsin, where the river is covered with its junks. These vessels making two or three voyages annually to Leaoutung, bring back a great deal of flour, meat, pulse, and rhubarb, as well as sheep-skins, the common winter dress of the poorer classes. Trade appears to be in a flourishing condition, the inhabitants of Tsungming island join in it, and fit out crafts for that purpose. It is said a thousand large-sized junks pass in and out of the harbour of Shanghai weekly.

To the north of Shanghai, the coast of Kangsoo is very flat, and there are very few boats issuing from those quarters, because

the navigation, on account of the tides and banks, is very dangerous.

The inhabitants of Shantung are by no means a very enterprizing commercial race; their principal trade is along the great canal. Beyond this they have few coasters, whilst they expect in their principal emporium, Kaouchoo, the arrival of the junks from the south, without sending a single craft of their own in that direction. There is a tolerable traffic in this emporium, or rather barter, for the merchants are entirely destitute of capital. From Foochoo, on the east coast, a very strong tide of emigration has been setting in towards Leaoutung, and the inhabitants possess a number of small craft to visit that adjacent coast. Thither they take their coarse manufactures, in return for the hard earnings of the colonists' wheat, cotton, and drugs. Compared with other provinces, however, this is a trifling trade, and the mariners do not venture beyond the limit prescribed by the gulph of Chih-le.

The province of the same name has one single harbour, Teentsin, which, notwithstanding its shallow river, congregates a larger marine fleet in August and September, than any other Chinese harbour. The reason is obvious; the country is very poor, and has to buy raw produce as well as manufactures from the south. And since the court resides in the neighbourhood, and there is much ready capital at the command of the merchants, commerce is brisk, and gives always a very good return. It would be very difficult to form an annual estimate of the imports, which can, however, not be below 10,000,000 taels, comprising in themselves, almost every article mentioned above.

Leaoutung has very indifferent harbours, which are, however, visited on account of the rich produce of the country around, already mentioned, and judging of the large exportation of pulse, flour, frozen bacon and mutton, cotton, drugs, and sardines, from Kaechoo, Kinchoo, and other smaller harbours, the average value is not below seven million taels per annum. For this the merchants import principally bullion, and a small amount of Nankeen manufactures.

The coast of Kirin, has, as far as our navigators have ascertained, no harbours, nor do the Mantchoos venture on the high seas. Maritime trade, therefore, is almost entirely unknown.

The Chinese junks are of the same unwieldy form that they were centuries ago. Lately there have been two or three vessels built by the Chinese, after European models, which have been put in commission. The Canton-built man-of-war, on her first trip lost her fore-top-gallant mast and the head of her fore-top mast. She was built by Amoon, a pupil of Mr. Hamilton of Macao, and is very swift in the water; her sails seemed well trimmed. There are several junks which mount twenty guns, some of which have their hull after the European model, but the usual rig is that of a junk. Many may be seen coppered, with rudders of foreign shape

and hung in foreign fashion. The Cochin Chinese, however, many years ago adopted this custom. Some of the coasting junks are of enormous size, from 1,800 to 2,000 tons burthen. The mainmast of one seen at Chusan was thirteen feet in circumference, including the "cheeks;" it was larger than the mainmast of Her Majesty's ship *Wellesley*, of seventy-four guns. Under freedom of European intercourse, the coasting craft of China would be greatly improved.

The ordinary or lowest freight from Manilla to Amoy, in Chinese junks, is one dollar per pecul for sugar, not worth more than two dollars per pecul. Sometimes the freight of sugar from Manilla to Nankin, in Chinese junks, is two and a half dollars per pecul. Sixteen peculs are equal to twenty cwt. of sugar or rice, therefore the *lowest* freight is £3 6*s*. 8*d*. per ton, and this only available for one period of the year.

Junks are divided into seven or more different compartments, watertight, and belonging to different persons on board for the voyage. Sometimes two or more persons have a compartment for their speculations.

The greatest period of activity for the coasting trade of China, is about a month or six weeks before and after the change of the monsoon, when vessels occupy least time in going up and down the coast.

The Chinese carry on a considerable traffic with adjacent countries. It is estimated that no less than 222 junks or vessels are so employed, viz.: to Japan, 20; Borneo, 13; Malay Ports, 6; Manilla, &c. 13; Sumatra, 10; Cochin China, 20; Sooloo Islands, 4; Singapore, 8; Campodia, 9; Celebes, 2; Rhio, 1; Tonquin, 20; Java, 7; and Siam, 89. This does not include a number of smaller junks belonging to the island of Hainan, which carry on a trade with Tonquin, Cochin China, Cambodia, Siam, and Singapore. The vessels belong principally to the provinces of Fokien and Kwangtung, though there are many also in the more northern provinces of Chekeang and Keangsoo. The following is an enumeration of the coasting junks trading or touching at Macao and Keang Mun in 1831. From Amoy, in Fokien, 80; from Changchoo-foo, in Fokien, 150; from Hway-chou-foo and Chao-chou-foo, in Kwang-tung, 300; trading between Keang-mun and Fuhkeen, &c. 300; from Canton to Teentsing, and Mantchou, or Leaotung coast, 16. The last of these are large junks belonging to Fokien. The others are smaller junks, varying from a few hundred to 3,000 or 4,000 peculs. Mr. Crawford estimates the foreign shipping of China at 70,000 tons, and that of Hainan Isle at 10,000 tons.

The junks of largest size go to Singapore, Siam, Cochin China, Sooloo Islands, Celebes, Batavia, Borneo, Amboina, Kalentung, Tringano, and formerly to Manilla. These junks start generally from Amoy with emigrants, or from Shanghai, Ningpo, and Canton, with China produce and manufactures.

Junk trade between Siam and China.—It is stated, that about seventy to eighty junks leave Siam in May, June, and July, with grain, sugar, sopar-wood, betel-nut, &c., averaging each nearly 300 tons, usually built in Siam, owned by Chinese and Siamese at Bankock, and navigated by Chaou-choo men, from the east district of Canton. They have a captain, or supercargo: a pilot (Hochang) to watch all the coasts; a helmsman (Toking) who manages the sailing of the vessel; a comprador to purchase provisions; two clerks to keep the accounts; also a priest to attend the idols, and burn gold and silver paper every morning. The sailors are divided into two classes; one has charge of sails, anchors, &c., the other performs the heavy work, hauling ropes, heaving anchor, &c.: every one, except the menials (Hoke), is a shareholder, and has something for trade at any port they may touch at. The cabins, or rather holes, into which they creep, it is difficult to stretch in at full length. There is no discipline, no mutual interest, no attempt at cleanliness or decency. The compass is almost the sole guide: Captain Collinson, R.N., informed me he found rude charts in use among some, but the land was badly laid down.

The exports from Siam to China consist chiefly of sugar, rice, ivory, sapan-wood, gamboge, and a variety of tropical products, for the use of the northern provinces, where the junks obtain flour, grain, peas, cured mutton, and other provisions.

Two to four junks, of 500 to 700 tons burthen, visit the gold mines near Pantianak, Banjer-massing, and Sambas, where a Chinese republic of 60,000 individuals has been established for some years. Gold, ebony, and tin, are taken to China. To Palembang and Banka there are several junks; also to Samarang and Rhio. Birds'-nests, beche-de-mer, agar-agar, &c. are brought from the straits; also pepper, which is in great demand in China. The Canton trade with the straits employs about 6,000,000 dollars.

The Emperor *Keenlung,* at the commencement of his reign, allowed his subjects to visit foreign parts, expecting to buy rice; but now a merchant on returning from abroad may be brought before a court of justice, and be ordered to be beheaded as a traitor for having had commercial intercourse with foreigners.

The number of Chinese junks that arrived at Singapore during the season of 1844-5, in thirteen months, was thirty-four, whose tonnage is computed at 7,478.

The number of Chinese emigrants during this period was 6,883. The number the two previous years was, respectively, 1,600 and 7,000; but the year 1845 fully 9,000 was expected. They disperse through the Straits' settlements, and the Dutch colony of Rhio.

The trade carried on at Singapore in Chinese junks was, in value of imports from China, in 1839-40, 1,109,264 dollars; in 1840-41, 2,149,604 dollars.

The exports to China from Singapore, in Chinese junks, has considerably increased. In cotton, and cotton goods, upwards of 20,000 bales of the former, and 40,000 pieces of the latter, have been carried. The value of the exports was, in 1839-40, 1,499,139 dollars; in 1840-41, 2,892,872. The number of junks, in 1840, was 148, with a tonnage of 14,446.

I have previously adverted (page 356,) to the important trade that might be established with Cochin China, a country of which so little is known, although we formerly had a factory there. I avail myself of this occasion to give an abstract of a valuable report by M. Isidore Hedde, a distinguished member of the recent French mission to China, who visited Turon Bay, in Cochin China, in May, 1844, in the French corvette '*Alcmene.*' The ship anchored off a small island called "*Mo-Koie,*" in lat. 16° 07′ N., long. 108° 12′ E. of Greenwich. M. Hedde says:—

"The entrance of the bay is defended by two small forts called Panghaie, at a distance each from the other of three miles. Entering the bay by a channel in the form of a spiral, we are then in a dock of an elliptical form, whose greatest axis may be of eight miles, and the smallest, six miles. This natural dock is surrounded at the east, north, and west by the high mountains on the way to Fouhué, the capital of the kingdom, and whose angular tops, of primitive formation, rise up in several places to the height of 6,000 feet, or more, from the level of the sea. On the south-east side, the bay is separated from the sea only by a large sandy ground, in which is a large village, surrounded by some trees, and which borders on the Turon river.

"The small town of Turon, rather a large village, is at the most remote side of the bay towards the south, at about six miles from the common anchorage, on the left side of a broad channel, which is said to communicate with the sea, and into which the river from Sayfo empties itself. The place was formerly very mercantile, and several European nations had establishments there.

"Turon consists of several groups of villages on each side of the channel, the principal of which has about 500 mean habitations of bamboo, and 2,500 inhabitants.

"The west side of the bay is flat and sandy. The principal articles cultivated are rice and maize. They have also some mulberry trees (morus allea), whose leaves they sell to Sayfo people, who rear silkworms. Cotton is also cultivated, but it is employed in a very costly manner. Country people, especially women, have looms in which they weave cotton; their looms are disposed in the Chinese manner, i.e. they have two treddles, or a pair of treddles, and their reed is inclined, and pushed by itself from the back of the loom. Their cotton goods are very common, of one foot broad; some are dyed red, with sapan-wood, blue with native indigo, black with different kinds of leaves and iron water. All round the bay are found different kinds of fish and fine shells.

"During all our stay, twelve days, we lost no one of our crew, and had only twenty men sick. No rain fell, and the thermometer continued at 90° Farenheit, on board and in the shade.

"The kingdom of Cochin China, or Anàm, is now composed of: 1st.—Tonquin, which contains according to M. Chaiquean, the ancient French mandarin, 18,000,000 of inhabitants. That is the richest part of the Anamitic country. There are in the interior two principal towns, Ketchen and Vihouang. The population of each is reckoned at 100,000 or 150,000 inhabitants, and 220,000 Roman Catholics are supposed to be spread over all the country. In Upper Cochin China, wherein is Fouhue, or rather Kiguh, residence of the king and capital of the kingdom. This place is upon an island, formed by two channels of the river. It is remarkable for its fortifications made on the European system, which were erected by the French and Irish engineers, who in 1799 accompanied the bishop of Adran. It is a town whose streets are said to be paved, gravelled and bordered with trees. Houses are made of stone and bricks after the European manner. There are ramparts defended by numerous artillery, and stone houses and arsenals well furnished with guns, and everything necessary in case of a war for 100,000 soldiers. The surface of the town is about five or six miles in circumference, and its population consists of about 60,000 inhabitants. 3rd.—Lower Cochin China, whose principal town is Shaigoene, another town fortified after the European system, and sea-port at the mouth of a river of the same name, which must be an arm of the Great Camboja River. There was, according to Horsburgh, a manufactory for the casting of cannon, and houses and stocks for the building of ships. According to different travellers this town was very mercantile, for the convenience of the harbour and depth of water. But since the great insurrection in 1833, a great part of its fortifications have been put down, its commerce driven away, and almost all the population perished. Those two ports of Cochin China are said to contain according to the same aforesaid mandarin, 1,000,000 inhabitants, amongst whom are 80,000 Roman Catholics. 4th.—Camboja, whose principal town is Penonben, or Kalompe, with a population of 30,000 inhabitants. The frontiers of that part which separates the Anamitic empire from the Siamese, or from the uncivilized tribes which are supposed to belong to the Siamese kingdom, are determined exactly; but they are frequently crossed by parties of warriors, and occupied sometimes by the one and afterwards by the other, according to the chances of war, which has long been carried on by the one government against the other. The population of that fourth part of the Anamitic empire is about 1,000,000 inhabitants, amongst whom are very few Christians.

"The country is very fertile, especially in Lower Cochin China. There are mines, especially one of gold at Phuyenn, and another

at Shuongreek in the department of Kouannam. But government, which is afraid of foreign cupidity, forbids to touch them or even speak of them, under a penalty of death.

"The king has taken to himself all the monopoly of trade. He buys goods from his subjects at the price he appoints, and sends his ships to sell them at foreign ports. He employs in trade five square-rigged ships and steamers which have been constructed in the country. He sends them to Canton, to Singapore, to Batavia, and sometimes to Calcutta. He sends to Singapore indigenous and Chinese silks, also green teas, nankeens, cinnamon, rhinoceros' horns, cardamoms, rice, sugar, salt, ivory, buffaloes' skins, precious wood and treasure. He receives camlets, common long ells, red, blue and yellow, for the use of his soldiers, tin, opium, fire-arms, and some Indian goods. He receives from Batavia, cloves, nutmegs, pepper, black and blue silks, green velvets, and glass ware of every kind. To give an idea of the manner in which the trade is carried on, we may mention, that the last year the king sent to Canton two ships and twelve officers to sell his goods and to buy others in exchange. On their return, not being satisfied with their success, he degraded them, putting them in prison and in fetters, and confiscating all their property. And they are still bewailing their miserable condition, the reward of their ill success as merchants. The junks which trade from Cochin China, are under private authorisation or managed by fraud. A statement is here presented of the commerce between Singapore and Cochin China.

Imported to Singapore.	*Exported from Singapore.*
1839—176,261 dollars.	1839—173,447 dollars.
1840—166,479 ..	1840—200,304 ..
1841—245,521 ..	1841—292,686 ..
1842—208,484 ..	1842—248,324 ..
1843—244,785 ..	1843—227,848 ..
1844—177,606 ..	1844—229,413 ..

"The scale of duties for anchorage is as follows:—

At Fouhue 54 kouan for a thnoc (15,94½ in.)
At Shaigoene 102 „ „
At Turon 72 „ „

"But the last place only is open to foreign trade. Very few ships come to trade. They have deserted on account of the arbitrary practices of the king, who has the entire monopoly of the trade, and because there are no fixed regulations for its management.

"Cochin China coins have been explained in Morrison's Commercial Guide, according to the statements given by the late J. L. Taberd, bishop of Isauropolis, in his valuable Anamitic dictionary. They are well made both in gold and silver, and are as follows:—

1 gold ingot or 'loaf', weight 10 taels, Spanish dollars 238.
½ „ „ 5 „ „ 119.
1 golden nail or 'ding vang', 1 „ „ 24.
½ „ „ ½ „ „ 12.
¼ „ „ ¼ „ „ 6.

10 golden nails make one golden loaf, so called.

1 silver ingot or loaf 'nen bac', weight 10 taels—dollars 14.

"Its specific weight is 95 parts pure silver and 5 alloy, or 100 parts. The value of 17 silver loaves is equal to that of 1 golden loaf.

1 silver nail or 'dinh bac', weight 1 tael, dollars 1.40.
½ „ „ „ ½ „ 70.
¼ „ „ „ ¼ „ 35.

10 silver nails are equivalent to 1 silver loaf.

"Besides the native coin the late King Ming Ming issued a coinage of gold and silver dollars, and the reigning King Thieu-fri adopted the same. The weight and value are here presented.

1 gold dollar, weight 1.039 ounces troy, dollars 12.
½ „ „ 0.519 „ „ 6.50.
¼ „ „ 0.259 „ „ 3.25.
1 silver dollar „ 0.860 „ „ 0.70.
½ „ „ 0.431 „ „ 0.35.
¼ „ „ 0.215 „ „ 0.17.

"The specific weight is 190 parts of pure metals, and 80 of copper or alloy. One side bears the face of the Cochin China dragon, and the other side the king's name in Chinese characters, some Ming Ming's, and others that of Thieu-fri. Some are like common dollars and have a hole in the middle, while others are broader and not so thick.

"The only popular coin is the 'cash,' made of pure zinc. Its form is circular, and is 0·87 inch in diameter. It has, like the Chinese cash, a square hole in the middle, of 0.16 inch each side, for the convenience of stringing a number together. It is not coined, but cast. The Chinese characters are intended to represent the name of the king. Six hundred of them strung together in this manner form what is called a kouan, (*kwan*) or a string. Each *kouan* makes 10 heaps or tiens, each of 60 cash. The value of the cash varies in different sections, or according to the value attributed to gold and silver. In Turon, and in Upper Cochin China, one Spanish dollar is worth only three or four *kouan*. In Shaigoene, or in Lower Cochin China, one Spanish dollar is worth five or six *kouan*. So in taking the dollar at an average value of four *kouan* we shall have—

1 (*sápek*) cash worth Spanish dollar 0.0004166.
10 „ „ 0.00416.
60 „ „ 0.025.
600 „ „ 0.25.
2600 „ „ 1.

WEIGHTS.

					avoird. p.
1	'kan,' or catty of	16	'luongs' or taels,	$1\frac{1}{4}$ ounce each	1.378
10	„ one yen	„	„	„	13.78
50	„ one binh	„	„	„	68.90
100	„ one ta	„	„	„	137.1
500	„ one kouan	„	„	„	689.

"There is no exactly determined legal measure of length. *Thuoc* is the generic name. Its divisions will be here presented.

10 phans—1 tak or inch.
10 tak —1 thuoc, or foot, or ell.
5 thuoc—1 ngou, or fathom.
4 ngou —1 soa, or rod.
10 soa —1 moa, or rood.

"The generic measure *thuoc* (the Chinese *chih*, cubit, or foot,) is very different according to circumstances. Those more commonly employed are here presented.

Thuoc, used for measuring ships for the service of ports	0.405 metre.
Thuoc, used for wood at Turon	0.425
Thuoc, mentioned by Taberd	0.48726
Thuoc, used by the king for measuring silks and other cloths in his transactions with a Frenchman	0.594
Thuoc, used by natives in the Turon market . .	0.61
Thuoc, used according to Morrison . . .	0.64968

MEASURES OF DISTANCE.

1 ly—144 metres.
2 ly—1 dam—888 metres.
10 ly—5 dam—4444 metres.

MEASURES OF LAND.

1 mao—10 soa—165 thuoc—80.3979 metres.

The *muo* is what a man may cultivate in one day.

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

1 hao . . . . . 28 litres.
2 hao—1 shita—1 tao in weight—56 litres.

The *hao* is a measure of rice required for a month's subsistence. It is given by the king to his soldiers.

MARKET PRICES AT TURON.

"Hens' and ducks' eggs (10) 1 kouan; fowl or duck (1) 2 tien; pork (1 catty) 4 tien; rice (a kan) 1 to 2 kouan; beef (a catty) 3 tien; plantains (a set) 1 tien; pine apples (10) $8\frac{1}{2}$ kouan; oranges (10) 5 tien; maize (a han) 5 to 10 tien; small lemons (10) 1 tien; flour of millet (a catty) 2 kouan; salt (a catty) 3 tien; veal (a catty) 4 tien; buffalo (a catty) 3 tien; small onions (a catty) 1 tien; sweet potatoes (a catty) 1 tien; beans (a catty) 2 tien; yams (a catty) 90 sapeks; small pigeons (1) 90 sapeks; geese (1) 4 tien; oysters

(100) 1½ kouan; turnips (a catty) 1 tien; cakes made of eggs and flour (1) ½ kouan; cocoa-nut (10) 3 tien; oil (a catty) 2 kouan; fish, all kinds, (a catty) 2 tien; tobacco (a catty) 1½ tien; paper, white leaves, made of bamboo, (100) 8 kouan; sugar (a catty) 1½ tien; candy (a catty) 3 tien; cucumbers (10) 3 tien; ginger, sweet meat of (a jar) 7 tien; mango (10) 5 tien; tack (1) 2 tien; cassia (a catty) 2 kouan; black pepper (a catty) 1½ tien; green tea from Hue, (a catty) 3 tien; wood for fire (a ta) 3 kouan; ebony from Kouannam (a ta) 10 tien; eagle wood (a ta) 10 tsen; red copper (a ta) 50 kouan; morfit (a catty) 1 kouan; horns of rhinoceros (a catty) 10 kouan; mats, best kind, (a pair) 8 kouan; green indigo (a catty) 1½ kouan; bees'-wax (a catty) 1½ kouan; cotton (a catty) 1 to 2 kouan; raw silk (a catty) 3 to 4 kouan; cotton cloth, a piece of 24 thuoc, 7 kouan; coat for a man (1) 6 kouan; trousers (1) 5 kouan; turban of silk or cotton crape, 8 kouan.

Day's work in Upper Cochin China, (besides rice) 30 to 40 sapeks.
„ Lower Cochin China, 2 tien.

Mason, carpenter, and other mechanical trades in Upper Cochin China, 1 tien.

Mason, carpenter, and other mechanical trades in Lower Cochin China, 2 to 3 tien.

"These several prices indicate the variety and cheapness of local productions. But it is not to be inferred that these prices are by any means constant, inasmuch as the king has monopolised commerce. For instance, silk may be generally obtained from 2 to 4 *kouan*, which is very cheap. But if it be for exportation, the price may be increased to 6, or 8, or 10 kouan, according to the king's fancy."

It would be very advisable for our government to send a commercial mission to Cochin China.

There is an increasing trade between China and Java, where many Chinese are established.

The following are stated to be the exports of birds' nests from Java to China for six years inclusive.

Year.	Peculs.	lbs.	Value in florins.	Year.	Pecul.	lbs.	Value in florins.
1829	260	34,666	435,622	1832	244	32,533	408,355
1830	261	34,800	448,419	1833	333	44,400	559,492
1831	255	34,000	334,760	1834	200	27,200	350,032

This article of commerce is a governmental monopoly in Batavia, which produces on an average 200,000 Spanish dollars annually. Great care is taken, by the government, of the rocks which harbour these birds, at the proper season the caverns are cleansed out by smoking them with sulphur: they are gathered twice a year, and made up into three classes. The best are cream white and semi-translucent, and in shape like the fourth part of an orange, This muco-albuminous substance, will sell for as much as 40 dollars a catty, that is twenty ounces avoirdupois. Rice is also a large article of export from Java to China.

FOREIGN TRADE OF CHINA GENERALLY WITH EUROPEANS AND AMERICANS.

From an early period the Chinese traded with foreign countries. One hundred and twenty-one years before the Christian era, the Emperor of China sent "able ambassadors to different *mercantile* countries, where they obtained bright pearls, gems, and precious stones, yellow gold, and various other commodities."—*Dr. Morrison.*

A.D. 176. Foreigners came by southern sea to Canton for trade.

A.D. 600. During the Suy dynasty, ambassadors were sent from China to surrounding nations.

A.D. 700. Canton was made a regular commercial port of the Chinese empire, and houses were built, A.D. 1400, for the accommodation of foreigners coming to trade. During the Tang Sung and Ming dynasties, and partly under the Mongol, that is from the commencement of the Tang, A.D., 619, to Kublai-khan, the Mongol, 1280, and from the Ming dynasty in 1368, to the Tartar in 1644, the Chinese shewed considerable commercial and maritime enterprise. Kublai-khan sent an expedition under the command of Marco Polo, to survey the Indian Archipelago.

During the sixteenth century, the Portuguese, (A.D. 1516) Spanish, and Dutch, carried on a lucrative trade with the different ports in China, at Canton, Amoy, Ningpo, and Chusan.

Marco Polo, speaking of the trade of Malabar, says, "the ships from China brought copper, gold, brocades, silks, gauzes, gold and silver bullion, and many kind of drugs, not produced in India." He adds, "that the merchants made great profits by their import and return cargoes."

England commenced trade with China at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1670, the English East India Company had a factory at the island of Formosa, and carried on trade with the opposite province of Fokien.

In 1676, the English had a factory at Amoy, from which they retired, in 1680, on the contests between the Mantchoos and Chinese, but were permitted to return in 1684.

In 1700 the English had a factory at Chusan. The Emperor Kanghe, (who died, A.D. 1722), in the twenty-third year of his reign, allowed a free trade to his own subjects, and to foreigners, which continued for about thirty years, but was stopped on the ground that it would impoverish the country.

But the policy of the Tartar conquerors, was really directed towards the exclusion of all other foreigners, or if that were not possible, to restrict them to the most distant southern port of the empire—Canton. This was accordingly done, and in consequence of our trade being a monopoly in the hands of the East India Company, no efforts were made to abolish the exclusive system set up by the Tartars, for the more effectual maintenance of their usurpation.

The history of the trade at Canton is, therefore, the history of the whole foreign European and American trade with China, until

the years 1844—45, and little more is now necessary, than to place on record a few data, illustrative of the present period, which may serve for future comparison.

In 1747, the European ships in China were, 8 English; 6 Dutch; 4 Swedish; and 2 Danish; total 20. The war between France and England prevented any French vessels being then sent to China.

In 1789, the distribution of ships in China, was: English East India Company, 21; British India ships, 40; United States of America, 15; Dutch, 5; Portuguese, 3; French, 1; Danes, 1; total, 86.

It must be remembered that the ships belonging to, or chartered by the East India Company, were large vessels, seldom less than 1,000 tons burthen: and that the British India, or "*country*" ships, were also of large burthen.

In 1834, the number of foreign ships which arrived at Canton, for the year ending 30th June, was: English East India Company, 24; Do., from India and Singapore, 77; American, 70; Spanish, 37; Portuguese, 23; French, 6; Dutch, 6; Danish, 5; Hamburgh, 3; Swedish, 1; Mexican, 1: Total, 253. In this year the exclusive privileges of the English East India Company ceased.

The number and tonnage of merchant vessels which arrived at the port of Canton, during the years ending the 31*st December,* 1844, *and* 1845, *were:*

1844			1845	
Colours.	Number of Vessels.	Tonnage	Number of Vessels.	Tonnage
British	228	111,350	182	86,087
American	57	23,273	83	38,658
French	2	751	3	799
Dutch	11	3,878	11	2,972
Belgian	2	1,151		
Danish	2	591	3	948
Swedish	2	581	6	2,066
Austrian			2	567
Hamburg	1	230	5	1,484
Bremen	1	294	2	520
Spanish			2	1,406
Columbian and Peruvian			2	243
Siam			1	1,100
Total	306	142,099	302	136,850

Comparing the year 1845 with 1844, there appears to be a diminution on the total tonnage of 3,249 tons. On the *English* tonnage there was a *diminution* to the extent of 25,263 tons, while the *Americans increased by* 5,395 tons. It is probable that the returns

for the year 1846, will present a similar result of the British tonnage arriving at Canton; in 1845, the "*country*," (Indian), vessels were in number, 64; tonnage, 35,888.

The whole British tonnage in China, during the years 1844 and 1845, was:

BRITISH TONNAGE—INWARDS.

1844.		1845.	
Canton,	228 Ships 111,350 tons.	Canton, 182 Ships,	86,087 tons.
Shanghai,	No return.	Shanghai 62 do.	15,971 do.
Amoy	do. do.	Amoy 33 do.	6,655 do.
Ningpo	do. do.	Ningpo „ do.	962 do.
Foo-chow	do. do.	Foo-chow 5 do.	„ do.
	228 Ships, 111,350		228 Ships, 109,675

That our tonnage trade has increased in China, is shown by the number and tonnage of British ships, to and from Great Britain and Hong Kong, trading with the ports of Canton, Shanghai, and Amoy, during the year 1845, *as compared with those to and from Great Britain, engaged in the China trade, on an average of ten years, from* 1833 *to* 1842.

OUTWARDS.			INWARDS.		
Years	Ships	Tonnage	Years	Ships	Tonnage
1845	213	72,825	1845	223	82,549
Average of ten years, from 1833 to 1842.	38	18,333	Average	54	30,462
Increase in 1845	175	54,492		182	52,087

In this table, so far as Canton is concerned, are included only ships from Great Britain, which have entered that port during the year; but as there is no distinction made in the Shanghai and Amoy tables between English and country ships bearing the British flag, which have entered either of these two latter ports, it is impossible to separate them.

An examination of the numerous official tables before me, leaves no doubt of the augmentation of our shipping in China; from the year 1793 to 1831, the British tonnage from China to England, did not average 20,000 tons yearly, and at the close of the East India Company's charter, did not exceed 27,000 tons. We may therefore fairly conclude, that the tonnage from England has doubled within the last ten years.

It is difficult to show the progress of our trade in value or in quantities with China, for a series of years. The drain of silver for opium, has without doubt, checked our trade between England and China, and by impoverishing the Chinese, it has prevented the sale of our manufactures.

British Trade in China, exclusive of Opium and Treasure since 1828.

		1828.	1838.	1844.		Total Dollars.	1845.		Total Dollars. at 4s. 4d.
				Canton.	OtherPorts.		Canton.	OtherPorts	
Total Imports	Dollars.	9,121,204	10,480,067	15,506,240	2,686,034	18,192,274	10,392,934	5,744,464	16,137,398
,, Exports -	,,	12,000,000	13,152,924	17,925,360	2,308,295	20,233,655	20,734,018	5,966,591	26,700,609
Total dollars -	-	21,121,204	23,632,991	33,431,600	4,994,329	38,475,929	31,126,952	11,711,055	42,838,007
Of the Imports—									
Raw Cotton, India	,,	4,500,000	6,563,037	6,816,382	163,011	6,979,393	4,727,834	194,889	4,922,723
Cotton and Linen goods	,,	200,000	792,158	4,039,182	1,552,101	5,591,283	2,450,432	4,069,006	6,519,438
Ditto Yarn -	,,	14,000	425,888	684,688	2,538	687,226	313,835	22,141	335,176
Woollens - -	,,	1,900,000	1,203,940	2,878,966	492,800	3,371,766	1,875,041	771,810	2,646,851
Metals - - -	,,	413,914	115,990	235,393	50,075	285,468	74,200	42,095	116,295
Of the Exports—									
Tea, England & Colonies	,,	9,000,000	8,561,576	13,432,958	318,992	13,751,950	15,825,954		
Silk, raw - -	,,	1,145,200	1,689,328	2,172,263	1,925,598	4,097,861	2,424,897	3,657,641	6,082,538
,, manufactured	,,	200,925	365,760	400,842			575,094		
Nankeen Cloths -	,,	649,898	41,500	32,765	5,112	37,877	12,756		
Sugar and Sugar-candy	,,	317,874	319,017	640,384			1,002,981		
Treasure Exported	,,	6,102,746	8,474,776	No returns.					
Opium Imported -	,,	11,243,496	13,554,030						

On a general view of the foregoing, it will be seen that there has been, in 1844 and 1845, an augmentation in some branches of our trade with China since 1828, and a diminution in other branches. How far it has been a better *paying* trade during the latter period, is another question; the general impression is, that during 1844 and 1845 commerce has been forced to an extent beyond remuneration; and it is said that the years 1846 and 1847 will exhibit a very great falling off in our exports to China.

The following is an abstract of Trade under British flags at the Ports of Canton and Shanghai in 1845, *as compared with* 1844.

	Imports—Dollars.		Exports—Dollars.		Increase in 1845.		Decrease in 1845.	
	1845.	1844.	1845.	1844.	Imports.	Exports	Imports.	Exports.
Canton.	10,392,934	15,506,240	20,734,018	17,925,360		2,808,658	5,113,306	
Shanghai	5,822,494	2,313,873	5,838,882	2,267,430	2,708,621	3,571,445		
	16,215,428	17,820,113	26,572,900	20,192,790	2,708,621	6,380,103	5,113,306	

The trade of the other three consular ports is scarcely worth notice, and would not affect the general results. It is a curious feature in our intercourse, that the exports from China have increased in a far greater proportion than the imports; indeed, in 1845, at Canton the exports were double the amount of the imports.

The export of raw cotton from India to China is decreasing in consequence of the augmenting supply from the United States. It is a clear indication of our erroneous fiscal and general policy in British India, where there is abundance of land, cheap labour, and near communication with China, and yet the American cotton now undersells the Anglo-Indian cotton in Canton. Our cotton goods have largely increased, but so also have the Americans, and in a more rapid ratio than our Manchester manufactures.

In woollens our trade has decreased. In a memorial to Her Majesty's government, in December, 1846, from certain cloth manufacturers and others, it is stated that during the period of the East India Company's exclusive trade with China, the yearly average number of pieces of all sorts of woollens shipped was 157,165, value £320,924; whereas, since the "opening of the trade," the average number has been only 99,684, value 191,531.

The memorialists further declare that "the recent treaty with China has not yielded them any advantage." An examination of the manner in which we allowed ourselves to be bound and fettered by that treaty will fully explain the reason, without urging the tea duties as a cause. We have voluntarily excluded ourselves from the north of China, where the climate requires woollen goods, and where the people are well supplied with *Russian and Prussian* woollen cloths! If we had studiously endeavoured to injure our

commerce with the north of China, and prevent our freedom of intercourse and extended traffic, we could not have more effectually accomplished the purpose than by the "Treaty of Nankin," and its still more injurious supplement of 8th of October, 1842, (see page 85, vol. ii.)

The comparative British trade of Canton and Shanghai is shown in the following statement for the past two years:—

1844.		Imports.		1845.
£3,451,312	.	Canton . .		£2,301,692
501,335	.	Shanghai . .		1,082,207
110,000	[estimated]	Amoy . .		147,494
10,000	[estimated]	Ningpo . .		10,398
		Foo-chow-foo	£72,147	
		Deduct, goods carried		
£4,072,647		to Shanghai .	„ 67,820	
3,566,318				4,527
£ 406,329	Decrease in imports.			£3,566,318

In exports, tea has risen from the value of £2,979,589 to £3,895,718—increase on the year, 916,121. Silk from £827,075 to 1,226,745, showing an addition to what was considered the large shipments of 1844 of £399,670 in value. Sugar and sugar-candy from £138,101 to £217,334.

1844.		Exports.	1845.
£3,883,828	. .	Canton . .	£4,492,370
487,528	. .	Shanghai .	1,259,091
70,000	[estimated]	Amoy . .	15,478
		Ningpo . .	17,495
		Foo-chow-foo .	683
£4,341,356			£5,785,117
		.	4,341,356
		Increase in exports	£1,443,761

The relative position of our great staples will be seen at the two ports thus. It is right, however, to premise that there have been heavy losses by the shipments to Shanghai in 1845.

1844.	Imports.	1845.
Woollens.		*Woollens.*
Canton .	£628,087	Canton . £406,133
Shanghai .	106,767	Shanghai . 167,417
1844 .	£734,854	1845 . £573,530

1844.		Imports.	1845.	
Cotton.			*Cotton.*	
Canton	£1,476,882		Canton	£1,024,364
Shanghai	321		Shanghai	
Amoy [estimated]	35,000		Amoy	42,227
1844	£1,512,215		1845	£1,066,591
Cotton Goods.			*Cotton Goods.*	
Canton	£875,156		Canton	£530,937
Shanghai	336,290		Shanghai	881,618
1844	£1,211,446		1845	£1,412,555
Cotton Yarns.			*Cotton Yarns.*	
Canton	£148,120		Canton	£63,830
Shanghai	550		Shanghai	4,820
1844	£148,670		1845	£68,650

1844.		Exports.	1845.	
Tea.			*Tea.*	
Canton	£2,910,474		Canton	£3,429,790
Shanghai	67,115		Shanghai	462,746
Ningpo	2,000		Amoy	544
			Ningpo	2,000
			Foo-chow-foo	638
1844	£2,979,589		1845	£3,895,718
Silk.			*Silk.*	
Canton	£409,862		Canton	£434,256
Shanghai	417,213		Shanghai	792,489
1844	£827,075		1845	£1,226,645

Sugar and Sugar-candy.

Canton in 1844	£138,101
Ditto „ 1845	217,334

It would be much too costly to print here the numerous tables of the whole trade of China for series of years, with different countries, which I laid before the Board of Trade. The commerce of the Western Nations, excepting the United States, is small, and may be said to be confined to Canton.

The following is an abstract of the Amount of Trade under British and Foreign flags, at the port of Canton, during the year 1845, *as compared with that of* 1844.

Flag.	Imports.		Exports.		Increase in 1845.		Decrease in 1845.	
	1845.	1844.	1845.	1844.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	
British - -	10,392,943	15,596,240	20,734,016	17,925,360		2,808,658	5,112,306	Exports no decrease.
American -	2,478,468	1,320,170	7,979,864	6,686,171	1,157,878	1,293,693		
French - -	8,318	33,823	93,010	37,136		55,880	25,505	
Dutch - -	77,751	231,708	635,533	572,188		63,345	153,957	
Danish - -	19,871	51,990	141,129			141,129	32,119	
Swedish - -	114,817	18,234	179,615	153,688	96,583	25,927		
German - -	123,530	5,743	419,973	122,888	117,767	297,085		
Lorchas - -	825,060	614,824	219,596	7,522	210,236	212,074		
Others - -	22,482	60,517	163,688	9,002		154,686	38,035	
Total, dollars at 4*s.* 4*d.*	14,062,811	17,843,249	30,566,426	25,513,946	1,582,484	5,052,477	5,362,922	

It would be interesting to trace the steady, onward progress of the American trade with China; but it would be somewhat irrelative to the object in view, in reference to our own trade and its restrictions. The accompanying table will give a general idea of the foreign commerce of China. The tariff of duties levied at the sea ports and the *inland* custom houses, will be given in the Appendix to the ensuing part, along with other useful documents.

CHAPTER III.

RISE, PROGRESS, AND POSITION OF THE TEA TRADE.

[*As furnished in a report to Her Majesty's government from China, in* 1845, *and lodged in the Colonial Office, and at the Board of Trade. The numerous tables sent home are not printed, on account of the expense.—R. M. M.*]

The traffic in an innutritious herb, grown almost solely in one district of Asia, and in a country hitherto isolated from the western nations, is one of the most remarkable illustrations of the enterprise and energy of modern commerce. A trade involving British capital to the extent of about £10,000,000 sterling, furnishing regular employment to about 60,000 tons of first class Engl[illegible]-built

[illegible] from 1789 to 1828; it was kept separate until 1827.
[illegible] and Sons. 22nd Jan., 1847.

To face Page 156.

QUANTITY OF TEA IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM, SOLD, OR RETAINED FOR CONSUMPTION, RATE OF DUTY LEVIED, REVENUE RECEIVED, SALE AMOUNT, AND PRICE PER POUND. PREPARED BY R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN.

Years.	Quantity of Tea imported.	Nominal Duty levied. Customs and Excise.	Duty or average for Consumption.	REVENUE RECEIVED.—Net Returns of Customs and Excise.			Average Price per lb.	Sale amount.	PRICE OF TEA AND REMARKS.
				Quarter Returns.	Bonded.	Total.			
	lbs.	d.	d.	£	£	£			
1668	143	16d. or 20d. on all tea made and sold in public houses.					Average 20s. or 2s.		
1678	4,713								
1697		1st 1698, 4d.; 1 Geo. I. Stat. 1, Geo. I. Stat. 2, 8s. or 9s. and five per cent. on the value.	No annual statements.				12s. or 2s.		
1700	20,000						with taxes 16s. or 2s.		
1701	30,000								
1702									
1703	1,100,000								
1704		4½l. 10s. 7½d. or 9os., and 8s. or 9s. and 5l.		1,100,000	100,000		12s. or 2s.		From 1721 to 1726 the prices of tea were Bohea and Congou 16s. to 18s. or 2s.; Pekoe 14s. to 18s.; Hyson 22s. to 32s. or 3s.; prices subsequently fell.
1711				1,102,201					
1712				1,150,000					
1713				750,000					
1714				1,100,000	151,000				
1715				1,251,112	100,000				
1716		4½l. 10s. 7½d. or 90s., and 8s. or 9s. and 5l.		1,351,211					
1717									101,737
1718				2,100,000					111,000
1719		4½l. 10s. 7½d. or 90s., and 8s. or 9s.		2,100,000					1,000,000
1720									1,000,000
1721				1,150,000					1,000,000
1722				1,250,000					1,000,000
1723				1,300,000					1,000,000
1724				1,400,000					1,000,000
1725				1,400,000					1,000,000
1726				1,400,000					1,000,000
1727				1,450,000					1,000,000
1728				1,500,000					1,000,000
1729				1,500,000					1,000,000
1730				1,500,000					1,000,000
1731		4½l. 10s. 7½d. or 90s., and 5s. or 9s.		1,501,795					
1732				1,602,324					
1733				1,601,000					
1734				1,600,000					
1735	3,000,000			1,600,000					
1736				1,600,000					
1737				1,600,000					
1738				1,600,000					
1739				1,600,000					
1740		4½l. 10s. 7½d. or 90s., and 5s. or 9s.		1,600,000					
1741				1,600,000					
1742				1,600,000					
1743				1,600,000					
1744				1,600,000					
1745				1,600,000					
1746				1,600,000					
1747	3,000,000	4½l. 10s. 7½d. or 90s., and 5s. or 9s. and 5l.		1,600,000					
1748				1,600,000					
1749				1,600,000					
1750				1,600,000					
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1762				1,600,000					
1763				1,600,000					
1764				1,600,000					
1765				1,600,000					
1766				1,600,000					
1767	4,200,000	4½l. 10s. 7½d. or 90s., and 5s. or 9s. and 5l. and single tax		1,600,000					
1768				1,600,000					
1769				1,600,000					
1770				1,600,000					
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* The duty is fixed at 9s. 6d. and 10s. from 4d. or 5d. per pound; it was then raised to 12s. and 40s. per cent. ad valorem; in 1806, to 96 per cent. 20s.; in 1808, to 96 per cent. 25s.; in 1809, to 96 per cent. 27s.; in 1810, to 96 per cent. 28s.; in 1811, to 96 per cent. 29s.; in 1812, to 96 per cent. 30s.; in 1813, to 96 per cent. 31s.; in 1814, to 96 per cent. 32s.; in 1815, to 96 per cent. 33s.; in 1816, to 96 per cent. 34s.; in 1817, to 96 per cent. 35s.; in 1818, to 96 per cent. 36s.; in 1819, to 96 per cent. 37s.; in 1820, to 96 per cent. 38s.; in 1821, to 96 per cent. 39s.; in 1822, to 96 per cent. 40s.; in 1823, to 96 per cent. 41s.; in 1824, to 96 per cent. 42s.; in 1825, to 96 per cent. 43s.; in 1826, to 96 per cent. 44s.; in 1827, to 96 per cent. 45s.; in 1828, to 96 per cent. 46s.; in 1829, to 96 per cent. 47s.; in 1830, to 96 per cent. 48s.; in 1831, to 96 per cent. 49s.; in 1832, to 96 per cent. 50s.; in 1833, to 96 per cent. 51s.; in 1834, to 96 per cent. 52s.; in 1835, to 96 per cent. 53s.; in 1836, to 96 per cent. 54s.; in 1837, to 96 per cent. 55s.; in 1838, to 96 per cent. 56s.; in 1839, to 96 per cent. 57s.; in 1840, to 96 per cent. 58s.; in 1841, to 96 per cent. 59s.; in 1842, to 96 per cent. 60s.; in 1843, to 96 per cent. 61s.; in 1844, to 96 per cent. 62s.; in 1845, to 96 per cent. 63s.; in 1846, to 96 per cent. 64s.; in 1847, to 96 per cent. 65s.; in 1848, to 96 per cent. 66s.; in 1849, to 96 per cent. 67s.; in 1850, to 96 per cent. 68s.; in 1851, to 96 per cent. 69s.; in 1852, to 96 per cent. 70s.; in 1853, to 96 per cent. 71s.; in 1854, to 96 per cent. 72s.; in 1855, to 96 per cent. 73s.; in 1856, to 96 per cent. 74s.; in 1857, to 96 per cent. 75s.; in 1858, to 96 per cent. 76s.; in 1859, to 96 per cent. 77s.; in 1860, to 96 per cent. 78s.; in 1861, to 96 per cent. 79s.; in 1862, to 96 per cent. 80s.; in 1863, to 96 per cent. 81s.; in 1864, to 96 per cent. 82s.; in 1865, to 96 per cent. 83s.; in 1866, to 96 per cent. 84s.; in 1867, to 96 per cent. 85s.; in 1868, to 96 per cent. 86s.; in 1869, to 96 per cent. 87s.; in 1870, to 96 per cent. 88s.; in 1871, to 96 per cent. 89s.; in 1872, to 96 per cent. 90s.; in 1873, to 96 per cent. 91s.; in 1874, to 96 per cent. 92s.; in 1875, to 96 per cent. 93s.; in 1876, to 96 per cent. 94s.; in 1877, to 96 per cent. 95s.; in 1878, to 96 per cent. 96s.; in 1879, to 96 per cent. 97s.; in 1880, to 96 per cent. 98s.; in 1881, to 96 per cent. 99s.; in 1882, to 96 per cent. 100s.; in 1883, to 96 per cent. 101s.; in 1884, to 96 per cent. 102s.; in 1885, to 96 per cent. 103s.; in 1886, to 96 per cent. 104s.; in 1887, to 96 per cent. 105s.; in 1888, to 96 per cent. 106s.; in 1889, to 96 per cent. 107s.; in 1890, to 96 per cent. 108s.; in 1891, to 96 per cent. 109s.; in 1892, to 96 per cent. 110s.; in 1893, to 96 per cent. 111s.; in 1894, to 96 per cent. 112s.; in 1895, to 96 per cent. 113s.; in 1896, to 96 per cent. 114s.; in 1897, to 96 per cent. 115s.; in 1898, to 96 per cent. 116s.; in 1899, to 96 per cent. 117s.; in 1900, to 96 per cent. 118s.; in 1901, to 96 per cent. 119s.; in 1902, to 96 per cent. 120s.; in 1903, to 96 per cent. 121s.; in 1904, to 96 per cent. 122s.; in 1905, to 96 per cent. 123s.; in 1906, to 96 per cent. 124s.; in 1907, to 96 per cent. 125s.; in 1908, to 96 per cent. 126s.; in 1909, to 96 per cent. 127s.; in 1910, to 96 per cent. 128s.; in 1911, to 96 per cent. 129s.; in 1912, to 96 per cent. 130s.; in 1913, to 96 per cent. 131s.; in 1914, to 96 per cent. 132s.; in 1915, to 96 per cent. 133s.; in 1916, to 96 per cent. 134s.; in 1917, to 96 per cent. 135s.; in 1918, to 96 per cent. 136s.; in 1919, to 96 per cent. 137s.; in 1920, to 96 per cent. 138s.; in 1921, to 96 per cent. 139s.; in 1922, to 96 per cent. 140s.; in 1923, to 96 per cent. 141s.; in 1924, to 96 per cent. 142s.; in 1925, to 96 per cent. 143s.; in 1926, to 96 per cent. 144s.; in 1927, to 96 per cent. 145s.; in 1928, to 96 per cent. 146s.; in 1929, to 96 per cent. 147s.; in 1930, to 96 per cent. 148s.; in 1931, to 96 per cent. 149s.; in 1932, to 96 per cent. 150s.; 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shipping; contributing nearly £5,000,000 sterling of revenue annually to the exchequer, deserves investigation in detail, as regards its rise and progress.

The tea plant, although found in different parts of the eastern hemisphere, is probably indigenous to China or Japan, in both of which countries it is extensively cultivated. The earliest record to be found of the use of tea, is in the journals of the Moorish historians and travellers, about the end of the eighth century, at which period the Mohammedans had free ingress and residence in China, subject to very few restrictions. Ibu Batuta, (A.D. 1323), mentions that the Emperor received the revenues from salt; that paper money bearing the government stamp was current in the country, and that the general drink of the people was prepared by immersing the leaves of a small plant in hot water, which was used medicinally as well as for correcting the bad properties of the water.

Soliman, an Arabian merchant, who visited China, A.D. 850, describes "sah," (tea), as the usual beverage of the people.

"Texeria," a Spaniard, in 1600, saw dried leaves (of tea) at Malacca, which were in use among the Chinese. "Olearius," in 1633, found the use of tea pretty general among the Persians, who procured it from China, by means of the Usbeck Tartars. The Russian ambassador (Stawkan), to the court of the Mogul, Shan Attyn, partook of tea, and at his departure he was offered it for the Czar Michael Romanoff, but refused the offer, not knowing of what use it would be in Russia.

Of the first introduction of tea into Europe, we know but little. In 1517, Emanuel, king of Portugal, sent a fleet of eight ships to China, and an ambassador to Peking, but it was not until after the formation of the Dutch East India Company, in 1602, that the use of tea became known on the continent, and although the enterprising Hollanders paid considerable attention to it, as an article of commerce, the consumption increased but little, for in 1670 it was unknown in Dort. The Dutch, in their second voyage to China, bought a good deal of tea, at from 8*d.* to 10*d.* per pound, (the price at the present day), which, although of a middling quality, sold for thirty livres a pound: for some years the best Japanese tea, esteemed in preference to that of China, brought from 100 to 200 livres per pound in France, until the use of coffee and chocolate became fashionable and general.

The first authentic notice to be found of tea in England, is an act of parliament, (12 Car. II, c. 23), A.D. 1660, by which a duty of eightpence per gallon was laid on all tea made and sold in coffee houses, and by an act framed in the same year, the duties of excise on malt liquors, cyder, perry, mead, spirits, and strong waters, coffee, *tea*, sherbet and chocolate, were settled on the king for life. In the diary of Mr. Pepys, secretary of the Admiralty, there is found, under date September 25th, 1661, the following memoran-

dum. "I sent for a cup of tea, a Chinese drink, of which I had never drunk before." In 1662, Charles the Second married the Princess Catherine of Portugal, who, it is said, was fond of tea, having been accustomed to it in her own country, hence it became fashionable in England. Waller, in a birth-day ode to Her Majesty, describes the introduction of the herb to the Queen in the following lines:—

"The best of queens and best of herbs we owe,
To that bold nation, who the way did shew
To the fair region, where the sun doth rise,
Whose rich productions we so justly prize."

The same poet attributes an inspiring power to the Chinese leaf:

"The Muses' friend, Tea, does our fancy aid,
Repress those vapours which the head invade."

In 1660, tea was sold in England at three guineas per pound.

In 1666, Lords Arlington and Ossory brought a quantity of tea from Holland; its price in England then was sixty shillings per pound.

About this period, the East India Company being desirous of presenting a rarity to His Majesty, procured twenty-two pounds of tea, which was thought a valuable offering to royalty.

The following copy of an advertisement in 1680, shews the price of the leaf, and the mode of vending it to the public:

"These are to give notice to persons of quality, that a small parcel of most excellent tea, is by accident fallen into the hands of a private person to be sold; but that none may be disappointed, the lowest price is thirty shillings a pound, and not any to be sold under a pound weight, for which they are desired to bring a convenient box. Enquire at Mr. Thomas Eagle's, at the King's Head, in Saint James market."—*London Gazette*, Dec. 16th, 1680.

Heretofore the small quantity used in England, was obtained from the Continent, for in 1634, some English ships having visited Canton, a rupture took place between our seamen and the Chinese, and trade was for some time interdicted; but in 1668, the Court of Directors in a dispatch to their factories at Bantam in Java, ordered them to send home by their ships one hundred pounds weight of the best tea they could get; and accordingly, in 1669, the first invoice of tea was received, amounting to two cannisters of 143½ pounds. Such was the commencement of a trade, which by the most judicious management, has now risen to an importation of upwards of fifty million pounds weight.

In 1678, the East India Company imported 4,713 pounds of tea, but this then large quantity completely glutted the market, for the

imports of tea, during the ensuing six years, amounted in all to only 318 pounds.

In 1680, the Company opened a direct trade with China.

In 1689, the old mode of levying the duty on tea, viz.: by the quantity made in the coffee-houses, being found very uncertain, as well as vexatious, an act of William and Mary, sess, 2, c. 6, fixed a custom duty of five shillings a pound, together with the former sum of five per cent. on the value.

During the years 1697, 1698, and 1699, the East India Company imported on an average, 20,000 pounds of tea annually. In 1700, the importation was augmented to 60,000 pounds a year, the average price of tea was then sixteen shillings per pound.

In 1721, the importation of tea into England, exceeded for the first time 1,000,000 pounds, and at the September sale in 1728, the quantity put up for sale was 769,104 pounds, the duty on which amounted to £153,820 sterling. The bill of cargo of the "Cæsar," which arrived from China, 17th May, 1726, has entered in it 358,100 pounds of tea, the duty on which was, £71,620 sterling. Since the commencement of the present century, the annual consumption of tea in the United Kingdom, has increased upwards of twenty million pounds, while its use during the same period has been decreasing in Europe and America, *where the duty has been nominal.* In the space of one hundred years, from 1710 to 1810, there were sold at the East India Company's sales, 750,219,016 pounds of tea, the value of which was £129,804,595 sterling; of this quantity of tea 116,470,675 pounds were re-exported. Since the commencement of the present century, about 1,385,949,566 pounds of tea have been sold in England, and there has been paid into the British exchequer about £167,643,702 sterling, on the above-mentioned quantity of tea.

The appended table will explain at one view the rise and progress of the British tea trade, in reference to the quantity of tea annually exported; from 1669 to 1845, the quantity sold or retained for consumption, the rate of duty levied thereon, the amount of revenue paid yearly into the British exchequer, the price per pound, &c.

It is impossible to examine this table without perceiving how judiciously the trade in teas has been managed, and how dangerous it would be to tamper with this large branch of commerce, and important source of public revenue, to the extent of about £5,000,000 per annum. The commutation act of 1784, which is relied on as an argument in favour of the reduced duty—had for its object the suppression, full one half of the previous consumption having been smuggled into the country.

The following return, prepared by those highly respected and intelligent brokers, Messrs. William James Thompson and Sons, of Mincing Lane, shows the total imports of tea into the United Kingdom since 1842, *under its various designations. Of course, this table was not in this report when sent from China to Her Majesty's government in July* 1845.

	IMPORTS.				
	1846	1845	1844	1843	1842
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
Bohea, Canton.....	.....	.....	72,000	134,000	767,000
Do. Fokien.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	107,000
Congou	36,442,000	34,293,000	35,328,000	33,739,000	26,252,000
Pouchong.....	51,000	113,000	764,000	2,493,000	1,801,000
Caper.....	1,529,000	1,176,000	434,000	352,000	299,000
Campoi	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Souchong	2,374,000	1,282,000	1,350,000	1,085,000	825,000
Flowery and Black Leaf Pekoe	722,000	769,000	538,000	759,000	818,000
Orange Pekoe	2,515,000	1,638,000	995 000	855,000	744,000
Twankay	3,517,000	3,071,000	3,543,000	3,431,000	3,868,000
Hyson Skin	193,000	328,000	505,000	316,000	384,000
Hyson	1,572,000	2,072,000	1,460,000	1,545,000	2,147,000
Young Hyson	3,340,000	2,840,000	1,332,000	860,000	1,212,000
Imperial and Gunpowder	3,671,000	3,355,000	1,827,000	1,141,000	1,918,000
Sorts and Assam Tea.	572,000	371,000	203,000	141,000	203.000
For Exportation only.	5,000	.....	42,000	2,000	299,000
Total....	56,503,000	51,308,000	48,393,000	46,853,000	41,644,000
Black	44,017,000	39,518,000	39,644,000	39,513,000	31,915,000
Green	12,486,000	11,790,000	8,749,000	7,340,000	9,729,000
Total delivered ...	50,991,000	48,427,000	46,677,000	44,297,000	43,304,000
Exported	3,457,000	4,300,000	5,501,000	4,395,000	5,750,000
Home Consumption..	47,534,000	44,127,000	41,176,000	39,902,000	37,554,000

The distribution of tea to different parts of the United Kingdom is thus shown for 1844:

London, sixty vessels, containing 33,436,887 pounds; Liverpool, twenty-five vessels, containing 110,188,552 pounds; Dublin, four vessels, containing 1,143,471 pounds; Clyde, four vessels, containing 1,716,142 pounds; Bristol, two vessels, containing 1,060,978 pounds; Leith, two vessels, containing 478,089 pounds; Hull, one vessel, containing 423,143 pounds; Belfast, one vessel, containing 252,000 pounds.

Ireland was formerly largely supplied from Liverpool, but Dublin now imports direct from China, nearly one-third of the quantity of tea used in Ireland.

While the East India Company had the monopoly of the tea trade, their shipments were made at one period of the year, viz.: November, December, January, and February, and latterly the Select Committee at Canton purchased, during the spring, at low prices, the teas which were left unsold at the usual period, and which were termed "winter teas." This, however, was only done to a limited extent, lest an inferior article should be imported. Now the trade is more equally diffused over the whole year, although the best seasons for sailing from China to England, are from November to February, during which period also, the bulk of the teas arrive i nCanton, and command the largest exports.

The Stocks of tea on hand on the 30th of November, 1845 *and* 1846, *were: (This statement recently added.)*

	Stock on hand, 31st December.			
	1846.	1845.	1844.	1843.
Bohea	224,000	272,000	437,000	526,000
Congou	31,021,000	30,454,000	29,823,000	27,777,000
Pouchong	212,000	425,000	1,096,000	1,758,000
Caper	1,142,000	855,000	282,000	255,000
Campoi	....	....	.....	.....
Souchong	2,061,000	1,373,000	1,376,000	976,000
Flowery and Black leaf Pekoe	785,000	508,000	349,000	534,000
Orange Pekoe	2,045,000	875,000	378,000	379,000
Twankay	2,863,000	1,929,000	2,390,000	2,587,000
Hyson skin	321,000	325,000	423,000	297,000
Hyson	1,565,000	1,517,000	878,000	1,026,000
Young Hyson	2,734,000	1,817,000	529,000	522,000
Imperial and Gunpowder	3,153,000	2,192,000	806,000	435,000
Sorts and Assam Tea	345.000	368,000	230,000	145,000
For exportation only	56,000	78,000	110,000	180,000
Total	48,500,000	42,988,000	39,107,000	37,391,000
Black lbs.	37,759,000	35,061,000	33,968,000	32,416,000
Green lbs.	10,741,000	7,927,000	5,139,000	4,975,000

Thus there may be considered a sufficiency for the consumption of one year on hand, and for another year on its way from China.

The tea trade of Canton in 1841-42 was not interrupted by the war which we were waging against the Chinese government in the north of China, although we had destroyed the forts of the Bocca Tigris in the Canton River 7th January; captured the defences of Canton city on 19th March; and compelled the city of Canton to capitulate, and pay 6,000,000 dollars on 25th and 30th of May, 1841. Amoy was stormed and taken on the 26th August, 1841. On 1st October, 1841, Tinghae the capital of Chusan was captured after an assault of two hours. Ningpo and Chinhai were next taken, and during the winters of 1841-42,

* The cargoes of sundry vessels arrived, amounting to 824,517 pounds, not included in this stock.

forcibly retained in our possession; Chapoo 16th May, 1842; Shanghai 19th June 1842. Yet during these proceedings 36,789,954 pounds of tea were shipped from Canton for the United Kingdom, in 29,300 tons of British shipping divided as equally as in the other seasons over the different months of the year, as shown in a return printed in the Friend of China and Hong Kong Gazette, No. 11, and No. 17, of 14th July 1842. This return is a complete answer to the erroneous allegation, that the possession of Hong Kong by England is essential to a steady prosecution of the tea trade at Canton. Even during the blockade of Canton, and before we had any settlement at Hong Kong, the tea trade was carried on nearly as extensively as ever, by conveying the tea to the outer anchorages in the Canton waters in a few ships under Danish and other foreign colours, temporarily used for the purpose.

Between 1st July, 1840, and 30th June, 1841, there were shipped from Canton for England, black tea 23,694,159 pounds; green tea 4,992,825 pounds; total 28,686,984 pounds; and to the United States, black tea 1,524,244 pounds; green tea 6,030,103 pounds; total 7,554,347 pounds. A considerable portion of tea was shipped in the month of May 1841, a few days previous to the storming of Canton, and a large portion in June, 1841, immediately after the capture and ransom of that city.

The quantity of tea consumed in Europe must formerly have been considerable, as it is stated that the quantity of tea exported from China to Europe in 1666, was seventeen million pounds; and that in nine years preceding 1780 there were 118,000,000 pounds of tea imported into the continent. The average of teas exported from China to Europe in foreign ships for nine years, viz.: from March 1772 to 1780 (says another authority) was 13,191,201 pounds, the average number of vessels, twelve.

In 1785 the importation into the continent was nineteen million pounds, but in 1796, it had decreased to little more than 2,500,000 pounds. The importation into the continent from 1782 to 1794, was 129,852,480 pounds; and from 1795 to 1807, 32,732,756 pounds, shewing a decrease in thirteen years of 97,119,724 pounds.

In 1808, 1809, &c., I find no account of tea exported from Canton to Europe; the amount having I suppose become so small for each country, the Americans became the chief carriers of tea and eastern produce during the latter years of our war with France, and this trade they still in some degree possess.

Of the Portuguese tea trade I have been unable to get any data, the demand is so trifling that we know nothing of the amount, although Macao, their settlement at the entrance of the Canton River, has long been the residence of the English tea merchants. The Dutch tea trade, at an early period, was considerable. The exportations from Canton, from 1784 to 1794, was 43,649,760 pounds; and for the ensuing ten years, only 1,449,599 pounds.

After the restoration of the House of Nassau, in 1815, a Dutch company was formed to carry on the tea trade; the royal proclamation announcing that it was to prevent the trade falling into the hands of foreigners. In 1817 the company was dissolved, and the Americans and Dutch entered freely into competition for the supply of Holland and Belgium with tea, "the duties (as Mr. Masterson, the vice consul at Rotterdam, says) being so low, that on importations by Dutch and foreign flags, it is only about an English penny on the lower prices, and on the higher prices nothing." Mr. Masterson delivered into the House of Commons a table, which demonstrated that although there was the greatest competition, the greatest abundance, and the lowest possible price, lower even, sometimes, than it could be bought at Canton, yet the consumption of tea did not increase; although, according to theory, it ought to have done so. Let it be remembered that this trade has not only been carried on without profit, but at considerable loss; that of the Dutch being two million of florins within four years.

By comparing the first three years, with the last three years of the Dutch trade, the decrease will be found to amount to 122,834 quarter chests; and in 1830 there were no ships sent to China. The Dutch consul, in an address to the governor of Canton, in 1829, (when there were the following ships in China: the "Peter and Karl" of 300 tons; the "Teemanshop;" the "Charlotte" of 150 tons; and the "Experiment" of 188 tons, trading to Java; while, so long ago as 1747, there were six large Dutch vessels at Canton; and in 1789 there were five, all of large burthen), says, "For many years the trade of Holland, with the empire of China, was considerable, many ships annually came, bringing goods from Holland, or its colonies, but the principal object was always to purchase cargoes entirely the production of China; and I am happy to say that no difficulties have ever existed between the two countries. Formerly, our connexion was advantageous to both parties, but since the expenses, and the duties which are demanded on our ships and our merchandise, whether imports or exports, have considerably increased, the Cohong has not preserved the merchants which the government had fixed, from whence it results that commerce has become limited, and its advantages less; and insensibly that of Holland has so much diminished that it has become almost nothing."

The Dutch are now trying to cultivate tea in Java, and by an official return the export of Java tea to Holland, for the year ending June, 1846, is 992,500 pounds. I was told at Java last year that the plantations are in fine order and being increased, but the tea is said to be of inferior quality, and grown and manufactured at considerable expense.

Denmark next presents itself to observation, as the Danes have been consumers of tea since the commencement of the last century; at one time they exported a large quantity of tea from Canton,

viz.: from 1767 to 1786, 64,305,812 pounds, and from 1787 to 1806, 21,042,101 pounds; decrease on twenty years 42,884,711. The duty is extremely low, viz.: two per cent. ad valorem, and the sale price according to Mr. Consul Fenwick's report, dated Elsinore, December, 1828, was, for bohea, 20*d.*; congou, 28*d.* to 30*d.*; and souchong, 30*d.* to 32*d.* per pound. Here, also, we do not find the consumption to have at all increased, but the very contrary:—

	lbs.
In April, 1825, the stock of teas of different kinds on hand in Denmark was	484,000
In 1827, there was a direct supply of	717,000
Total	1,201,000
In September, 1828, after the sale which supplied the market until the ensuing spring, there was on hand	685,000
The consumption, therefore, for four years was	516,000
Or yearly	129,000

There was consequently, in 1828, sufficient tea in Denmark for nearly five years' consumption. It is a marked indication of the indispensable necessity of carefully attending to the importation of a foreign, and indeed an artificial article, such as that of tea, that in some countries in Europe the use of tea was formerly considerable, even when its price was great, and the difficulty in procuring it enhanced; but now when freight, insurance, &c., is low, and tea exceedingly cheap, the importation is so extraordinarily lessened. Sweden offers a confirmation of this remark. The Swedish exports of tea from Canton, from 1767 to 1786, were 60,960,475 pounds; from 1787 to 1806, 21,208,423 pounds; decrease on twenty years, 39,752,052 pounds. At present, I believe, there is very little tea imported. The Swedes, perhaps, thought as the poet did in the two concluding lines of the following extract from the "Dessert," a poem published in 1819:—

"Enlivening, mild, and sociable tea,—
Scandal-compelling green, pekoe, bohea;
Without thee once philosophy could write, . .
And wisdom's page the moral pen indite;
Without thee Thamosthetes their laws enacted,
Without thee thought and taught, and dreamt and acted;
With this celestial gift, how strange that we
Should neither better eat nor drink, nor think nor see."

At Trieste the latter part of the last century, there was comparatively a large importation of tea from Canton, viz.: from 1779 to 1783, 6,449,170 pounds.

The British consul at Trieste, writing in 1828 to the foreign department, relative to the consumption of tea there, says:—

"The consumption of tea in this government is so insignificant as to warrant the assertion that it is scarcely to be considered as an object of trade. It is used more as a medicine than as a necessary article of subsistence, or an agreeable beverage, except by the English families here resident and a few others in the higher circles.

"The importation in British vessels is limited to small parcels brought by masters of ships, and I am credibly informed has not amounted to 1,000 pounds during the last nine years, the period I have been in office. A more considerable quantity (about 3,000 pounds) was imported some years ago in an American ship, and left in commission with an English house here; but the greater part, notwithstanding the extreme lowness of the prices, still remains unsold, and I am assured that it is very doubtful whether wholesale buyers could be found for it at a reduction of thirty per cent."

In the city and liberties of Trieste, which is a *free port*, and also in Istria, as being beyond the line of custom-houses, there are no duties on tea or any other articles of merchandise. There was, indeed, till lately, a duty of one-half per cent. ad valorem, which has now ceased, the object for which it was levied, viz.: to pay the debts contracted by the municipality during the war, being accomplished.*

The consul at Leghorn states that the consumption of tea in Tuscany is chiefly confined to foreigners who reside in Florence and Leghorn, the natives only using it medicinally. In Genoa the consumption is a few hundred pounds weight; in Mr. Money, the consul-general's return, I find the following statement of the total importation into the Austrian ports of the Adriatic.†

Towns.	Quantities of tea imported.
"Venice."	Have not averaged more than two cwt. per annum in the last ten years.
"Trieste."	About five cwt. per annum, being little in use except by British residents.
"Fuime."	Do not exceed from 100 to 150 lbs. per year.
"Ragusa."	Very inconsiderable.

In the foregoing mentioned States tea is cheap, there are little or no duties. From Palermo, the consul-general writes, "the consumption of tea in the Island of Sicily is very trifling, about twenty chests per annum, the Sicilians seldom make use of it, except in illness as a medicine, and that of a very inferior quality. It is chiefly imported from the United States of America.

In the kingdom of Naples, it appears from the two years' re-

* Consular returns, House of Lords Select Committee, Appendix B. page 1259.
† Select Committee House of Lords, Appendix B. page 1245.

turns forwarded by the consul-general, there was a decrease in 1827 of 3,419 lbs. against 5,961 lbs. in 1826.

The quantity of tea exported from Canton by the Prussians, was, in 1783, 3,329,800 lbs.; yearly diminishing until 1803, when it was only 1,073,733 lbs. After 1803 there is no further regular account of exportations, and I only find casual shipments, decreasing in quantity. In 1829 the consul-general at Dantzic regrets it is not in his power to get any information of the tea trade there or in Berlin, that in fact there is no wholesale trade in teas.

At Frankfort, the consul-general observes, "the quantity of tea cannot exactly be ascertained, as no consumption duty is levied, tenpence per cwt. not deserving that denomination."

In 1817 the consumption was 380 cwt., and in 1826, 112 cwt.*

The consul thinks that about 100 cwt. of tea is consumed by a population of 70,000 inhabitants in Frankfort, but he adds, this valuation cannot serve as a general basis for Germany, as in some parts of it 'no tea is drunk,' and in others very little, the people being in the habit of drinking coffee for breakfast, and beer or wine at other meals.

It might be supposed that the temperament of the French nation would have made them extensive consumers of tea. Formerly, the taste in this particular was improving and extending, and at one time tea found its best market in France. From 1783 to 1793 the French exports of tea from Canton amounted to 15,122,130 lbs. and for the ensuing ten years to only 353,333 lbs., a decrease of 14,768,797 lbs.

At a later period we do not find that peace, and the increasing prosperity of the people, induced them to drink tea extensively, although the duties on importation scarcely differed on a foreign or native ship, viz.: about twopence per pound.

The tea imported into France from 1820 to 1824, ranged from 80,000 to 70,000 killogrammes† a year. At present the consumption is almost confined to the English residents in France.

The consul at Bremen states, "that the consumption of tea is inconsiderable there, occupying a small portion of shiproom."

At Lubeck "there is no wholesale trade in tea, and but a very irregular one in the retail line." (consul's report.) The commerce of Russia with China will be given in the description of Kiachta.

Sir Daniel Bayley, the consul-general at St. Petersburgh, in his despatch to government, 18th December, 1828, states that, "from the most authentic sources of information he has had access to, it appears that the importation of tea into the Russian empire has been, from 1824 to 1827, *poods* 580,231, of which the exports were *poods* 3,843. The average annual imports were *poods* 144,097." =English 5,187,496 lbs., value £248,346.

* The only two years given in the consular return.

† A killogramme is 15,434 grains avoirdupois.

The export of tea from Canton, in United States' vessels, was, in 1843-44, of green tea 10,131,837 lbs., of black tea 4,125,527 lbs. =14,257,364. In 1844-45 the export rose to 20,751,583 lbs. The duty levied for some years in America has been nominal, but the consumption of tea has not been increased.

The average annual consumption of China tea in different countries, as nearly as can be ascertained, is now, in round numbers, thus :—

	lbs.
Great Britain and Ireland . . .	45,000,000
British North America and West Indies .	2,500,000
Australasia, Cape of Good Hope, &c. .	2,500,000
British India and Eastern Islands . .	2,000,000
Total in the British empire	52,000,000
United States of North America . .	7,000,000
Russia	10,000,000
France and Colonies	500,000
Hanse Towns, &c.	150,000
Holland and its Colonies	1,000,000
Belgium	200,000
Denmark, Sweden and Norway . . .	250,000
The German States	500,000
Spain and Portugal	100,000
Italian States	50,000
South American States	500,000
Total consumption in foreign countries	20,250,000

Thus, the English consume more than twice the quantity o tea that is consumed by all the other countries, excepting China and Japan. It will be seen, on referring generally to the Canton Price Currents, that the cost price of tea has increased in Canton since the abolition of the East India Company, and not until February and March 1845, did prices fall. An increased demand in China has always caused an enhanced price.

The large amount of tea consumed in Europe and America, is chiefly grown south of the Great Yangtzekang River; the whole region lying between the 27th and 31st degrees of north latitude, and from the sea-coast inland for five to six hundred miles, may be considered capable of producing tea; but the most favoured region is the generally sterile hilly province of Fokein, and the provinces of Keang-soo and Che-keang, between the 25th and 31st degrees of north latitude. This territory, which extends over 350 to 400 square miles, is composed principally of the debris of a coarse granite and of a ferruginous sandstone, crumbling into decay, but when well comminuted and irrigated, yielding sufficient nutrimen

for the hardy tea plant, (a camellia,) whose qualities, like that of the vine, are elicited by the nature of the soil, the elevation, the climate, and the solar aspect to which the shrub is subjected.

It is generally stated that green and black tea are produced from the shrubs of the same species, with a slight variety; the leaf of the green being larger and broader than that of the black—the former leaf is rounded—the latter elliptic, flatter and more coriaceous. The cultivation in different soils, the picking of the leaves at different stages of expansion, and the subjecting them to a greater or less degree of heat and manipulation in drying, is the cause of considerable variety; probably the same difference exists as between the red and white grape, or the black and white currant.

The shrub is cultivated with great care from seeds, then planted in quincunx rows, in beds, chiefly along the sides of hills with a southern aspect, and on a poor gravelly soil, among the debris of decayed granite and disintegrated sandstone, and where nothing else will grow, and it is used for hedge-rows or boundaries.*

The height varies from three to seven feet, and it is very leafy. The flower resembles the wild rose or briar flower, common in English hedges in autumn; the seed vessel is a nut of the size of a small hazel, or rather like the castor-oil nut, but rounder; three red kernels are in each nut, divided by capsules, and from these a quantity of oil, termed "*tea oil,*" is extracted and used for common purposes by the Chinese. Six or seven seeds are put into each hole when planting; in twelve or eighteen months transplantation takes place, and about the third year the leaves are first plucked; at seven years of age the top is cut almost down to the stem, (as *gardeners* do with old currant trees,) and a more leafy set of shoots spring up the ensuing year. The age of the tree is unknown, it has a duration of probably fifteen or twenty years. It is an evergreen, and blossoms from the end of autumn throughout the winter until the spring. The leaves are dried by placing them first in flat baskets and exposing them to the air, and a moderate degree of sun. They are then further dried, "tatched," in thin pans of iron, heated by a small furnace of charcoal, the leaves being kept constantly turned round by the hand, and rolled or rubbed between the fingers to give the leaf a rounded form; when sufficiently fired it is picked, and packed for Canton in "chops," of 100 to 1000 chests each chop, having marked on it the name of the maker, the district where the tea is grown, its quality, date, &c.

A visitor to the tea districts says, "that the worst tea is found in earth of a yellow colour; but care must be taken to have the shrub always face the south; it then acquires vigour and bears

* I found the tea shrub in several parts of China, planted as hedge-rows, or fences to fields and vegetable gardens, but not capable of producing a tea which would be drunk in England.

three years after it is planted. The root resembles much that of the peach-tree; and its flowers resemble the white wild rose. The average height is about five feet. Several branches join together, and separate towards their upper extremities; it is not unlike the myrtle-tree in Europe. In autumn the tea-shrub produces a kind of fruit. The young and tender branches produce soft berries of a green colour filled with yellow grains. On other branches this fruit is as large as a Windsor bean. The outer rind, which encloses this fruit or seed, is green, smooth and thick. Under the second, which is white and thinner, is a third pellicle, exceedingly fine, that covers a kind of nut adhering to the rind by a small fibre, from which it derives its nourishment. When this fruit is young its taste is rather bitter; but in two or three days after it has been gathered, it lengthens, changes to a yellow colour, appears like a decayed filbert, becomes oily and extremely bitter. The chief portion of fruit found on the tea-shrub are called female fruit, which have no germ. Those that have a germ, if they are sown will produce trees; but the Chinese make use of slips for raising plants."

Copper is not used in the preparation of any description of tea; iron pans are solely employed. I visited a "tea manufactory" a few miles north of Canton, where about 500 men, women, and children were engaged in converting coarse-looking, refuse leaves, into several sorts of *green* tea. A series of large flat iron pans were placed over a range of furnaces, heated by charcoal in various degrees. The leaves which had been previously picked and sorted, were then placed successively in these pans, by men who each rolled them to a certain extent. After passing four or five pans, a small quanty of turmeric was sprinkled over the leaves, in a pan highly heated, and in the next pan, a blue powder composed of prussian blue and gypsum was added, which gave a delicate green bloom to the leaf, which formerly had been of a dingy black or brown hue. The tea was then gradually cooled in large shallow baskets, then placed in a winnowing-machine and sifted into different sizes, the smaller being packed and sold as gunpowder or pearl tea. Thus the greatest refuse of tea, or the leaves which had passed through the tea pots of the Chinese, were converted into "gunpowder, hyson," and other teas for exportation, as the Chinese never drink green tea. The proprietor of the manufactory told me, that the green tea thus prepared was sold to the Americans, who consume but little black tea. It is said to be difficult to detect this coloured tea from the pure, and as the Americans have good tea-tasters at Canton, the English probably receive their share of the adulterated manufacture.

The names of teas are a very imperfect criterion of their quality, formerly bohea was the principal tea in use, now the title designates the lowest description of black tea. It may be useful to indicate the designation of the names in general use.

Bohea is an English corruption of the words "*Woo-e*" "*Voo-yu*" and "*Bo-yu,*" some hills of that name about twelve miles in circumference in Fokein, on the borders of Canton province, yielding a common tea of that name, which is gathered three times a year; it is called by the Chinese, tacha, (large tea.)

Congo from *Congfoo,* "labourer," is of a better quality than bohea, less dusty and with a rougher and more astringent flavour.

Wo-ping teas are so called from a district of that name in Canton province, and when mixed with bohea form Canton bohea.

Ankoi, a coarse tea from a district of that name. Campoi from *Kiempor,* "selected;" it is a stronger tea than congo.

Souche or Caper, from *Swangche,* "double preparation," or "Choolan" fragrant pearls.

Souchong from Seaore-chong, "scarce or small—good thing," it is carefully made from trees three years old, grown in good soil; older trees in a similar situation produce congo; older still bohea, and other inferior teas. There are different sorts of Souchong, and it is not easy to get this tea pure and good in England. The leaf has an agreeable fragrancy somewhat like new-made hay; the leaf is crisp, of a glossy black colour, and when subjected to boiling water of a rich red hue, the liquid is an amber brown.

Peko or Peho from "*Pih,*" has white petals or hair, so called from being made of young leaves, gathered in when the blossoming is over spring, when there is a whitish hair or down on the leaf. The tea flowers are fragrant mixed with the leaf, and give a fine odour and flavour to the tea.

Twankay from Tunkay, a district where the tea is generally made; in green teas it corresponds in quality to congo among black teas.

Singlo from "*Sunglo*" a mountain in Ganhwuy; both these teas have large flat leaves, and are not much rolled.

Hyson from *He-chuen,* "genial spring or first crop," when the young leaves are gathered.

Hyson skin, Puha, "tea skin." In Chinese, "skin" signifies the refuse; it is formed of the leaves rejected in the preparation of hyson. The dealers in London give it the name of "bloom tea."

Young hyson from *Yu-tseen,* "before the rains." It is a very small leaf.

Gunpowder is the picked small, well-rounded hyson, like shot; it is also called pearl, or imperial tea.

The different teas are prepared roughly by the tea farmers, and then taken to the manufacturers who "tatche" and sort the teas, according to the districts in which they are grown, the variety and age of the tree, the size and quality of the leaf, &c. The leaves are passed through sieves of sizes, before their quality is determined. The judgment of the manufacturer in selecting and sorting, and the skill of his workmen, in firing or "*tatching*" the leaf, is of the first consequence. The better quality teas are

more frequently roasted, and each leaf separately rolled. The finest descriptions do not reach England; the Mandarins pay high prices for those teas, their flavour is delicate and stimulant. The production of tea for the use of the Chinese higher and middle classes must be considerable, as it is used at every meal; it is, however, generally of an inferior quality.

"*Brick* tea" used throughout western Asia, is made in Fokein chiefly; dirty, damaged tea-leaves and stalks, are mixed with a glutinous substance, pressed into moulds and dried in ovens. It is drunk by the Tartars by pounding and mixing it with salt and milk; and sometimes made into broth with flour, or fried in oil.

The tea found in Russia, conveyed by land and river carriage thither, is said to be superior to the tea generally used in England. This may be owing to the leaf being less fired. Many of the finest teas drunk in China, would not bear five or six months stowage in the hot and humid atmosphere of the hold of a ship, and therefore the teas conveyed to Europe by sea, are required to be dried and fired, to a degree which must injure their quality.

Teas that I drank at Foochoo, Ningpo, and Shanghai, were not highly dried, and had a very delicate flavour when drank in the Chinese way, without milk or sugar, but these teas could not be preserved more than a few months. The Chinese say, that the high-dried superior black teas improve in flavour, by being closely packed in air-tight leaden cases for one or two years. Some of the finest teas in China, scarcely colour the water, and the preparation consists solely in pouring boiling water on a small quantity of the leaves placed in a tea-cup, fitted with a close cover. Among the highest classes, a silver strainer is placed at the bottom of the tea-cup. Tea made up into balls, or compressed into the form of bricks or flat cakes, is exported to Tartary, Tibet, Burmah, &c., and boiled with milk, constitutes an agreeable and stimulating beverage.

The constituent properties of tea are,

	Black.		Green.
Tannin	40·6	—	34·6
Vegetable albumen	6·4	—	5·7
Mucilage	6·3	—	5·9
Insoluble fibre	44·8	—	51·3
Loss	2·0	—	2·5

The tannin blackens salts of iron. The proportions of tannin must vary with the quality of the tea. A salifiable base named "theine," in regular colourless crystals, has been obtained from tea.

The ashes of black and green teas, yield silex, carbonate of lime, magnesia, and chloruret of potash. In distillation, tea yields a volatile oil, and according to some, a small quantity of resin soluble in alcohol, and possessing the odour of tea. The effects of tea on the human system are first stimulant, and then narcotic,

according to the strength of the beverage. In moderation, tea is an excellent diluent, it promotes digestion and stimulates the renal glands. The constant use of tea, however, in large quantities, especially by persons living on a poor vegetable diet, is not favourable to physical strength or nervous energy; and to persons engaged in sedentary employments, and imperfectly alimented, the frequent imbibing of "tannin" has a decided and manifest pernicious effect. How far the excessive use of strong tea in China, by alternately elevating and depressing the nervous system, may have led to the craving desire for opium as a counter stimulant, is deserving of consideration. Certain it is, that strong coffee (coffeine) among the Turks and Persians; and strong tea, (theine) are similar in their elementary qualities; and among the Chinese are followed or preceded by the use of opium, or similar deleterious stimulating narcotics. It is stated that in the manufacturing districts of Great Britain, where tea is very largely consumed at all meals, opium is now being introduced.

A statesman is bound to watch apparently minute and remote causes in their operating influence on the character of a nation, and to look more to the preservation of the physical strength and moral power of a people, than to any imaginary increase of revenue or trade from one branch of commerce. Since the commencement of the present century, tea has increased in consumption per head in Great Britain more than sugar, wine, tobacco, malt, &c., and it now amounts to more than two pounds per annum for each person capable of using the leaf. Twenty-eight million people in the United Kingdom consume double the quantity of tea that is used by the whole population of Europe, (including Russia) North and South America, Africa, and Asia, (exclusive of China and Japan) although the duties in those countries are lower, or as in the United States *nil*. It is asserted that if the government reduced the duty on tea, a diminution of price would follow, and cause still larger consumption of tea in England. But low prices, if such be desired, would probably not be obtained by any reduction of the government revenue; other causes will operate in the reduction of price. Competition among the European merchants at Canton, and the necessity for selling cotton goods and other manufactures, for which tea is received in barter, has tended to maintain for that commodity high prices, but it is expected that the opening of ports contiguous to the tea districts will materially reduce the prime cost. Mr. Consul Alcock informed me at Foochoo, that he ascertained tea could be shipped from that port at 20 per cent. less than the Canton prices. Some tea has been shipped from Ningpo and several cargoes from Shanghai direct for England. The shipments from the latter named port, will probably increase, in return for the large quantities of British manufactures sent thither. Competition will thus take place with the Cantonese, and the sale-price be lowered materially. Considerable efforts have

been made by the Chinese and former Hong merchants at Canton, to confine the foreign tea trade to that city, and in this they have been aided not only by the possession of large capital, enabling them to make contracts with and advances to the tea cultivators and manufacturers, but also by an extensive credit, which assists them to take off and dispose of a considerable quantity of our manufactures, by the routine of old established channels of business which are not easily changed, and also by the promulgation of official documents and edicts, arising partly from the imperial policy of keeping foreigners at the extremity of the empire, and partly from a fear of losing the transit and other duties which tea pays, during its conveyance from Fokien and Chekeang to Canton.

Tea will ultimately be shipped from the most convenient port, near to the place of growth, when our merchants are permitted to carry on a free and unrestricted intercourse with China, which would be far more beneficial for the Chinese than for ourselves. Chusan produces considerable quantities of superior tea, which is sent unmanufactured to Ningpo and other places, for the use of the Mandarins. Were Chusan or some contiguous island a British possession, tea would be brought from different parts of the adjacent tea coast, and there shipped for England at a reduced cost. It is not policy or interest to maintain the tea trade at Canton, on the contrary we ought to prosecute this valuable commerce in the northern ports.

There have latterly been considerable fluctuations in the price of tea, in consequence of extravagant speculations. About the month of June 1839, when the intelligence reached England of Commissioner Lin having issued prohibitory edicts against opium smuggling, speculation began in tea, and was principally sustained by the operations of a wealthy retired opium dealer; congou rose from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 5*d.* per pound, and this description of tea became the regulating price for all other teas. On the 1st August, news of trade being stopped at Canton reached London, and congou advanced to 1*s.* 8*d.*; in October to 2*s.*, in consequence of Captain Elliot's order, that no British ship should go up the river to Canton. On the 2nd December congou rose to 2*s.* 7*d.*, it being known that hostile measures were to be forthwith adopted towards China. The stock of tea on hand in England 31st December, 1839, was 52,500,000 pounds, and the quantity delivered for 1839 was 32,366,412. On the 16th January, 1840, the speech from the throne announced that Her Majesty's government considered the dispute with China national; and the price of congou rose to 3*s.* 2*d.* per pound. The rumour of a treaty being arranged by Captain Elliot, brought down prices to 2*s.* 9*d.*, but on the refusal of Lin to ratify it, they rose to 3*s.* 2*d.*; on the arrival of tea taken out of American ships at Hong Kong, and permission to land it, price fell to 2*s.* 8*d.*, but rose on the 11th March, 1840, to 3*s.* 2*d.* on rumours that a declaration of war against China had been

issued by the Governor-general of India, in the name of the British government. When it was known that no declaration of war had been issued, prices fell to 2*s*. Thus the fluctuation proceeded, affected by every true intelligence, or false reports artfully promulgated. At the close of 1840, the stock on hand was 46,500,000 pounds, and the quantity delivered for home consumption during the year, was 35,136,232 pounds; the highest prices during the year 3*s*. 3*d*., lowest 1*s*. 11*d*. per pound. Throughout the year 1841 the speculations were continued; almost every day producing a new rumour, and a rise or fall. On the 17th August a dated letter was inserted in the second edition of the Herald and Chronicle, which was said to have been received from a man, on the 27th April, and put on board the Bombay steamer, after the mail and other despatches had been embarked. In this letter it was asserted, that the Emperor had ordered the destruction of all teas, and that the order was rigidly obeyed, that hostilities had recommenced, and that not 1,000 chests of tea had found their way to the outercoasters by smuggling. The fraud raised prices immediately, but they fell again on the discovery of the forgery. On the 31st August the stock in the United Kingdom was reduced to 29,000,000 pounds, the lowest which had taken place, and this aided the rage for speculation. The siege of Canton, its surrender, the local truce, indemnity of 6,000,000, &c. caused large operations in what were termed "time bargains:" a gambling called "puts and calls" arose; one person purchasing from another the right of buying or selling to him at a certain price a defined quantity of tea on a given day. The announcement that although we were at war on the east and north coasts of China, the truce was to exist with Canton, and trade to proceed as usual, almost entirely checked the speculation in November and December 1841. On the 31st December 1841, the stock on hand was 36,000,000 pounds, and the quantity delivered for home consumption was 32,262,905 pounds. Prices ranged for congou from 1*s*. 4½*d*. to 2*s*. 9*d*., during 1842; speculation was slow and cautious, but the market nearly resumed its usual steady operations, and prices fell to 1*s*. 5*d*., on the arrival on the 22nd November of the Treaty of Nankin. The quantity consumed for the year was about 36,000,000 pounds, and the stock on hand was 34,000,000, the range of prices was 1*s*. 5*d*. to 2*s*. per pound for congou.

Probably, at no period since the celebrated Mississippi scheme, was there ever greater and more prolonged speculation in one article. Expresses were established between Marseilles and London; large sums paid for early official information; newspapers feed for promulgating false intelligence; at Garraways the speculators continued their gambling in tea throughout the evening, and for a part of the night; the monied interest was transferred from the Stock Exchange to the Jerusalem Coffee-house and to Garraways' mart; the mania spread into the country among wholesale and retail

dealers in tea, and fortunes were lost and made with marvellous rapidity. The usual results ensued; the steady pursuit of trade was abandoned for the wildest gambling, men who rose wealthy in the morning were beggars at night; and suicide, bankruptcy, and ruin to many a hearth and home closed the sum.

It behoves government to avoid interfering with the routine into which the trade has now subsided; some persons still hold inferior teas, almost rubbish, that were purchased at enormously high prices during the speculation. Their only prospect of sale is a reduction of the duty, and an alteration in the mode of lowering the duty, by admitting inferior teas at a lower customs-rate. These persons and their agents, are therefore very clamorous for an alteration in the duty to suit their purposes. But government can look only to the public interests, and these were considered as best served by an uniform rate of duty, on all teas entered after the 1st July, 1836.

It was attempted in 1834, when the trade with China was thrown open by the abolition of the monopoly of the East India Company, to levy an ad valorem duty of 1*s.* 6*d.* per pound on bohea; 2*s.* 2*d.* per pound on congou; 3*s.* per pound on souchong, &c. This was deemed preferable to the mode adopted previous to 1834, viz., ninety-six per cent. on all teas sold at or under 2*s.* per pound; and 100 per cent. on all teas sold above 2*s.* per pound. But the very discriminating duty on bohea, congou, &c., was after two years' trial found impracticable; and in 1836 the uniform rate of 2*s.* 1*d.* per pound on all descriptions of tea was levied, which with the additional five per cent. imposed in 1840, makes the total duty now levied per pound, 2*s.* 2*d.* and a fraction.

The present system of an uniform duty on all teas, was adopted at the urgent request of the tea-brokers and tea-dealers in England, and it is impossible to examine impartially the evidence taken before the Select Committee of Parliament appointed 6th May, 1834, to inquire into the expediency of establishing one fixed rate of duty, without seeing the justice of such a proceeding, no less for the interest of the public than for the advantage of the revenue. Sir George Staunton, who was on the Committee and possessed the largest information, truly observed that he believed the present system of a rated duty had not the support of a single individual who ever was in China. Moreover, any rated duty as to quality or price, would exceedingly disturb the simplicity with which the tea trade is now conducted at Canton, where the merchant is unfettered in his purchases by any other consideration than the intrinsic goodness of the leaf he is buying. If two or more rates of duty were levied in England, inferior qualities of tea would be produced, whereas when the duty is alike on all teas good or bad, the merchant finds it his interest to export only the good.

The consumption of tea in the United Kingdom is estimated at

45,000,000 pounds yearly; and sold at an average price to the consumer of 4*s*. 6*d*. per pound, the money expended for tea is nearly ten millions sterling.

The expenditure of this sum is distributed as follows, in round numbers:—

	£
Net cost of 45,000,000 pounds, average 1*s*. per pound	2,250,000
Export duty in China 3-47 dollars per pecul, or 1½*d*. per pound, about	280,000
Shipping charges, &c. in China	25,000
Freight, &c. China to England, about 2*d*. per pound	375,000
Insurance a half-penny per pound	93,000
Commission about one farthing per pound	46,000
Tasting charges, &c. about one-eighth of a penny per pound	23,000
Interest for six months on 3,000,000 at five per cent.	75,000
Total outlay in China	£3,167,000
Profit to exporters in China (about 12 per cent.)	300,000
Landing charges, &c. in England	33,000
Cost price in bond in England	£3,500,000
Duty received by government at 2*s*. 2¼*d*. per pound about	4,920,000
	£8,420,000
Profit divided among tea-brokers, wholesale and retail dealers, &c. upwards of 40 per cent.	1,580,000
Total outlay by British public for tea, at 4*s*. 6*d*. per lb.	£10,000,000

It is more than probable that tea has now reached the limit of consumption in England, and that any reduction of taxation, (even if such reduction went not into the pockets of the tea merchants and tea dealers,) would not augment the use of this innutritious leaf.

A financier knows that there are some articles, viz., salt, pepper, &c., which cannot be increased in use beyond a given extent by any fiscal diminution; and tea, which must be used alone, and which cannot like sugar and other articles be mixed with various substances, is in this category.

A reduction of the tea duties from 2*s*. to 1*s*. as proposed, would therefore diminish the revenue one-half, without any perceptible corresponding advantage to the consumer; and unless the state is in a condition to give up about two million sterling of income, or disposed to levy this amount on some other article, there can be no justifiable grounds for the proposed reduction. But it is also worthy of note that the use of tea as a beverage is a factitious

taste, which may decline (as has been the case throughout Europe) as rapidly as it has arisen; that the rate of duty levied shuts out tea of a very inferior quality; and that the glutting of the market with a worthless or injuriously adulterated herb, might produce a national distaste, especially among the labouring classes, with whom coffee is a preferable stimulant, and cocoa a more nutritious beverage.

The idea that by reducing the price of teas in England a largely increased consumption would take place, which would be paid for in British manufactures, is I think fallacious, and it is wiser to wait and see the effects which importing teas direct from Shanghai and other northern ports in China may have in reducing the cost price, and which as before observed, may it is said be done to the extent of nearly twenty per cent,, as compared with the present Canton prices. If this reduction take place in the prime cost at the port of shipment, the government will be enabled to ascertain how far such reduction will benefit the consumer or extend the consumption at home. On a mature and impartial consideration of the whole subject, it does not appear politic, or advisable, to make at present any alterations in the duties, neither as regards the vital interests of the state, which cannot afford to jeopardize five million sterling of annual revenue, steadily and economically paid into the British exchequer, nor as affects the great bulk of the nation, who as consumers would derive little or no benefit in the price of an article supplied by only one foreign country, and who may as well pay their necessary quota of taxation on tea as on any other article subject to custom or excise duties.

(*Signed*) R. M. MARTIN, *H.M. Treasurer.*

China, July, 1845.

I give the preceding report on tea as transmitted to Her Majesty's Government from China, in July, 1845; excepting numerous tabular statements in support of my views, which, however, it would be too expensive for me to print. Nothing that I have since heard has induced me to alter the opinions I formed in China on this subject—the result of careful examination, unbiassed by any personal advantages for or against a reduction of the duty. My work on the "*Taxation of the British Empire,*" and the evidence given before select committees of Parliament, show that for the past fifteen years I have strenuously advocated as an act of justice as well as sound policy, the reduction of taxation on articles of nutriment or necessity, which enter largely into the consumption of the great mass of the people. I allude more particularly to sugar, malt, soap, &c. Tea is neither a nutriment nor a necessary of life,—its use does not improve the physical stamina of the people; in fact, it acts the very reverse, by its injurious effects on the nervous system—unless when accompanied by a full diet of animal food, and fermented liquors. Again—the

position, soil, and climate adapted for the growth of tea in China, is limited, and no large quantity of drinkable tea could be suddenly obtained in China; any reduction of duty would therefore not lessen the price of tea to the consumer,—it would go to the benefit of the Chinese and European dealers in the article. Furthermore, there would be no inconsiderable risk of turning the public taste from tea, if an inferior article were largely introduced, as has been the case on the continent of Europe.

The true remedy for our deficient trade with China, is not to be found in the reduction of one or two million sterling of tea duties,—but in a perfect freedom of intercourse with China; in facilities of access to the interior of that vast country, *and in the abolition of the pernicious opium traffic, which absorbs the money* (£4,000,000 sterling,) *that would otherwise be devoted to the purchase of British manufactures.* If Her Majesty's Government could afford to give up £2,000,000 of annual revenue—well and good;—I for one should be rejoiced to hear that our merchants in China had received some portion of this advantage. But taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, but most especially the precarious state of the imperial revenues, and the absolute necessity of preserving faith with the public creditor, especially in the present critical period of financial and commercial transition—it seems extremely injudicious for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to attempt at present any alteration in the duty levied on tea.

CHAPTER IV.

OPIUM: PROGRESS AND EXTENT OF CONSUMPTION; INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL EFFECTS; IMPERIAL EDICTS; DENUNCIATION BY THE GOVERNMENT; ITS SEIZURE AND DESTRUCTION; STATE OF THE TRAFFIC, AND UNCHRISTIAN CONDUCT OF ENGLAND.

The consumption of the intoxicating and pernicious drug called opium, is so large in China, so entirely contraband, and so strongly denounced by the imperial government, that a brief notice of the events that arose out of the desire of the Chinese government to suppress the traffic will be necessary, in order that the present state of the trade may be fully understood; for the question is by no means a settled one with the cabinet at Peking, and it is far from improbable, that the opium traffic may again lead to a war between China and England.

Opium was first used in China medicinally, and a small quantity was grown in the southern province of Yunnan. It is probable, that, subsequent to the Tartar conquest (A.D. 1644), a great deterioration of morals took place throughout the empire, and the complete subjugation and despotism exercised by the conquerors destroyed public energy and private enterprise, leaving to the wealthier classes no other source of enjoyment than what may be temporarily, but dearly, obtained from sensual indulgence. This is also manifest in the opium-consuming countries of Turkey and Persia; indeed, wherever the vital and ennobling springs of human action are subdued, baneful passions take root, and among a materialist-people like the Chinese, almost devoid of religion, and without hope of the future, every species of present enjoyment necessarily ensues. The fatally delicious intoxication of opium offered, therefore, a transient pleasure and oblivion of woes, which it was difficult to resist.

Previous to 1767, the importation of the drug from India (which country, and Turkey, are almost the only countries where it is extensively grown) into China, did not exceed 200 chests a year. This increased to 1000 chests yearly, the trade being chiefly in the hands of the Portuguese. In 1773, the East India Company made a small venture of opium to China. In 1780, the English entered into the trade, and established two small depôt vessels in "Larks, or Blackbutter Bay," southward of Macao, where the opium, worth in Bengal 500 rupees a chest, was sold to the Chinese for 500 dollars.

In 1781, the Bengal government freighted an armed vessel with opium, the proceeds of which were paid into the East India Company's treasury at Canton.

In 1794, the English stationed a large vessel laden with opium at Whampoa, where she remained fifteen months unmolested.

The consumption in the year 1800 was probably about 2,000 chests, when the importation was prohibited by the Emperor; who also interdicted the cultivation of the poppy in Yunnan. Subsequently, a general order was issued to all governors and deputy governors throughout the empire, to exert themselves in suppressing the use of opium, and directing them to send in their opinions on the best mode of doing so. The Emperor peremptorily instructed the governor of Yunnan not to use "empty words," but to put the people in fear, prevent the production of opium, and at the end of every year report progress to His Majesty. Death, transportation, and confiscation of property, were decreed to be the punishments due to those who smoked, retailed, or cultivated opium.

Notwithstanding these severe prohibitions, the consumption of opium increased rapidly in China; and armed depôt vessels belonging to several private English merchants, were stationed under shelter of the island of Lintin, in the Canton river, during the N.E. monsoon, and in the adjacent harbour of Capsingmoon, at

the entrance of the Canton river, during the summer months. The smuggling boats were fast sailers, well armed, manned with forty to fifty stout rowers, and ready to fight when attacked by the Chinese government revenue cruisers—which was not unfrequently the case. The opium was purchased for cash in Canton from the English owner or consignee by Chinese brokers, who then received an order on the captain of the depôt or receiving ship at Lintin, to deliver so many chests to the bearer. These deliveries were generally made at night, to elude the mandarin cruisers.

As the trade increased, English receiving vessels were stationed at eligible places along the east and north coasts of China. The consumption of Indian opium (independent of Turkey opium) was, in

	Patna & Benares. Chests.	Value. Dollars.	Malwa. Chests.	Value. Dollars.	Total. Chests.	Value. Dollars.
1816-17	2,610	3,132,000	600	525,000	3,210	3,657,000
1826-27	3,661	3,668,565	6.308	5,941,520	9,969	9,610,085
1832-33	8,290	6,570,729	15,403½	8,781,700	23,693½	15,352,429
1837	about 40,000 chests, valued at.....					25,000,000

Thus, in twenty years, the consumption of this fearfully pernicious drug had more than *ten-fold* increased, and; according to the then exchangeable value of the dollar, an annual drain of the precious metals amounting to about *four million* pounds sterling ensued, although the exportation thereof was prohibited by the government of China. The dissoluteness and destruction caused by this extensive use of opium; the corruption consequent on the large bribes paid to the mandarins by the *Chinese* smugglers of the drug; and the constant, open, and universal defiance of the imperial laws, gave much alarm and disquietude at Peking.

The imperial government discussed the subject in three points of view:—1st. *Moral*, in relation to the health and virtue of the people; 2d. *Financial*, on account of the constant and heavy drain of gold and silver from China; and, 3rd. *Political*, by means of the effects produced from the two previous arguments: viz., destroying the people, and diminishing the means of resistance against foreigners, who were now visiting every part of the coast of China.

The number of smokers, at three candareens = $17\frac{1}{10}$ grains per man daily, was about *three million*, and as it was a very expensive vice, and could only be indulged in by the wealthy classes, and those high in the employ of government, the demoralizing effect produced on the nation generally may be readily conceived.

No language would convey a description of the sufferings of those to whom opium has become a necessary of existence; no picture could impress the fearful misery which the inmates of an

opium smoking shop exhibit. These dens of human suffering are attended by unfortunate women—as opium in the early use is an aphrodisiac, and as such prized by the Chinese. In few, but very few, instances, if indeed in any, moderation in opium is exercised; once fairly begun, there is no cessation, until poverty and death ensue; and when digestion has nearly ceased, and deglutition even become painful, the utmost effect of the drug is merely to mitigate the horrors of existence.

One of the fallacies put forth to palliate the enormity of this crime, is that the vice of opium smoking is not worse than that of gin drinking; but this is on a par with another fallacy, that if Englishmen did not supply the Chinese with opium, another nation would. How sunken must be the morals of an individual, when *crime is measured by crime!* How dead must be the sense of national responsibility, when the plea is put forth that wholesale destruction may be committed, because, if not done by us, others will or may probably perpetrate the crime, and receive its hireling reward! Yet these are the justifications of *professing* Christians—in a nominally Christian country—in the middle of the nineteenth century!

On the second of these poor and flimsy subterfuges we have no need to comment, nor will the allegation bear discussion: as well might the murderer, Thurtell, justify his plunder and slaying of Mr. Weare, on the plea that if he did not Probert would, as England attempt to screen herself from the condemnation, so justly her due, for poisoning the Chinese. But the first plea is more specious, and its fallacy not so readily exposed; although it is at once apparent, that the perpetration of one offence can be no palliation for another. But independent of this argument, there is no comparison whatever between gin and opium, as regards their rapid and fatal effects. In adducing testimony on this point, I shall state, first, the effects of opium as I witnessed them in the East.

Opium affects primarily the nervous system, and is not, like beer, wine, or spirits, received into the digestive system previous to its action on the nerves. It is smoked by the Chinese after preparation by boiling to concentrate the narcotic principle. As a medicine, like all other poisons, it is of great value. It diminishes pain, soothes irritation, and often procures repose for the sufferers when other means have failed. In large doses it almost instantly destroys life by the destruction of the nervous energy, which is indispensable to the circulation of the blood. Unless when taken for the relief of disease, and even then administered with the greatest caution, the continued action of opium, as a sensual stimulant, *tends rapidly to the wasting of youth, health, strength, and beauty.* Those who begin its use at *twenty* may expect to die at *thirty* years of age: the countenance becomes pallid; the eyes assume a wild brightness, the memory fails, the

gait totters, mental exertion and moral courage sink, and a frightful marasmus or atrophy reduces the victim to a ghastly spectacle, *who has ceased to live before he has ceased to exist.* There is no slavery so complete as that of the opium-taker; once habituated to his dose as a factitious stimulant, everything will be endured rather than the privation; and the unhappy being endures all the mortification of a consciousness of his own degraded state, while ready to sell wife and children, body and soul, for the continuance of his wretched and transient delight; transient indeed—for at length the utmost effect produced is a temporary suspension of agony, and finally, no dose of the drug will remove or relieve a state of suffering which it is utterly impossible to describe. The pleasurable sensations and imaginative ideas arising at first, soon pass away; they become fainter and fainter, and at last entirely give place to horrid dreams and appalling pictures of death: spectres of fearful visage haunt the mind—the light which once seemed to emanate from heaven is converted into the gloom of hell—sleep, balmy sleep has fled for ever—night succeeds day only to be clothed with never-ending horrors;—incessant sickness, vomiting, diarrhœa, and total cessation of the digestive functions, ensue; and death at length brings, with its annihilation of the corporeal structure, the sole relief to the victim of sensual and criminal indulgence. The opium shops which I visited in the East were perfect types of hell upon earth.

An exemplary missionary, the Rev. Mr. Medhurst—now in China (at Shanghai) and intimately acquainted with the Chinese language, says, "those who have not seen the effects of opium-smoking in the eastern world, can hardly form any conception of its injurious results *on the health, energies and lives of those who indulge in it.* The debilitating of the constitution, and the shortening of life, are sure to follow, in a few years after the practice has been commenced. The dealers in opium are little aware how much harm they are the instruments of doing, by carrying on this demoralizing and destructive traffic; but the difference between the increase of the Chinese people, before and after the introduction of opium, ought to open their eyes, and lead them to ask themselves whether *they are not accountable for the diseases and deaths of all those who have suffered by its introduction.* And if it be true that the Chinese increased at the rate of three per cent. per annum, before the commencement of the traffic, and at the rate of one per cent. per annum since, it would be well for them to consider whether the deficiency is not to be attributed, in some degree, to opium, and *the guilt to be laid at the door of those who are instrumental in introducing it."—Medhurst's China,* p. 56.

A late memorial from one of the censors to the Emperor of China, laid open the evil in all its deformity. "I have learned," says he, "that those who smoke opium, and eventually become its

victims, have a *periodical longing for it, which can only be assuaged by the application of the drug at the regular time.* If they cannot obtain it when the daily period arrives, their limbs become debilitated, a discharge of rheum takes place from the eyes and nose, and they are altogether unequal to any exertion; but with a few whiffs, their spirits and strength are immediately restored in a surprising manner. *Thus opium becomes to opium-smokers their very life;* and, when they are seized and brought before magistrates, they will sooner suffer a severe chastisement than inform against those who sell it."—*The Chinese.* By Sir J. F. Davis. vol. ii., p. 454.

In the "Philosophical Transactions," Mr. Russell states, that opium "impairs the digestive organs, consequently the vigour of the whole body; and destroys also gradually the mental energies. The memories of those who take it soon fail, they become prematurely old, and then sink into the grave, objects of scorn and pity. Mustapha Shatoor, an opium-eater in Smyrna, took daily three drachms of crude opium. The visible effects at the time were the sparkling of his eyes, and great exhilaration of spirits. He found the desire of increasing his dose growing upon him. He seemed twenty years older than he really was; his complexion was very sallow, his legs small, his gums eaten away, and his teeth laid bare to the sockets. He could not rise without first swallowing half a drachm of opium." Dr. Madden, in his "Travels in Turkey," in describing some opium eaters, remarks: "Their gestures were frightful; those who were completely under the influence of the opium talked incoherently, their features were flushed, their eyes had an unnatural brilliancy, and the general expression of their countenances was horribly wild. . . . . The debility, both moral and physical, attendant on its excitement is terrible; the appetite is soon destroyed, every fibre in the body trembles, the nerves of the neck become affected, and the muscles get rigid: several of these I have seen in this place, at various times, who had wry necks, and contracted fingers; but still they cannot abandon the custom: they are miserable till the hour arrives for taking their daily dose." M. de Ponqueville, in his "Travels in the Morea," observes: "He who begins taking opium habitually at twenty, can scarcely expect to live longer than to the age of thirty, or from that age to thirty-six; the later is the utmost age that for the most part they attain. After some years they take doses of a drachm each; then comes on a frightful pallidness of countenance, and the victim wastes away in a kind of marasmus that can be compared to nothing but itself: alopecia and a total loss of memory, with rickets, are the never-failing consequences of this deplorable habit. . . . Always beside themselves, the *theriakis* are incapable of work, they seem no more to belong to society. Toward the end of their career they, however, experience violent pains, and are devoured by constant hunger; nor can their parc-

goric in any way relieve their sufferings; they are hideous to behold, deprived of their teeth, their eyes sunk in their heads, in a constant tremor, they cease to live long before they cease to exist."

Mr. Majoribanks, president of the select committee at Canton, observed, in reference to its use by the Chinese: "Opium can only be regarded, except the small quantities required for the purposes of medicine, as a pernicious poision. . . . To any friend of humanity, it is a painful subject of contemplation, that we should continue to pour *this black and envenomed poison into the sources of human happiness*—the misery and demoralization are almost beyond belief. Any man who has witnessed its frightful ravages and demoralizing effects in China, must feel deeply on this subject."

It is truly stated by a British merchant, in an essay on the opium trade: "There is but one point of difference between the intoxication of ardent spirits and that of opium, deserving of particular attention here; and that is, *the tenfold force with which every argument against the former applies to the latter. There is no slavery on earth to name with the bondage into which opium casts its victim. There is scarcely one known instance of escape from its toils, when once they have fairly enveloped a man.*"

Colonel James Tod, late political agent to the western Rajpoot, states, in his "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan," says, "this pernicious plant has robbed the Rajpoot of half his virtues; and while it obscures these, it heightens his vices; giving to his natural bravery a character of insane ferocity, and to the countenance, which would otherwise beam with intelligence, an air of imbecility. Like all stimulants, its effects are magical for a time, but the reaction is not less certain; and the faded form or amorphous bulk, too often attest the debilitating influence of a drug which alike debases body and mind." He afterwards terms it "an execrable and demoralizing plant."

Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, the present deputy-chairman of the East India Company, protested against the whole of this traffic, in a dissent dated October, 1839, and he uses these words: "By promoting the growth of the poppy throughout Central India, as we have done; paying high prices, and giving the native chiefs an interest in producing, rather than restricting the cultivation, we become accessory to the probable extension of a pernicious habit among a race of men, whose well-being ought never to be an object of indifference to us. By encouraging and extending the growth of the poppy in our own provinces, and becoming *the retail vendors of the drug*, we shall promote the introduction or extension of the same pernicious habit, which is calculated to debase our native subjects."

On the 14th May, 1841, Mr. Tucker again recorded a dissent, from which the following is an extract:—"Ever since I have had

the honour of being a member of this court, I have uniformly and steadily opposed the encouragement given to the extension of the manufacture of opium; but of late years we have pushed it to the utmost height, and disproportionate prices were given for the article in Malwah. We contracted burthensome treaties with the Rajpoot States, to introduce and extend the cultivation of the poppy. We introduced the article into our own districts where it had not been cultivated before, or where the cultivation was abandoned; and we gave our revenue officers an interest in extending the cultivation in preference to other produce much more valuable and deserving of encouragement. Finally, *we established retail shops, which brought it home to every man's door.*

"How different was the policy of Lord Cornwallis, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Minto, who circumscribed the produce within the narrowest limits, confining the cultivation of the poppy to two of our provinces, and actually eradicating it from districts where it had been previously cultivated. How fatal have been the consequences of a departure from this wise and humane policy. Is there any man still so blind as not to perceive that it has had a most injurious effect upon our national reputation? Can any man be found so hardy, or perverse, as to deny that it has led to the total derangement of our trade with China, which was heretofore the source of wealth and prosperity both to India and to the mother country. If a revenue cannot be drawn from such an article as opium, otherwise than by quadrupling the supply, by promoting the general use of the drug, and by placing it within the reach of the lower classes of the people, no fiscal consideration can justify our inflicting upon the Malays and Chinese so grievous an evil."

In a "Report on the Tea Plantations in Assam," by Mr. C. A. Bruce, formerly in the service of the East India Company, and now superintendent of tea culture in Assam, it is stated, "I might here observe, that the British government would confer a lasting blessing on the Assamese and the new settlers, if immediate and active measures were taken to put down the cultivation of opium in Assam, and afterwards to stop its importation. If something of this kind is not done, and done quickly too, the thousands that are about to emigrate from the plains into Assam, will soon be infected with the opium mania—that dreadful plague which has depopulated this beautiful country, turned it into a land of wild beasts, with which it is overrun, and has degenerated the Assamese from a fine race of people, to the most abject, servile, crafty, and demoralised race in India. This vile drug has kept, and does now keep down the population; the women have fewer children compared with those of other countries, and the children seldom live to become old men, but in general die at manhood; very few old men being seen in this unfortunate country in comparison with others. But those who have resided long in this unhappy land,

know the dreadful and immoral effects which the use of opium produces on the native. *He will steal, sell his property, his children, the mother of his children, and, finally, even commit murder for it!* Would it not be the highest of blessings, if our humane and enlightened government would stop these evils by a single dash of the pen, and save Assam, and all those who are about to emigrate into it as tea cultivators, from the dreadful results attendant on the habitual use of opium? We should in the end be richly rewarded by having a fine healthy race of men growing up for our plantations, to fell our forests, to clear the land from jungle and wild beasts, and to plant and cultivate the luxury of the world. *This can never be effected by the enfeebled opium-eaters of Assam, who are more effeminate than women.*"

The *Pekin Gazette* of 7th September, 1823, says:—"*Opium is an article whose flowing poison spreads like flames.*" A Chinese minister, addressing Sir Henry Pottinger, 27th July, 1842, says:

"We have been united, by a friendly commercial intercourse, for two hundred years. How then, at this time, are our old relations so suddenly changed, so as to be the cause of a national quarrel? It arose, most assuredly, from the spreading opium poison. *Opium is neither pulse nor grain, yet multitudes of our Chinese subjects consume it, wasting their property and destroying their lives; and the calamities arising therefrom are unutterable!* How is it possible to refrain from forbidding our people to use it?"

A far-seeing statesman, Sir Stamford Raffles, thus recorded his opinion respecting this poison in Java: "The use of opium, it must be confessed and lamented, has struck deep into the habits, and extended its malignant influence to the morals of the people, and is likely to perpetuate its power *in degrading their character and enervating their energies,* as long as the European government, overlooking *every consideration of policy and humanity,* shall allow a paltry addition to their finances to outweigh all regard to the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the country. The effects of this poison on the human frame are so well described by the Dutch Commissioners, who, much to their honour, declared, 'that no consideration of pecuniary advantage ought to weigh with the European government in allowing its use;' that, together with the opinion of Mr. Hogendorp, who concurred with them, I shall insert their statement.—*Sir Stamford Raffles' History of Java,* vol. i. p. 102.

"The English in Bengal have assumed an exclusive right to collect the same, and they dispose of a considerable number of chests containing that article annually at Calcutta by public auction. It is much in demand on the Malay coast, at Sumatra, Java, and all the islands towards the east and north, *and particularly in China.* The effect which it produces on the constitution is different, and depends on the quantity that is taken, or on other circumstances. If used with moderation, it causes a pleasant, yet always somewhat

intoxicating sensation, which absorbs all care and anxiety. *If a large quantity is taken, it produces a kind of madness, of which the effects are dreadful,* especially when the mind is troubled by jealousy, or inflamed with a desire of vengeance, or other violent passions. *At all times it leaves a slow poison, which undermines the faculties of the soul, and the constitution of the body,* and renders a person unfit for all kinds of labour, and an image of the brute creation. The use of opium is so much more dangerous, *because a person who is once addicted to it can never leave it off.* To satisfy that inclination, he will sacrifice every thing, his own welfare, the subsistence of his wife and children, and neglect his work. Poverty is the natural consequence, and then it becomes indifferent to him by what means he may content his insatiable desire after opium; so that at last he no longer respects either the property or life of his fellow-creatures."

"*Opium,*" says Mr. Hogendorp, "*is a slow though certain poison,* which the Company, in order to gain money, sells the poor Javans. Any one who is once enslaved to it, cannot, it is true, give it up without great difficulty; and if its use were entirely prohibited, some few persons would probably die for want of it, who would otherwise, languish on a little longer: but how many would by that means be saved for the future? *Most of the crimes, particularly murders, that are now committed, may be imputed to opium as the general cause.*"

Captain John Shepperd, recently chairman of the East India Company, who has been in China often, says: "*The smoking of opium has the most demoralising effects.* To a certain extent it destroys their reason and faculties, and shortens life. A confirmed opium smoker is never fit to conduct business, and generally unfit for the social intercourse with his friends and family. You may tell him by his inflamed eyes and haggard countenance."

Sir R. Inglis, in the debate, April 4th, 1843, stated that: "He held in his hand a statement which had appeared in a Batavian Gazette, being an account of an individual who had visited one of the houses where the opium was consumed. He might be told that equal horrors might be found in some of the gin palaces of England; but he believed that no such horrors could be found in the worst parts of the worst towns of England. The individual said 'I visited one of the opium houses, and shall I tell you what I saw in this ante-chamber of hell'? I thought it impossible to find any thing worse than the results of drinking ardent spirits, but I have succeeded in finding something far worse.' He said he saw Malays, Chinese, men and women, old and young, in one mass, in one common herd, wallowing in their filth; beastly, sensual, devilish, and this under the eyes of a Christian government."

Lord Jocelyn, who visited the opium shops in the east, stated in the same debate, that "He must acknowledge that the noble Lord

(Ashley) had called to his recollection scenes which he had witnessed of the lawless character of the trade, and *in all that he had stated as to the moral, political, and physical evils he concurred.*"

The Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company, in a letter to the Governor-general, October 24th, 1817, acknowledge the evil thus:—"Were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, except for the purpose of medicine, *we would gladly do it in compassion to mankind.*"

W. Hamilton Lindsay, Esq. M.P. says, "As it is, nothing can be more injurious to the British character than the mode in which the opium trade is at present conducted. It is now real smuggling, accompanied by all its worst features of violence, and must frequently be attended with bloodshed and sacrifice of life.* All the respectable mercantile houses in China have pledged their honour against any further connection with it under present circumstances. [Most of them have, however, since resumed the traffic; Mr. Lanceolet Dent and Messrs. Wetmore & Co. are honourable exceptions.]

Captain Elliot, late Her Majesty's superintendent in China, says, "After the most deliberate reconsideration of this course of traffic (which he heartily hopes has ceased for ever), the chief superintendent will once more declare his own opinion, that in its general effects it was *intensely mischievous to every branch of trade*; that it was *rapidly staining the British character with deep disgrace*; and, finally, that it exposed the vast public and private interests involved in the peaceful maintenance of our regular commercial intercourse with this empire, to imminent jeopardy." Again, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, he says, "if my private feelings were of the least consequence upon questions of a public and important nature, assuredly I might justly say, that *no man entertains a deeper detestation of the disgrace and sin of this forced traffic on the coast of China, than the humble individual who signs this despatch. I see little to choose between it and piracy*; and in my place, as a public officer, I have steadily discountenanced it by all the lawful means in my power, and at the total sacrifice of my private comfort in the society in which I have lived for some years past."

Sir John Hobhouse, in the debate on Lord Ashley's motion, observed, that "it was the opium question which had given rise to many of the difficulties with which they had now to contend, and he agreed with the noble Lord (Sandon) that it was to that question that government ought to direct their attention. And although he did not agree with the noble lord that they deserved any censure now for having neglected that question, still he admitted that it became any persons to whom the administration of the affairs of this great empire was entrusted, to turn their im-

* I have forborne recording cases of piracy and murder on the coast of China, because I am unwilling to blame a whole class by reason of the misconduct of some individuals.

mediate and serious attention to it." And in the subsequent part of his speech, Sir John Hobhouse said:—"Far be it from him to wish to say anything less than was deserved of the unfortunate results of that traffic, or to palliate them. *He could not but deprecate it as a vice, for a great vice it was.*"

Lord Sandon said,—"it is a disgrace to a Chistian country to carry on the opium trade as we have done."

The Canton Circular, 1846, observes, "Considering that the prime cost of opium in Bengal is about 250 rupees per chest, and that it is now sold by auction at 1,200 or 1,600, we need not ask the question,—who have been chiefly benefited by the war in China, justly termed the *Opium War?* With respect to the opium trade as at present conducted, it is certainly *a great evil, and indirectly injures the sale of other merchandise.*"

Lord Ashley, in the opium debate, truly said, "Let us come to the first and highest consideration of all; the consideration of the effects derived from the imperial sanction of this trade on everything that is of sterling value,—on the progress of society, the civilization of man, and the advancement of the Gospel. I remember well, for I much admired, the language of the right honourable gentleman, the member for Edinburgh, in the debate on the Gates of Somnauth. 'Every act,' said the right honourable gentleman, 'which tended to bring Christianity into contempt, was high treason against the civilization of the human race.' I heartily concurred in that sentiment, and I proved my sincerity by voting for the motion, and with the right honourable gentleman. I hope that the right honourable gentleman will do the same for himself, and prove his sincerity by voting with me; because I can show from the testimony of thinking men, that opium and the Bible cannot enter China together. What said Mr. Medhurst? He said, 'it has been told, and it shall be rung in the ears of the British public again and again, that opium is demoralizing China, and becomes the greatest barrier to the introduction of Christianity which can be conceived of. But the difficulty of convincing others of the truth of Christianity, and of the sincere intentions of Christians, is greater in proportion to the extent of the opium trade to China. Almost the first word uttered by a native, when urged to believe in Christ, is—and this I beg the House to consider well—'Why do Christians bring us opium, and bring it directly in defiance of our laws? That vile drug has poisoned my son, has ruined my brother, and well-nigh led me to beggar my wife and children. Surely, those who import such a deleterious substance, and injure me for the sake of gain, cannot wish me well, or be in possession of a religion that is better than my own. Go first, and persuade your own countrymen to relinquish this nefarious traffic, and give me a prescription to correct this vile habit, and then I will listen to your exhortations on the subject of Christianity'.... 'Should the Chinese,' he adds, 'ever determine on stopping the trade, it will be

from a far different motive than a wish to exclude the gospel. The determined perseverence and the audacious daring with which the opium traffic is pushed forward, to the real injury of his people, as well as the defiance of his authority, exasperates the Emperor a great deal more than the distribution of tracts along the coast.' What, too, says Mr. Squire, who has resided for several years in China, as an agent of the Church Missionary Society? Speaking of the opium shops in Canton, he says, 'Never, perhaps, was there a nearer approach to hell upon earth, than within the precincts of these vile hovels, where gaming is likewise carried on to a great extent. Here every gradation of excitement and depression may be witnessed.' He adds, 'Truly it is an engine in Satan's hand, and a powerful one; but let it never be forgotten that a nation professing Christianity supplies the means; and further, that that nation is England, through her possessions in Hindostan.' Again, the Rev. Howard Malcolm, of the United States, said the same thing; and I wish much to impress it on the house 'The great blot on foreigners at Canton, though not all, is the opium trade. That men of correct moral sensibilities and enlightened minds should be so blinded by custom, or desire of gain, as to engage in this business, is amazing.... We have little reason, he continues, 'to wonder at the reluctance of China to extend her intercourse with foreigners; nearly the whole of such intercourse brings upon her pestilence, poverty, crime, and disturbance. No person can describe the horrors of the opium trade.... That the government of British India should be the prime abettors of this abominable traffic, is one of the great wonders of the nineteenth century. The proud escutcheon of the nation that declaims against the slave trade, is thus made to bear a blot broader and darker than any other in the Christian world."

Sir Charles Forbes, a name venerated in India and in England, one whose love of justice is only equalled by his ever merciful consideration for the poor, the afflicted, and the oppressed; who knows no distinction of caste, colour, or creed, when his powerful voice, his sound judgment, and his liberal heart are required for the mitigation of human misery; this truly good man in Parliament and out of Parliament, in public and private life, has ever urged the abolition of this damning vice. When sitting on the parliamentary committee, in 1832-33, relative to India and China, he was prevented, by the committee, putting questions to Captain Shephard, relative to the demoralizing effects of opium. But there is no need to multiply opinions on this truly awful subject. And yet with all this evidence before Her Majesty's government—with these undeniable facts, forcing conviction on the most prejudiced, callous, or selfish minds—what has been the conduct of the government of this Christian country in the year 1844? *Twenty opium-smoking shops have been licensed in Hong Kong—within gun-shot of the Chinese Empire—where such an offence is death!* Hong Kong has now, therefore, been made the *lawful opium*

smoking shop, where the most sensual, dissolute, degraded, and depraved of the Chinese may securely perpetrate crimes which degrade men far below the level of the brute—and revel in a vice, which destroys body and soul,—which has no parallel in its fascinating seduction,—in its inexpressible misery—or in its appalling ruin.

When the governor proposed the conversion of Hong Kong into a legalized opium shop, under the assumed license of our most gracious and religious sovereign, I felt bound as a sworn member of Her Majesty's council in China, to endeavour to dissuade him from this great crime; but no reasoning would induce him to follow the noble example of the Emperor of China—who when urged to derive a revenue from the importation of opium,—thus righteously recorded his sentiments in 1844, in an answer which would have been worthy of a Christian monarch :—

"IT IS TRUE, I CANNOT PREVENT THE INTRODUCTION OF THE FLOWING POISON;—GAIN-SEEKING AND CORRUPT MEN WILL, FOR PROFIT AND SENSUALITY, DEFEAT MY WISHES; BUT NOTHING WILL INDUCE ME TO DERIVE A REVENUE FROM THE VICE AND MISERY OF MY PEOPLE."

But money was deemed of more consequence in Hong Kong than morality; it was determined in the name of Her Majesty to sell the permission to the highest bidder by public auction, of the exclusive right to poison the Chinese in Hong Kong—and to open a given number of opium smoking shops—under the protection of the police, for the commission of this appalling vice. It only remained for me, in accordance with my oath, to advise Her Majesty to the best of my ability, and in unison with all my past life, to place on record the following dissent in council on the subject; it will now be the duty of the Christian public in England, to say whether this dissent has been unavailingly made.

Dissent in Council—on the proposition for licensing the retail consumption of Opium in this Colony, on the following grounds:—

1st. "Because the consumption of opium is not necessary to the subsistence or health of man, and is therefore a vicious indulgence.

2nd. "Because the use of opium is not only a vice in itself, but the parent of many other vices; and whoever indulges in opium never ceases its use until poverty and death ensue.

3rd. "Because it is no justification to say that, as gin, beer, wine, and other fermented liquors are stimulants attended with pernicious consequences, when used continuously in excess, that therefore the use of opium may also be licensed by government. The experience of civilized nations has shown that fermented liquors are advantageous to the healthful energy of man;* but no

* No nation has advanced in civilization without using fermented liquors; those that have used opium have decayed and perished.

experience has shown that opium is beneficial to the body or mind of man, individually or collectively.

4th. "*Because no Government ought to make private vice a source of public revenue.*

5th. "Because independent of the foregoing and of other considerations, the peculiar position in which England at present stands towards the Chinese government on this subject,—the strong feeling entertained by a very large and influential portion of the community at home respecting the sale of opium in China,—and the risk which his Excellency incurs of creating an unfavourable impression against his government, without any corresponding fiscal advantage to the state, renders it inadvisable to license the consumption of opium in this colony.

"Desirous of earnestly and faithfully advising his Excellency, these remarks are offered for the governor's consideration with great respect.

"*Council Room,* R. M. MARTIN.

"*Hong Kong, November,* 26, 1844."

In order that this extraordinary proceeding by the representative of our sovereign in China may be more clearly seen, the following abstract is given of the official.

"Regulations for the sale of opium by retail, made by his excellency the governor of Hong Kong, with the advice of the executive council thereof, on the 8th February, 1845, in pursuance of ordinance, No. 21 of 1844, entitled "An ordinance for licensing the sale of opium, &c. within the colony of Hong Kong—

1st. "If any person not being duly licensed by government, shall within the limits of the said Island of Hong Kong and its dependencies, or the water thereof, sell or retail opium for consumption in smaller quantities than one chest, such person shall be liable on a conviction before a police magistrate to the following fines and punishments, viz.: for the first offence to a fine of 100 dollars; for the second offence to a fine of 250 dollars; and for every subsequent offence to a fine of 500 dollars; the said penalties respectively to be recovered in a summary manner before any magistrate of police.

2nd. "*The number of houses to be appropriated for retailing opium in smaller quantities than one chest, or for smoking the same within the said Island and its dependencies, shall be determined by his excellency the governor in council, or by such public officer as may be duly authorized by him for that purpose.* Such houses shall adjoin the street, and may be open from daylight until ten o'clock at night, during each day except Sunday, on which day they shall be closed. Such houses shall not be kept open, nor shall any opium be sold therein between the hours of ten o'clock at night and day-light, or at any time during Sunday, under a

penalty of fifty dollars, recoverable from the holder of any such house on conviction before a police magistrate; and all persons who may be found smoking opium after the hour of ten o'clock at night, in any other house or place (save and except their usual place of abode), shall on conviction before a magistrate be liable to a penalty of twenty dollars, and the holder of the said house or place shall be further liable in the like sum; and no place shall be licensed for the sale of opium in smaller quantities than one chest, or for smoking opium within the island of Hong Kong and its dependencies, or the waters thereof, other than the houses so appropriated as aforesaid.

3rd. "Holders of the said houses so appropriated as aforesaid, shall not sell or dispose of opium except for money, under a penalty of twenty-five dollars, to be paid by the holder on conviction before a police magistrate.

4th. "*No person shall be admitted into any house so appropriated as aforesaid, with any kind of arms, weapons, or edged tools, under a penalty of fifty dollars, to be paid by the holder of the house on proof of the same before a police magistrate.*

5th. "If any person or persons are found riotous or quarrelsome in any such house, the holder thereof shall apply to a police officer, and deliver such person or persons into his charge, to be dealt with as the law directs.

6th. "Every person duly licensed to retail opium as aforesaid, shall be at liberty to go on board any vessel at anchor in any harbour within the said island of Hong Kong and its dependencies, or in the waters thereof, for the purpose of searching for opium illicitly retailed, contrary to the provisions of these regulations, on obtaining a search warrant from a magistrate, to be issued on the oath of the person licensed, that to the best of his knowledge and belief such opium is being retailed on board the said vessel for consumption.

7th. "If any person not being duly licensed as aforesaid, shall within the limits of the said Island of Hong Kong and its dependencies, or the waters thereof, sell tye, chandoo, or opium dross, mixed with opium, he or she shall on conviction before a police magistrate be subject to all the fines, forfeitures and penalties imposed in section No. 1 of these regulations.

9th. "All persons in charge of houses appropriated wholly or in part to the smoking of opium, or to the retail of the same in smaller quantities than one chest, shall take out and hold a permit from the person duly licensed as aforesaid, and in default thereof shall be liable to the fines and punishments prescribed by section No. 1 of these regulations. Provided always, that the said licensed person so granting the said permit, shall have regard to the power retained under the 2nd section of these regulations by the said *governor, for determining the number of houses to be appropriated to the retailing and smoking of opium.*

10th. "And it is further declared and ruled that in all cases not above provided for and where any penalty is imposed, the said penalty shall in the first instance be levied by distress as before mentioned; and that if there be no sufficient distress the offender shall be liable to imprisonment for any period not exceeding six calendar month, and that the presiding magistrate or magistrates, before whom any person shall be tried and convicted for any breach of the foregoing regulations, or any of them, shall have in his or their discretion power to commute the amount of any of the aforesaid pecuniary penalties, or to shorten the respective periods of imprisonment hereinbefore prescribed.

"J. F. DAVIS.

"Passed the executive council of Hong Kong,
this 8th day of February, 1845.

"ADOLPHUS E. SHELLEY,
Clerk of Councils."

It is the solemn and sacred of duty of both Houses of Parliament immediately to cause an inquiry into all the circumstances of this transaction. Was this act of the plenipotentiary of the Queen of England to the Emperor of China confirmed by Her Majesty's government? Would we have acted thus towards France or Russia, and established a smuggling depôt on their shores in a prohibited article and terrific poison? We dare not. Why, then, should we legalize and protect this dreadful traffic on an island given to us by the government of China as a residence, and for commercial intercourse.

Let us hear the opinions of the Chinese themselves on this subject.

"Foreign opium, a poison: illustrated in ten paragraphs, written by Koo Kingshan, a literary gentleman of Keangning, in the province of Keangsoo. September, 1836.

"Opium is a poisonous drug brought from foreign countries. To the question, what are its virtues? The answer is, it raises the animal spirits, and prevents lassitude, &c. hence the Chinese continually run into its toils. At first they merely strive to follow the fashion of the day; but in the sequel the poison takes effect, the habit becomes fixed, and the sleeping smokers are like corpses —lean and haggard as demons. Such are the injuries which it does to life. Moreover, the drug maintains an exorbitant price, and cannot be obtained except for the pure metal. Smoking opium, in its first stages, impedes business; and when the practice is continued for any considerable length of time, it throws whole families into ruin, dissipates every kind of property, and destroys man himself. There cannot be a greater evil than this. In comparison with arsenic, I pronounce it tenfold the greater poison. One swallows arsenic, because he has lost his reputation, and is so involved that he cannot extricate himself. Thus driven to despe-

ration, he takes the dose and is destroyed at once; but those who smoke the drug are injured in many ways.

1st. *It exhausts the animal spirits.* When the smoker commences the practice, he seems to imagine that his spirits are thereby augmented, but he ought to know that this appearance is fictitious—a mere process of excitement. It may be compared to raising the wick of a lamp, which, while it increases the light, hastens the exhaustion of the oil, and the extinction of the light. Hence, the youth who smoke will shorten their own days, and cut off all hope of posterity, leaving their fathers and mothers, and wives, without any one on whom to depend; and those in middle and advanced life, who smoke, will accelerate the termination of their years. These are consequences which may well be deplored!

2nd. "*It impedes the regular performance of business.* Those in places of trust, who smoke, fail to attend personally, even to their most important offices. Merchants, who smoke, fail to keep their appointments, and all their concerns fall behindhand. For the wasting of time and the destruction of business, the pipe is unrivalled. The wealthy Hong merchants who became bankrupts at Canton, were nearly all opium smokers.

3rd. "*It wastes the flesh and blood.* From the robust, who smoke, flesh is gradually consumed and worn away; and their skin hangs down like bags. The faces of the weak, who smoke, are cadaverous and black; and their bones naked as billets of wood.

4th. "*It dissipates every kind of property.* The rich, who smoke, will inevitably waste their patrimony. It is the usual practice, in smoking, for two persons to lie down (on the same platform) facing each other, (with their opium and apparatus between them,) indulging freely in conversation, they are soon in Elysian Fields: and by a daily expenditure for purchasing the noxious drug, and for the entertainment of their friends, who are also confirmed smokers of opium, the wasteful consumption of property is very great.

5th. "*It renders the person ill-favoured.* Those who have been long habituated to smoking, dose for whole days over their pipes, without appetite for food, finding it difficult to observe even the common civilities of life: when the desire for opium comes on, they cannot resist its impulse. Mucus flows from their nostrils, and tears from their eyes. Their very bodies are rotten and putrid.

6th. "*It promotes obscenity.* When men have long continued the practice of smoking opium, their wives and children learn to imitate them; and when it is carried to great excess, no distinction is preserved between the inner and outer apartments; no difference between night and day! Hence spring dark confusions; of which it is a shame to speak openly.

7th. "*It discovers secrets.* The smokers, whether honourable or mean, all recline on the same platform, where the secrets of their hearts are honestly divulged. 'Where there is much talking,

there must be some slander,' is an old proverb. Now, what the honest man hears in their scenes of dissipation, may not lead to any evil consequences; but from what enters the ears of the dishonest, it will be difficult to prevent disastrous results.

8th. "*It violates the laws.* Both in purchasing and in smoking the drug, one is ever liable to meet with worthless vagabonds, who under various pretences, for the purpose of extortion, will raise difficulties and cause the transgressor of the laws to be prosecuted and punished. Those who open shops for the sale of the drug are liable to the severe punishments of strangulation and decapitation; for those who buy and smoke, the punishment is banishment. Why expose yourselves to these penalties of the laws?

9th. "*It attacks the vitals.* By a long continuance of the habit, worms are generated in the abdomen; and in the confirmed smokers the baneful influences attack the intestines, and great injury is the consequence—injury which even the most celebrated physicians can never avert. Look at suicides. They swallow the crude opium, and instantly their intestines swell; the blood flows from their ears, eyes, mouth and nose; the whole body becomes red and bloated; when death ensues. There is no relief. Hence, may be seen the virulence of the drug. Once, when on a journey, it happened that a fellow-passenger, who was a smoker, had used up all his opium; the periodical desire for it came on; but finding no means to gratify his appetite, he strove to take away his own life. By mistake he swallowed a cup of oil, which induced excessive vomiting; when he threw up a collection of noxious worms, partly coloured, with red heads, and hairy skin, which crawled upon the ground, to the great astonishment of the spectators.

10th. "*It destroys life.* The poor smoker, who has pawned every article in his possession, still remains idle and inactive; and when he has no means of borrowing money, and the periodical thirst returns hard upon him, he will pawn his wives and sell his daughters: such are the inevitable consequences! In the provinces of Nganhwuy, I once saw a man, named Chin, who being childless, purchased a concubine; afterwards, when his money was expended and all other means failed him, being unable to resist the desire for the pipe, he sold this same concubine, and received for her several tens of dollars. This money being expended, he went and hung himself. Alas, how painful was his end!"

I brought with me from China, a series of pictures, painted at Canton, by a Chinese artist, to illustrate the results of opium smoking, and which would form an excellent accompaniment to Hogarth's "Rake's Progress."

A Chinese artist has given the following description of these faithful exhibitions of suicidal crime and suffering:—

1st. "The son of a gentleman of fortune, his father dying while he was yet but a youth, comes into possession of the whole family estate. The young man, having no inclination for business or books, gives himself up to smoking opium, and profligacy. In a

little time his whole patrimony is squandered, and he becomes entirely dependent on the labour of his wife and child for his daily food. Their poverty and misery are extreme.

No. 1. "This picture represents the young man at home, richly attired, in perfect health and vigour of youth. An elegant foreign clock stands on a marble table behind. On his right is a chest of treasure, gold and silver; and on the left, close by his side, is his personal servant, and at a little distance, a man whom he keeps constantly in his employ, preparing the drug for use from the crude article, purchased and brought to the house.

No. 2. "In this he is reclining on a superb sofa with a pipe in his mouth, surrounded by courtesans, two of whom are young, in the character of musicians. His money now goes without any regard to its amount.

No. 3. "After no very long period of indulgence, his appetite for the drug is insatiable, and his countenance sallow and haggard. Emaciated, shoulders high, teeth naked, face black, dozing from morning till night, he becomes utterly inactive. In this state he sits moping, on a very ordinary couch, with his pipe and other apparatus for smoking lying by his side. At this moment, his wives —or a wife and a concubine—come in; the first finding the chest emptied of its treasure, stands frowning with astonishment, while the second gazes with wonder at what she sees spread upon the couch.

No. 4. "His lands and his houses are now all gone; his couch exchanged for some rough boards, and a ragged mattress; his shoes are off his feet, and his face half awry, as he sits bending forwards, breathing with great difficulty. His wife and child stand before him, poverty stricken, suffering with hunger; the one in anger, having dashed on the floor all his apparatus for smoking, while the little son, unconscious of any harm, is clapping his hands and laughing at the sport! *But he heeds not either the one or the other.*

No. 5. "His poverty and distress are now extreme, though his appetite grows stronger than ever; *he is as a dead man!* In this plight he scrapes together a few copper cash, and hurries away to one of the smoking houses, to buy a little of the scrapings from the pipe of another smoker, to allay his insatiable cravings.

No. 6. "Here his character is fixed; a sot. Seated on a bamboo chair, he is continually swallowing the fœces of the drug, so foul, that tea is required to wash them down his throat. His wife and child are seated near him, with skeins of silk stretched on bamboo reels, from which they are winding it off into balls; thus earning a mere pittance for his and their own support, and dragging out from day to day a miserable existence."

There are two other drawings, showing the progress of the opium smuggler, and terminating in public strangulation for the offence.

The progress of the evil will be more fully seen by the following statement of the opium exported from Calcutta to China, &c.

Seasons.	Chests—China.	Chests to the Eastern parts.	Chests to the Western parts.	Total chests.	Seasons.	Chests—China.	Chests to the Eastern parts.	Chests to the Western parts.	Total chests.
1795-96	1,070	4,108	10	5,183	1815-16	2,723	1,120	5	3,848
1796-97	2,387	3,247	—	5,644	1816-17	3,376	947	2	4,325
1797-98	1,985	1,514	4	3,503	1817-18	2,911	794	3	3,708
1798-99	1,718	1,624	—	3,342	1818-19	3,575	724	—	4.299
1799-1800	1,867	2,059	—	3,926	1819-20	1 741	1,345	5	3,091
1800-1	3,224	1,539	25	4,788	1820-21	3,591	1,556	—	5,147
1801-2	1,744	1,723	—	3,467	1821-22	1,936	655	—	2,591
1802-3	2,033	1,035	—	3,068	1822-23	3,207	893	—	4,100
1803-4	2,116	937	—	3,053	1823 24	3,923	1,286	—	5,209
1804-5	2,322	1,026	10	3,358	1824-25	5,365	1,710	1	7,076
1805-6	2,131	1,526	—	3,657	1825-26	4,627	536	2	5,165
1806-7	2,607	1,777	—	4,384	1826-27	5,861	707	—	6,568
1807-8	3,084	1,171	—	4,255	1827-28	7,341	562	—	7,903
1808-9	3 223	1,416	—	4,639	1828-29	4,903	1,651	—	6,554
1809-10	3,074	1,172	—	4,246	1829-30	7,443	2,335	—	9,678
1810-11	3,592	1,317	—	4,909	1830-31	5,672	—	—	7,069
1811-12	2,788	1,887	38	4,713	1831-32	6,815	—	—	7,427
1812-13	3,328	1,504	—	4,832	1832 33	7,598	—	—	9,408
1813-14	3,213	1,059	—	4,272	1833-34	7,808	—	—	9,518
1814-15	2,999	868	5	3,872	1834-35	10,207	—	—	10,107

	Chests.	Value Rupees.		Chests.	Value Rupees.
1835-36	14,851	18,834,822	1840-41	17,356	11,390,313
1836 37	12,606	18,015,422	1841-42	19,172	14.001,281
1837 38	19,600	21,292,386	1842 43	16,670	17,277,532
1838-39	18,212	14,490,478	1843-44	17,774	23,383,054
1839 40	18,965	7,973,980	1844-45	18,792	24,394,292

The progressive increase of the Malwa opium, is shown by the exportations from Bombay and Damaun to China, since 1821.

Seasons.	Chests from Bombay.	Chests from Damaun.	Total amount of Chests.	Seasons.	Chests from Bombay.	Chests from Damaun.	Total amount of Chests.
1821	1,600	678	2,278	1834	8,985	2,693	11,678
1822	1,600	2,255	3,855	1835	7,337	5,596	12,933
1823	1,500	1,535	5,535	1836	8,224	3,500	11,724
1824	1,500	2.063	6,063	1837			
1825	2,500	1,563	5,563	1838			
1826	2,500	2,605	5,565	1839			
1827	2,980	1,524	4,504	1840			
1828	2,820	3,889	7,709	1841			
1829	3,502	4,597	8,099	1842			
1830	3,720	9,136	12,856	1843	—	—	18,321
1831	4,700	4,633	9,333	1844			
1832	11,000	3,007	14,007	1845			
1833			11,715				

The quantity of opium made and sold in the Bengal Presidency by the British government, is annually increasing. The opium is sold by auction at Calcutta at stated intervals. The sales for the year 1845 were announced thus:—

	Patna.	Benares.	Total Chests.
1st sale on the 6th January	4,000	1,800	5,800
2nd do. do. 10th February	1,800	850	2,650
3rd do. do. 21st April	3,600	1,500	5,100
4th do. do. 26th May	1,800	850	2,650
5th do. do. 29th June	3,685	1,641	5,326
			21,526

The Bombay trade in Malwa opium for 1844 is thus stated:—

Passes granted at Indore under the proclamation of 1843-44, from 27th October, 1843, to the 27th July last. Chests 13,325
Ditto at Bombay from the 17th October, 1843, to the 30th September, 1844 798
Ditto from the 1st to the 2nd instant, . . 190
— 988
Chests 14,313

Imported under the passes granted previous to the 1st October, 1843, ... Chests 3,744
Ditto the proclamation of 1843-44, from the 1st October, 1843, to the 24th ultimo, . . Chests 13,839½
Chests 17,583½

Exported from the 1st October, 1843, to the 25th ultimo. . . . . Chests 18,321

H. H. GLASS, Opium Agent.

Bombay, 25th September, 1844.

Thus 21,526 chests from Bengal, and 18,321 chests from Bombay, give 39,847 chests, as the total production for one year, exported from British India, for the destruction of the human race.

Great gambling is carried on in India in the drug,—some speculate for a rise in price, others for a fall,—similar to stock exchange gambling here. The opium sale at Calcutta on the 30th of November was stopped by two natives bidding against each other, until the price rose, it is said, to 130,995 rupees per chest! Such is the *Christian* government we have in India.

The progressive increase in the number of smokers of Indian opium in China since 1820, *estimating the consumption of each man at three candareens, equal to* 17$\frac{1}{10}$ *grains per day, is thus shown :—*

Average of three years, ending on the 31st March.	Chests of Patna and Benares.	Weight in catties.	Candareens of pure extract at fifty touch.	Chests of Malwa.	Weight in catties.	Candareens of pure extract at seventy-five touch.	Total chests consumed.	Total candareens of pure extract.	Number of smokers at three candareens or 17·40 grains per day.	Value in Spanish dollars.
1820	2,850	285,000	228,000,000	1,437	143,700	172,440,000	4,287	400,440,000	365,699	4,548,900
1823	2,594	259,400	207,520,000	2,479	274,900	297,480,000	5,073	505,000,000	461,187	8,234,778
1826	3,002	300,200	240,160,000	5,450	545,000	654,000,000	8,452	894,160,000	816,584	7,913,310
1829	4,920	492,000	393,600,000	6,160	616,000	739,200,000	11,080	1,132,800,000	1,034,520	10,856,058
1832	6,588	658,800	527,040,000	9,074	907,400	1,088,880,000	15,662	1,615,920,000	1,475,726	12,154,334
1835	9,311	931,100	744,880,000	12,366	1,236,600	1,488,920,000	21,677	2,233,800,000	2,039,998	19,769,111

Estimating the consumption in 1845 at 30,000 chests of opium, on the foregoing calculation, this quantity would supply more than *three million Chinese* with upwards of seventeen grains each of opium daily. Now, when it is remembered that the vice is very expensive, and is chiefly indulged in by the better classes of society, including many of the officials, the corrupting influence of the pernicious drug on the whole frame-work of society, will be more readily appreciated. If three million of the better classes in England were opium smokers—vice, misery, and crime would soon overspread the land.

It is not surprising that the Chinese government became exceeding anxious to put a stop to a pestilence which, in the emphatic language of Mr. Lay, Her Majesty's consul in China, was "hamstringing the nation." The Emperor, by his denouncements in 1800, induced the East India Company's supercargoes at Canton, to recommend strongly to the Court of Directors in London, to take measures for preventing the shipment of any opium from Bengal, or from England, to China. In 1809, in the fourteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Keaking, the governor of Canton required the Hong merchants to give bonds of security that all ships, wishing to discharge cargo at Whampoa, had no opium on board. In 1815, Governor Tseang made a report to the Emperor against traitorous natives who dealt in opium at Macao, and received the imperial commands, rigorously to enforce the laws against them.

In 1820 (5th of April) Governor Yuen issued a prohibitory proclamation against the drug.

In 1830, the Emperor issued an edict declaring that the "injury done by the influx of opium, and by the increase of those who inhale it, is nearly equal to that of a *conflagration*," that "the waste of property and the hurt done to human beings, is every day greater than the preceding;" and that "from south to north in all the provinces, the appearance of things is as if they were their own ruling rut," [rut of a wheel].

In 1831, the Peking Gazette contained further laws against opium, and inflicted 100 blows and three years transportation, on those who refused to point out the seller of opium. Every governor, Fooyuen, &c., were commanded to require of all persons employed in his office a bond that they never use opium.

In 1832, February 9th, Le, governor of Canton province, issued a stringent chop (proclamation or order) against the importation of the "opium dirt," declaring it "a spreading poison, inexhaustible, and in its injurious effects extreme."

The following is a copy of the document:—

Le, cabinet minister, governor, &c. to the Hong merchants requiring them to inform themselves fully of the following order:

"Opium is a spreading poison,—inexhaustible;—its injurious effects are extreme. Often has it been severely interdicted, as appears on record; but of late the various ships of barbarians, which bring opium, all anchor and linger about at Lintin, in the outer ocean, and exclusive of cargo ships, there are appointed barbarian ships in which opium is deposited and accumulated, and there it is sold by stealth. That place is in the midst of the great ocean, and to it there are four passages and eight communications, (i. e. it is accessible from every quarter.) Not only do traitorous banditti of this province go thither, and in boats make clandestine purchases, but, from many places, in various provinces, vessels come by sea, under pretence of trading to Lintin; and in the dark

buy opium dirt, which they set sail with, and carry off: as, for example, from Kiámun, (or Amoy,) in Fokien; Ningpo, in Chèkiáng; and Tientsin, in Chihli, provinces, &c. And there are natives, vagabonds, who clandestinely open opium furnaces; then traitorous merchants from outside, (or other provinces,) first go to Canton shops, and secretly agree about the price; next make out a bond and buy; proceedings which are direct and gross violations of existing prohibitions.

"At present, some one in the capital has represented the affair to the Emperor, and strict orders have been respectfully received from His Majesty, to investigate, consult, and exterminate; by cutting off the source of the evil. I, the cabinet minister and governor, have met and consulted with the lieutenant-governor, and we have, with veneration, reported our sentiments to the Emperor. We have, besides, written to the governments of Chihli and the other provinces, that they may search and prosecute, as is on record.

"Uniting the above, an order is hereby issued to the Hong merchants, that they may forthwith obey accordingly. They are commanded to expostulate with earnestness, and persuade the barbarians of the several nations, telling them that, hereafter, when coming to Canton to trade, they must not, on any account, bring opium concealed in the ship's holds, nor appoint vessels to be opium depôts at Lintin, in the outside ocean, hoping thereby to sell it by stealth. If they dare, intentionally, to disobey, the moment it is discovered, positively shall the said barbarian ships have their hatches sealed,—their selling and buying put a stop to, and an expulsion inflicted, driving them away to their own country; and for ever after shall they be disallowed to come to trade; that thereby punishment may be manifested. On this affair, a strict interdict has been respectfully received from imperial authority: and the Hong merchants must honestly exert their utmost efforts, to persuade to a total cutting off of the clandestine introduction of opium dirt. Let there not be the least trifling or carelessness, for, if opium be again allowed to enter the interior, it will involve them in serious criminality. Oppose not! These are the commands."

In 1834, November 3rd, there was another similar edict from the Imperial Cabinet at Peking.

In 1836, (June 12th,) a member of the imperial government addressed a representation to the Emperor, suggesting that opium should be admitted, as its smuggled introduction could not be prevented.

"The memorial of Hui-Mu-Chi, member of the Council of Rites, humbly sheweth, that the more rigorous the prohibitions have been against the introduction of opium, the more widely has the poison been spread. It appears needful, therefore, that these circumstances should receive earnest attention; and your memo-

rialist humbly beseeches your Majesty to order a secret enquiry into the whole state of this matter.

"Opium is in truth, a medicine; used properly it animates, purifies the breath, and dispels noxious vapours. Its nature is very clearly explained in the work of Lina-chin: he calls this herb 'the internal support.'

"Opium is inhaled, and when *the habit becomes inveterate,* it is necessary to smoke it at certain fixed hours: it is then well called xam-bi, (desire). Time is consumed, men's duties are forgotten, and they can no longer live without this poison. Its symptoms are difficulty of breathing, chalky paleness, discoloured teeth, and a withered skin. People perceive that it hurries them to destruction; but it *leaves them without spirit to desist.* When have prohibitions sufficed to destroy deeply-rooted evil practices?

"There are three kinds of opium: the first is called campan, (Patna,) this is of a black colour, and is therefore called black earth: it comes from Bengal. The second is called papi, (Mahia,) and comes from Bombay. The name of the third kind is Pe, (old skin,) and comes from Madras. All these places belong to the English.

"In the time of the Emperor Kien-lung, a tariff was published including opium. The duty was three taels upon a hundred catties, and two taels, four mace, and five candareens, as emoluments or fees. In the first year of Kea-king, (1796,) it was declared a crime to smoke opium, and the offence was punishable with cange and bambooing. Notwithstanding severe penalties, imprisonment, temporary banishment, and even death, the number of those who smoke opium has multiplied exceedingly, and it is to be feared that the practice will become general throughout the empire.

"In the time of the Emperor Keen-lung, the opium was entered at the Custom-house, paid duties, and was delivered to the Hong merchants like other merchandise, in barter for teas or other commodities. But now that the laws against its introduction are rigorous, dealers purchase the drug secretly with money. In the reign of Kea-king, it was computed that several hundreds of chests were imported in each year; but now the quantity introduced exceeds 20,000 chests: each chest contains 100 catties. The superior or blue kind is valued at 800 dollars: the second quality (pa-pin,) at about 600 dollars, and the inferior sort (hum-pin,) at about 400 dollars. The whole value amounts to more than ten millions of taels. In former times the foreign merchants brought money to purchase goods, and the coast provinces gave but a little and gained much; but now the foreign merchants secretly sell their opium for money: thus, the silver and bullion go out and none return.

"This empire has enjoyed peace for thousands of years, and its riches have ever flowed. At present gold and opium are at par. The exchange for sycee silver was formerly 1000 cash for one tael:

now it is 1200 or 1300 cash to the tael. The price of sycee is still on the increase. Now the salt and other merchants receive cash in payment for their goods, and pay silver into the treasury for their duties, hereby suffering great loss: consequently, several branches of trade are languid and indeed decaying.

"To stop the foreign trade, it has been said, would arrest the evil at its source. It is true that the Celestial Empire will not feel the loss of several millions in the revenue, but it is not just that the Portuguese and other foreigners, who have traded for several hundreds of years, should suffer on account of the English, and *they alone* bring opium. If the English and the other foreigners are expelled, how can they live? So many thousands of men from the distant places of the earth, who are supported alone by trade? These foreigners too, may each select a spot on the eastern shores of the empire, for their nation, to which your Majesty's merchant vessels will resort, and it will not be possible to prevent them.

"Foreign ships have visited the coasts of Fokien, Chekeang, Keangnan, Shantung, Teintsin, with the intention of selling opium. They have, indeed, been immediately expelled by the local governments, but it is certain that a considerable quantity of opium has been since clandestinely introduced at the outports. Although then the general trade at Canton were stopped, it would not be possible to prevent smuggling.

"Officers are commanded to proceed to the coasts and examine: the duty is performed coldly, and each day more opium is introduced. The laws and edicts have been a pretext for needy and corrupt officers of the lower ranks to exact gain. The more rigid the prohibitions have been, the larger and the more frequent are the bribes, and the more adroit are the schemes of the knaves who deal in opium. In the first year of your Imperial Majesty, the viceroy, Tuen-puen, proceeded vigorously against , a smuggler, at Macao, and the foreign merchants being no longer secure in their opium trade at that place, betook themselves to Lintin. This place is in the centre of the district, and is free of access on every side. There remain at Lintin the whole year several large ships for the deposit of opium: in the city there are shops specially devoted to the selling of opium, they are called (the furnace mouths,) from these the price of the opium is conveyed to the foreign factories: an order, in writing, is delivered to these traders, with which they repair to the ships at Lintin. There are boats called 'rapid lizard,' and also boats known by the term of 'long dragon.' These are strongly manned with ruffians, and armed with large guns and other weapons. They proceed with great speed, and the people at the watch-houses are all bribed. If they meet with the Imperial cruisers, and an attempt is made to apprehend them, they have the boldness to resist, and many persons have been killed and wounded in their encounters.

"In pursuance of the command from the late viceroy, the vice-admiral and the magistrate of Hiang-kan apprehended and several opium boats. Some of the crews were seized and severely punished; many were killed, and the opium (more than 14,000 catties) was confiscated and destroyed.

"Most vigorous proceedings have at various times taken place. But the habit cannot be prevented and the respect of the people for the laws is grievously shaken. Great mischief has occurred too from the pretence of villains in the inner waters, that they were government cruizers; thus taking occasion to plunder and disturb the peaceful. During the time that your Majesty's humble memoralist was at the head of the magistracy at Canton, many cases of this kind came under his cognizance, in which good people had suffered. These and many other desperate evils take their source from these vigorous, but inadequate prohibitions.

"The population of this vast empire has increased from year to year; but now this evil practice is spreading widely. All men smoke, the high and the low, the old, and the young, and life is degraded and shortened—the subsistence of families is wasted, and the wealth of the land is passing away. It is meet, therefore, that a well-founded plan should provide remedies for this evil. Let the custom-houses no longer be closed, or impotent laws be kept alive. Let it be declared that the foreign merchants shall levy a duty for opium, as for a drug. Let it be delivered to the Hong-merchants, and let them be commanded to barter goods for it; but not to purchase it with money or bullion. The exportation of sycee and dollars should be strictly prohibited, and when transgressors in this respect are apprehended let the opium be burnt, and the silver be divided amongst the officers who seize it.

"Let the civil and military authorities and all persons in this employment of the government be forbidden to participate in this vice, so that they may perform these duties and preserve their time. If the laws are to be rigorously enforced these officers must co-operate heartily together.

"Should any public authority smoke opium, let his crime indeed be pardoned, but let him be dismissed. Being pardoned he may repent, and amend. It is fit that the heads of departments, and those immediately under them, should be thus punished; but let the lower classes of the people buy and sell, and smoke without restraint or punishment.

"No prohibitions should remain in force except any against the officers of the government.

"All men know that a dissolute life leads to death, and that *tinlin* and *utan* are of the most pernicious tendency. And yet from the remotest antiquity these evils have existed. Prohibitions have been enforced only against the ignorant and the poor, but not against the authorities and the military.

"When goods are exchanged for goods, the government will no

longer suffer loss; nay, their mines of silver will be spared to the Empire. But there must be no trifling, or it is to be feared not only that the smoking of opium will never be extinct, but that other great mischief will grow past remedy.

"In future times when the people shall be exhausted, and the riches of the country vanished, plans may indeed be set on foot. Repentance mends not things passed.

"Your memorialist (an unworthy censor of the privy council, and through your Majesty's unbounded favour elevated above the other officers), was for ten years chief justice at Canton, and believes that he is acquainted with the great advantages of that fine province; and also with the cause of the great defalcation of revenue. He has seen that these evils are produced by the prohibitions of the opium, and that they are increasing daily. Others have not dared to lay this truth at your Majesty's feet.

"Your memorialist now humbly prays that your Imperial Majesty will be graciously pleased to order your ministers at Canton to deliberate, and report to your Majesty. Would to God, that the means your memorialist has proposed may be found sufficient to give prosperity to the Empire, and to arrest the defalcations of revenue.

"In humility all this is humbly submitted.

The answer of the Emperor was:—

"In the memorial of Hui minister of the council of rites, it is set forth, that the more vigorous the prohibitions have been against opium, the more has the poison been spread. In these last few years nobody indeed has been audacious enough to purchase it openly from the foreigners in exchange for goods, but clandestinely it has been purchased in great quantities with silver, occasioning an annual loss to the Empire, of more than ten million of taels.

"The memorialist Hui, therefore, prays that this article may be taken in exchange for goods, in like manner with all other merchandize.

"I, the Emperor, therefore, order the viceroy of Canton to assemble his council to deliberate hereupon, and to report to me. Let this memorial of Hui be transmitted to the ministers at Canton." (12 June, 1836.)

The specious fallacies in the preceding document were well answered by a memorial of Choo-tsun on opium; on the character of the trade in it, impolicy of sanctioning its introduction, its baneful effects on the property, and on the physical and moral character of the people, dated October, 1836.

"*Choo-tsun*, member of the council and of the board of rites, kneeling, presents the following memorial, wherein he suggests the propriety of increasing the severity of certain prohibitory enactments, with a view to maintain the dignity of the laws, and to remove a great evil from among the people: to this end he res-

pectfully states his views on the subject, and earnestly entreats his sacred Majesty to cast a glance thereon.

"I would humbly point out, that wherever an evil exists it should be at once removed, and that the laws should never be suffered to fall into disuetude. Our government having received from heaven the gift of peace, has transmitted it for two centuries; this has afforded opportunity for the removal of evils from among the people. For governing the central nation, and for holding in submission all the surrounding barbarians, rules exist perfect in their nature, and well fitted to attain their end. And in regard to opium, special enactments were passed for the prohibition of its use in the first year of *Keaking*, (1796) and since then, memorials presented at various successive periods, have given rise to additional prohibitions, all which have been inserted in the code and the several tariffs. The laws, then, relating thereto, are not wanting in severity, but there are those in office, who for want of energy, fail to carry them into execution. Hence the people's minds gradually become callous, and base desires springing up among them, increase day by day and month by month, till their rank luxuriance has spread over the whole empire. These noisome weeds, having been long neglected, it has become impossible to eradicate. And those to whom this duty is intrusted are, as if hand-bound, wholly at a loss what to do.

"When the foreign ships convey opium to the coast, it is impossible for them to sell it by retail. Hence there are at Canton, in the provincial city brokers, named melters. These engage money-changers to arrange the price with the foreigners, and to obtain orders for them; with which orders they proceed to the receiving ships, and there the vile drug is delivered to them. This part of the transaction is notorious, and the actors in it are easily discoverable. The boats which carry the drug, and which are called 'fast crabs' and 'scrambling dragons,' are all well furnished with guns and other weapons, and ply their oars as swiftly as though they were wings.

"Their crews have all the overbearing assumption and audacity of pirates; shall such men be suffered to navigate the surrounding seas, according to their own will? and shall such conduct be passed over without investigation? The late governor *Loo* having on one occasion sent the commodore Tsin Yuchang to co-operate with Teen Poo, the magistrate of Heang-shan, those officers seized a vessel belonging to Leang Heennee, which was carrying opium, and out of her they took 14,000 catties of the drug. Punishment also was inflicted on the criminals Yaoukew and Owkwan, both of them opium brokers. Hence it is apparent, that if the great officers in charge of the provinces do in truth show an example to their civil and military subordinates, and if these do in sincerity search for the drug, and faithfully seize it when found, apprehending the most criminal, and inflicting upon them severe punishment,

it is, in this case, not impossible to attain the desired end. And if the officers are indeed active and strenuous in their exertions, and make a point of inflicting punishment on offenders, will the people, however perverse and obstinate they may be, really continue fearless of the laws? No, the thing to be lamented is, instability in maintaining the laws, the vigorous execution thereof being often and suddenly exchanged for indolent laxity.

"It has been represented that advantage is taken of the laws against opium, by extortionate underlings and worthless vagrants, to benefit themselves. Is it not known, then, that where the government enacts a law, there is necessary an infraction of that law? And though the law should sometimes be relaxed and become ineffectual, yet surely it should not on that account be abolished; any more than we would altogether cease to eat because of diseased stoppage of the throat. When have not prostitution, gambling, treason, robbery, and such-like infractions of the laws, afforded occasions for extortionate underlings and worthless vagrants, to benefit themselves, and by falsehood and bribery to amass wealth. Of these there have been frequent instances; and as any instance is discovered, punishment is inflicted. But none surely would contend, that the law, because in such instances rendered ineffectual, should therefore be abrogated. The laws that forbid the people to do wrong, may be likened to the dykes which prevent the overflowing of water. If any one, then, urging that the dykes are very old, and therefore useless, we should have them thrown down, what words could express the consequences of the impetuous rush and all-destroying overflow: yet the provincials, when discussing the subject of opium, being perplexed and bewildered by it, think that a prohibition which does not *utterly* prohibit, is better than one which does not effectually prevent the importation of the drug. Day and night I have meditated on this, and can in truth see no wisdom in the opinion.

"It is said that the opium should be admitted, subject to a duty, the importers being required to give it into the hands of the Hong merchants, in barter only for merchandise, without being allowed to sell it for money; and this is proposed as a means of preventing money from secretly oozing out of the country. But the English, by whom opium is sold, have been driven out to Lintin so long since as the first year of Taoukwang (1821), when the then governor of Kwangtung and Kwange discovered and punished the warehousers of opium; so long have they been expelled, nor have they ever since imported it into Macao. Having once suppressed the trade, and driven them away, shall we now again call upon them and invite them to return? This would be, indeed, a derogation from the true dignity of government. As to the proposition to give tea in exchange, and entirely to prohibit the exportation of even *foreign* silver, I apprehend that, if the tea should not be found sufficient, money will still be given in exchange for

the drug. Besides, if it is in our power to prevent the exportation of dollars, why not also to prevent the importation of opium? And if we can but prevent the importation of opium, the exportation of dollars will then cease of itself, and the two offences will both at once be stopped. Moreover, is it not better, by continuing the old enactments, to find even a partial remedy for the evil, than by a change of the laws to increase the importation still further? As to levying a duty on opium, the thing sounds so awkwardly, and reads so unbeseemingly, that such a duty ought surely not to be levied.

"Again, it is said that the prohibitions against the planting of the poppy by natives should be relaxed; and that the direct consequence will be, daily diminution of the profits of foreigners, and, in course of time, the entire cessation of the trade, without the aid of prohibitions. It is then forgotten that it is natural to the common people to prize things heard of only by the ear, and to undervalue those which are before their eyes—to pass by those things which are near to hand, and to seek after those which are afar off—and, though they have a thing in their own land, yet to esteem more highly such as come to them from beyond the seas? Thus, in Keangsoo, Chekeang, Fookein, and Kwangtung, they will not quietly be guided by the laws of the empire, but must needs make use of foreign money; and this foreign money, though of an inferior standard, is nevertheless exchanged by them at a higher rate than the native sycee silver, which is pure. And, although money is cast in China after exactly the same pattern, under the names of Keangsoo pieces, Fookein pieces, and native, or Canton pieces, yet this money has not been able to gain currency among the people. Thus, also, the silk and cotton goods of China are not insufficient in quantity, and yet the broad-cloths, and camlets, and cotton goods of the barbarians from beyond the pale of the empire, are in constant request. Taking men generally, the minds of all are equally unenlightened in this respect, so that all men prize what is strange, and undervalue whatever is in ordinary use.

"From Fookein, Kwangtung, Chekeang, Shantung, Yunnan, and Kweichow, memorials have been presented by the censors and other officers, requesting that prohibitions should be enacted against the cultivation of the poppy, and against the preparation of opium; but while nominally prohibited, the cultivation of it has not been really stopped in those places. Of any of those provinces, except Yunnan, I do not presume to speak, but of that portion of the country I have it in my power to say, that the poppy is cultivated all over the hills and the open campaign, and that the quantity of opium annually produced there cannot be less than several thousand chests. And yet we do not observe any diminution in the quantity of silver exported, as compared with any previous period; while, on the other hand, the lack of the metal in

Yunnan is double, in degree what it formerly was. To what cause is this to be ascribed? To what but that the consumers of the drug are very many, and that those who are choice and dainty with regard to its quality, prefer always the foreign article.

"Those of your majesty's advisers who compare the drug to the dried leaf of the tobacco plant, are in error. The tobacco leaf does not destroy the human constitution. The profit, too, arising from the sale of tobacco is small, while that arising from opium is large. Besides, tobacco may be cultivated on bare and barren ground, while the poppy needs a rich and fertile soil. If all the rich and fertile ground be used for planting the poppy; and if the people, hoping for a large profit therefrom, madly engage in its cultivation; where will flax and the mulberry-tree be cultivated, or wheat and rye be planted? To draw off in this way the waters of the great fountain, requisite for the production of food and raiment, and to lavish them upon the root whence calamity and disaster spring forth, is an error which may be compared to that of a physician who, when treating a mere external disease, should drive it inwards to the heart and centre of the body. It may in such a case be found impossible even to preserve *life*. And shall the fine fields of Kwangtung, that produce their three crops every year, be given up for the cultivation of this noxious weed—those fields, in comparison with which the unequal soil of all other parts of the empire is not even to be mentioned?

"To sum up the matter; the wide-spreading and baneful influence of opium, when regarded simply as injurious to property, is of inferior importance; but when regarded as hurtful to the people, it demands most anxious consideration; for in the *people* lies the very foundation of the empire. Property, it is true, is that on which the subsistence of the people depends. Yet a deficiency of it may be supplied, and an impoverished people improved; whereas it is beyond the power of any artificial means to save a people enervated by luxury. In the history of Formosa we find the following passage: "Opium was first produced in Kaoutsinne, which by some is said to be the same as Kalapa (or Batavia). The natives of this place were at the first sprightly and active, and being good soldiers, were always successful in battle. But the people called Kung-maou (red-haired) come thither, and having manufactured opium, reduced some of the natives into the habit of smoking it; from thence the mania for it rapidly spread throughout the whole nation; so that, in process of time, the natives became feeble and enervated, submitted to the foreign rule, and, ultimately, were completely subjugated." Now the English are of the race of foreigners called Kung-maou. In introducing opium into this country, their purpose has been to weaken and enfeeble the central empire. If not early aroused to a sense of our danger, we shall find ourselves, ere long, on the last step towards ruin.

"The repeated instances, within a few years, of the barbarians

in question having assumed an attitude of outrageous disobedience, and the stealthy entrance of their ships into the provinces of Fookeen, Chekeang, Keangnan, and Shantung, and even to Tientsin; to what motive are these to be attributed? I am truly unable to answer the inquiry. But, reverently perusing the sacred instructions of your majesty's all-wise progenitor, surnamed the Benevolent (Kanghe), I find the remark by him dated the tenth month of the fifty-fifth year of his reign (1717): 'There is cause for apprehension, lest in centuries or milleniums to come, China may be endangered by collision with the various nations of the west, who come hither from beyond the seas.' I look upwards, and admiringly contemplate the gracious considerations of that all-wise progenitor, in taking thought for the concerns of barbarians beyond the empire, and giving the distant future a place in his divine and all-pervading foresight. And now, within a period of two centuries, we actually see the commencement of that danger which he apprehended. Though it is not practicable to put a sudden and entire stop to their commercial intercourse; yet the danger should be duly considered and provided against: the ports of the several provinces should be guarded with all strictness; and some chastisement should be administered, as a warning and foretaste of what may be anticipated. Under date of the 23rd year of Keaking (1818), your majesty's benevolent predecessor surnamed the Profound, directing the governor of Canton to adopt measures to control and restrain the barbarians, addressed him in the following terms: 'The Emperor, in ruling and restraining the barbarians beyond its boundaries, gives to them always fixed rules and regulations: upon those who are obedient, it lavishes its rich favours; but to the rebellious and disobedient, it displays its terrors. Respecting the English trade at Canton, and the anchorage ground of their merchant ships, and of their naval convoys, regulations have long since been made.'

"If the people aforesaid will not obey these regulations, and will persist in opposition to the prohibitory enactments, the first step to be taken is, to impress earnestly upon them the plain commands of government, and to display before them alike both the favours and the terrors of the empire, in order to eradicate from their minds all their covetous and ambitious schemes. If notwithstanding they dare to continue in violent and outrageous opposition, and presume to pass over the allotted bounds, forbearance must then cease, and a thundering fire from our cannon must be opened upon them, to make them quake before the terror of our arms. In short, the principal on which the far-travelled strangers are to be cherished is this always in the first instance, to employ reason as the weapon whereby the conquer them, and on no account to assume a violent and vehement deportment towards them; but when ultimately it becomes necessary to resort to military force, then, on the other hand, never to employ it in a weak and inde-

cisive manner, lest those towards whom it is exercised should see therein no cause for fear or dread.

"How clear and luminous are these admonitions, well fitted to become a rule to all generations.

"Since your Majesty's accession to the throne, the maxim of your illustrious house, that horsemanship and archery are the foundations of its existence, has ever been carefully remembered. And hence the governors, the lieutenant-governors, the commanders of the forces and their subordinates, have again and again been directed to pay the strictest attention to the discipline and exercises of the troops, and of the naval forces, and have been urged and required to create by their exertions strong and powerful legions. With admiration I contemplate my sacred sovereign's anxious wishes for imparting a military as well as a civil education, prompted as this anxiety is by the desire to establish on a firm basis the foundations of the empire, and to hold in awe the barbarians on every side. But while the stream of importation of opium is not turned aside, it is impossible to attain any certainty that none within the camp do ever secretly inhale the drug. And if the camp be once contaminated by it, the baneful influence will work its way, and the habit will be contracted beyond the power of reform. When the periodical times of desire for it come round, how can the victims—their legs tottering—their hands trembling—their eyes flowing with child-like tears—be able, in any way, to attend to their proper exercises? or how can such men form strong and powerful legions. Under these circumstances, the military will become alike unfit to advance to the fight, or in a retreat to defend their posts. Of this there is clear proof in the instances of the campaign against the Taou rebels, in the twelfth year of our sovereign's reign (1832). In the army sent to Lienchow, on that occasion, great numbers of the soldiers were opium-smokers; so that, although their numerical force was large, there was hardly any strength to be found among them.

"It is said, indeed, that when repealing the prohibitions, the people only are to be allowed to deal in and smoke the drug; and that none of the officers, the scholars, and the military, are to be allowed this liberty. But this is bad casuistry. It is equal to the popular proverb, 'shut a woman's ears before you steal her earrings'—an absurdity! The officers, with all the scholars and the military, do not amount in number to more than one-tenth of the whole population of the empire; and the other nine-tenths are all the common people. The great majority of those who at present smoke opium are the relatives and dependents of the officers of government, whose example has extended the practice to the mercantile classes, and has gradually contaminated the inferior officers, the military, and the scholars. Those who do not smoke are the common people of the villages and hamlets. If, then, the officers, the scholars, and the military, alone be prohibited smoking opium,

while all the people are permitted to deal in and smoke it, this will be to give a full license to those of the people who already indulge in it, and to induce those who have never yet indulged in the habit to do so. And if it is even now to be feared that some will continue smokers in spite of all prohibitions, is it to be hoped that any will refrain when they are actually induced by the government to indulge in it? Besides, if the people be at liberty to smoke opium, how shall the officers, the scholars, and the military, be prevented? What! of the officers, the scholars, and the military, are there any that are born in civil or military situations, or that are born scholars or soldiers? All certainly are raised up from the level of the common people. To take an instance, let a vacancy occur in a body of soldiers, it must necessarily be filled up by recruits from among the people. But the great majority of recruits are men of no character or respectability, and if while they were among the common people they were smokers of opium, by what bond of law shall they be restrained when they become soldiers, after the habit has been already contracted, and has so taken hold of them that it is beyond their power to break it off? such a policy was that referred to by Mencius, when he spoke of 'intrapping the people.' And if the officers, the scholars, and the military, smoke the drug in the quiet of their own families, by what means is this to be discovered or prevented? Should an officer be unable to restrain himself, shall then his clerks, his followers, his domestic servants, have it in their power to make his failing their plaything, and by the knowledge of his secret to hold his situation at their disposal? We dread falsehood and bribery, and yet we would thus widen the door to admit them; we are anxious to prevent the amassing of wealth by unlawful means, and yet by this policy we would ourselves increase opportunities for doing so. A father in such a case would no longer be able to reprove his son, an elder brother to restrain his junior, nor a master to rule his own household. Will not this policy then be every way calculated to stir up strife? Or if happily the thing should not run to this extreme, the consequences will yet be equally bad; secret enticements and mutual connivance will ensue, until the very commonness of the practice shall render it no longer a subject of surprise. From this I conclude, that to permit the people to deal in the drug and smoke it, at the same time that the officers, the scholars, and the military are to be prohibited the use of it, will be found to be fraught with difficulties. At the present moment, throughout the empire, the minds of men are in imminent danger; the more foolish being seduced by teachers of false doctrines, are sunk in vain superstitions, and cannot be aroused; and the more intelligent, being intoxicated by opium, are carried away as by a whirlpool, and are beyond recovery. Most thoughtfully have I sought for some plan by which to arouse and awaken all, but in vain. While, however, the empire preserves and maintains its laws,

the plain and honest rustic will see what he has to fear, and will be deterred from evil; and the man of intelligence and cultivated habits will learn what is wrong in himself and will refrain from it. And thus, though the laws be declared by some to be but waste paper, yet these their unseen effects will be of no trifling nature. If, on the other hand, the prohibitions be suddenly repealed, and the action which was a crime, be no longer counted such by the government, how shall the dull clown, and the mean among the people, know that the action is still in itself wrong?

"In open day and with unblushing front, they will continue to use opium, till they shall become so accustomed to it, that eventually they will find it as indispensable as their daily meat and drink, and will inhale the noxious drug with perfect indifference. When shame shall thus be entirely destroyed, and fear removed wholly out of the way, the evil consequences that will result to morality and to the minds of men, will assuredly be neither few nor unimportant. As your Majesty's minister, I know that the laws of the empire, being, in their existing state, well fitted to effect their end, will not for any slight cause be changed. But the proposal to alter the law on this subject having been made and discussed in the provinces, the instant effect has been, that crafty thieves and villains have on all hands begun to raise their heads and open their eyes, gazing about and pointing the finger, under the notion that, when once these prohibitions are repealed, thenceforth and for ever they may regard themselves free from every restraint, and from every cause of fear.

"Though possessing very poor abilities, I have, nevertheless, had the happiness to enjoy the favour of your sacred Majesty, and have, within a space of but few years, been raised through the several grades of the censorate, and the presidency of various courts in the metropolis, to the high elevation of a seat in the Inner Council; I have been copiously imbued with the rich dew of favour; yet have been unable to offer the feeblest token of gratitude; but if there is aught within the compass of my knowledge, I dare not to pass it by unnoticed. I feel it my duty to request that your Majesty's commands may be proclaimed to the governor and lieutenant-governors of all provinces, requiring them to direct the local officers to redouble their efforts for the inforcement of the existing prohibition (against opium); and to impress on every one in the plainest and strictest manner, that all who are already contaminated by the vile habit, must return and become new men—that if any continue to walk in their former courses, strangers to repentance, and to reformation, they shall assuredly be subjected to the full penalty of the law, and shall not meet with the least indulgence—and that on any found guilty of storing up, or selling opium to the amount of 1000 catties or upwards, the most severe punishment shall be inflicted. Thus happily, the minds of men may be impressed with fear, and the report thereof, spreading over the seas,

(among foreigners) may even there, produce reformation. Submitting to my sovereign my feeble and obscure views, I prostrate implore your sacred Majesty to cast a glance on this, my respectful memorial."

This able document was followed by a proclamation from the governor, &c., of Canton, communicating an imperial edict in reference to the opium-receiving ships at Lintin, 4th August, 1837.

"*Tang*, governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, and *Ke*, lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, command the Hong merchants to render themselves acquainted herewith.

"On the 3rd instant, an express from the Board of war arrived, conveying a dispatch from the grand council, addressed: To *Tang*, governor, &c., and *Ke*, lieutenant-governor, to be enjoined also by them on *Wan*, the superintendent of maritime customs.—An imperial edict, issued on the 14th of July, 1837.

"Imperial edict.—In consequence of the exportation of pure silver, from ports and anchorages, on all parts of the maritime coast, and in contemplation of the very important results of such exportations, as regards the national resources, and the livelihood of the people,—We have, in often repeated instances, declared our pleasure to the governors and lieutenant-governors of the provinces, requiring them to investigate and to act on their investigations with faithfulness.

"Yet to-day, again, a memorial has been laid before us, from the sub-censor *Le Panlew*, to this effect: 'That from the English nation, there are upwards of ten warehousing ships, which have remained since the year 1821, when they first entered Kapshuy moon, until now; having in the year 1833, changed their anchorage to the Kumsing moon; that the importation of opium and the exportation of silver are supported by the continuance in China of these warehousing-ships, which form a sink for the absconders from justice, that scoundrels in the fast crab-like boats, are out morn and night, and always succeed in clandestinely making their way into every creek and inlet; and that while the nefarious merchants who support establishments for preparing opium, receive and supply wholesale quantities;—the shopmen dealing in foreign goods at Canton, are also secretly engaged in smuggling, under the false show of selling and buying other commodities, and are nowise different from the large brokers.

"For foreign vessels there is, surely, a fixed place of anchorage. Why then is it, that whereas before the year 1821, no 'warehousing ships' were ever heard of, they have of late years been suffered to remain at anchor in the surrounding seas, throughout whole years; thus giving occasion to the depraved among the people to combine with them in the unrestrained practice of smuggling?

"Let the governor of Kwangtung and his colleagues be made

responsible; and let them issue strict orders to the Hong merchants, to enjoin commands on the resident foreigners of the said nation, authoritatively urging the departure for their own country of all the warehousing ships that are now remaining at anchor. They must not be allowed, upon any excuse, to loiter about. Let also the dens of the opium-brokers be faithfully searched for, and let all, without exception, be dealt with as they deserve. Let there not be the slightest overstrained indulgence. Thus the source whence these illegalities spring forth may be closed up, and the spirit of degeneracy may be stayed.

"Let a copy of the memorial be sent for perusal, and with these instructions be made known to Tang and Ke, who are also to enjoin our commands on Wan. Respect this.

"This having, in obedience to the imperial pleasure, been, by despatch of the grand council, communicated to us, We, the governor and lieutenant-governor forthwith reverently copy it, and command obedience to it. When our commands reach the Hong merchants, let them also pay respectful obedience, and forthwith commence examination. Let them make it clearly known, that by the established enactments of the celestial empire, no foreign ship of any nation is permitted to remain at anchor, in the outer seas. And let them enjoin our commands on the foreigner directing the said nation's affairs, that he speedily give directions to the warehousing ships anchored in the various offings, requiring them within ten days, one and all to depart for their country. They cannot be permitted, upon any excuse, to continue loitering about. If any dare to resist and refuse to leave, the said merchant alone shall be held answerable.

"Let them also report the reasons why the foreign ships, anchored in the several offings, have not for so long a time returned to their country. that we may thoroughly examine the matter. Let there be no glossing excuses, lest criminality be incurred. With earnest haste—with anxious celerity—execute these commands.

"Taoukwang, 17th year, 7th month, 4th day, (4th August 1837.)"

[Translated from the Chinese, ROBERT MORRISON, Chinese Secretary and Interpreter.]

The injunctions from Pekin became more urgent, and another proclamation was issued from the governor, &c. enforcing their former edict against the opium receiving ships. 17th August, 1837.

"*Tang*, governor of Kwangtung, and Kwangse, and *Ke*, lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, issue these commands, requiring the senior Hong merchants to be acquainted therewith.

"On the 3rd instant a despatch arrived from the grand council of state, communicating the subjoined imperial edict, issued on the 14th of July:—

[A translation of this edict is given in the former document from the governor.]

"This having, in obedience to the imperial pleasure been communicated to us, We, the governor and lieutenant-governor, did forthwith issue orders in respectful obedience to it, requiring the said senior merchants to enjoin our commands on the resident foreigners, that they speedily give directions to the warehousing ships anchored in the various offings, urging them one and all to depart, within ten days, for their country. This is on record.

"Still, however, no report of the warehousing vessels, anchored at Lintin and other offings, having sailed, or refused to sail, has yet appeared from the said senior merchants. Such conduct is indeed extremely remiss and dilatory.

"The said nation's superintendent Elliot, having come to Canton to direct affairs as regards merchants and seamen, and all the minor details, even of disorder on the part of foreign merchants, commanders of ships, and seamen, are in all respects under his authority and control. Far more then, as regards these warehousing vessels, which have so long anchored in the various seas, seeking to twist aside the laws, and to serve only their own private interests, being not alone offenders against the prohibitory laws of the celestial empire, but furthermore transgressors of the instructions received in their own country, far more is it his duty, as regards them, to exert himself in commanding their departure, and sending them back again. By so doing only will he avoid disgracing his office.

"It should be borne in mind, that the favors of the great Emperor flow through all regions, without as well as within the Empire; and that his benevolence pervades the whole circle of the sea. When, however, it is desired to put a stop to nefarious combinations on the part of scoundrels within, it becomes necessary to extirpate all exciting causes among depraved foreigners. The sacred injunctions now given are strict and explicit; and it is a matter of bounden duty faithfully to investigate, and act accordingly.

"We, the governor and lieutenant-governor, having fears lest the said senior merchants should have failed in enjoining our commands with earnestness and zeal, or with sufficient clearness, proceed again to declare our commands. When these reach the said senior merchants, let them immediately enjoin the same on the said superintendent. Let him instantly pay respectful obedience to the declared imperial pleasure; and send back to their country all the warehousing ships anchored in the offings of Lintin and other places; let him not allow them as before, to continue loitering there at anchor; hereafter let only such merchant ships as are trading in dutyable articles come hither, and let no contraband goods, such as opium, and the like, be shipped for transportation over the wide seas. Thus the source of the evil will be dammed up; and the authority of the laws will be gloriously displayed.

"In the ports of Kwangtung, the celestial court graciously permits a general commercial intercourse, for the sale and purchase of goods; and truly it is the *crown* of all seaports. The foreign merchants of the various nations, who cross from afar, over numerous seas, should in reason make it their especial care to preserve a correct line of conduct in trade. If they, in opposition to the prohibitions form schemes for obtaining profits, indulging unrestrained desires, and loitering continually about, they will learn that the great Emperor's awful majesty can be displayed and put in operation, equally with his tender regard, and they will occasion by their own acts an entire stoppage of the now open road of commercial intercourse. The said superintendent is not void of intelligence in business; and will assuredly consider this with anxious forethought. Let him be very careful not to be a passive spectator of ungrateful and perverse transgression and resistance of the laws, on the part of the warehousing ships.

"Furthermore, let the said senior merchants report for our investigation the periods of departure for their country, of the several warehousing ships, in order to enable us to report to the throne.

"Let each one tremblingly obey. Hasten earnestly—earnestly speed—to execute these commands.

"Taoukwang, 17th year, 7th month, 17th day, (August 7, 1837.)"

[Translated from the Chinese, Robert Morrison, Chinese Secretary and Interpreter.]

The next state document on the subject is a singular memorial from the governor, lieutenant-governor, and the hoppo, to the Emperor, regarding the existing state of contraband trade, &c.

The governor, lieutenant-governor, and hoppo, forwarded on the 30th December, 1837, a joint memorial to the Emperor, respecting the measures adopted against the receiving ships, their actual condition, and the repeated seizures made of sycee and opium, and of the boats which supply the ships with provisions, in answer to the imperial commands. They entreat his Majesty, graciously to condescend to examine these subjects.

We received, in the month of October, an imperial decree thorough the grand Council of State, of the following tenor:

"Tang, and the others, (the lieutenant-governor and the hoppo), have sent in a report, from which it appears, that they had given orders to drive the receiving ships away, and adopted measures to seize the opium dealers and smugglers.

"The English receiving ships and merchantmen, with those of other nations, under pretence of seeking shelter against storms, have, of late years, sailed into the inner seas. The Hong merchants were, therefore, ordered to enjoin it upon the superintendent of the said nation, that he should make all the receiving ships, anchored at Lintin, and other places, return to their country, and should not permit them as formerly to remain at anchor and loiter about. As soon as the receiving ships had gotten under weigh,

to return to their country, the Hong merchants had orders to report the same.

"It is found, on examination, that an entire clearance of the fort-boats, (a class of smuggling boats) has been made, but the various classes of vessels still engaged in smuggling, are yet numerous, and their nefarious practices as well as those of the opium dealers, are such as cannot be permitted to go on; therefore, orders have been issued to the civil, as well as naval authorities, diligently to direct the cruizers under their command, in making careful search, and seizing all such offenders.

"One of the greatest evils under which the province of Canton groans, is, that barbarian vessels anchoring in the inner seas form connections for smuggling. The governor, and the others, ought to investigate carefully, whether the said foreign superintendent has indeed obeyed their injunctions, and the receiving ships have now sailed or not; and they must, by all means, compel them all to return home, without delay. If they, however, dare to compromise this matter, and I, the Emperor, should afterwards, upon enquiry, hear of it, or any one should bring an accusation to that effect, I shall only hold the said governor and his colleagues responsible.

"The most severe measures must be adopted against the smuggling craft, and that their seizure may be effected; and my expectation is, that they be extirpated, root and branch. Having made an occasional seizure, do not say immediately, that you have annihilated the whole; and so leave room for continued illegalities and crime.

"Acquaint with these orders Tang and Ke, and let them transmit the same to Wan, (the hoppo). Respect this."

(Here ends the extract from the imperial order recently received, to which the authorities make the following reply):

"Your ministers read this in a kneeling posture, with the deepest veneration, admiring the care your Majesty bestows upon a corner of the sea; and the earnest desire shown to remove with energy the existing evils.

"Having carefully examined the charts of the inner and outer seas, we find that the Ladrone islands constitute their boundaries. Beyond them is the wide and boundless ocean, the black water of the foreign seas, which are not under the control of the central territory. Inside of them, at the offings, for instance, of Lintin, the Nine Islands, and other places, are the 'outer seas,' which are under the jurisdiction of Canton. Where the sea washes the shores of the interior districts, it is called the 'inner sea,' and of such inlets Kamsingmoon is an instance. Barbarian ships, since 1830, under pretence of seeking shelter against the winds, sailed frequently into Kamsingmoon, during the fourth and fifth months, and remained at anchor until the ninth. As soon as the north wind had set in, they removed again to Lintin, and anchored

there. In the winter of last year, we prohibited this most severely, and also erected a battery at the entrance, while we stationed there a naval squadron, to prevent most strenuously the ingress of the ships. No barbarian craft therefore entered, but they continued to anchor at Lintin and the adjoining places. Whilst, thus, no receiving ship now remains in the inner seas, it is nevertheless a fact, that they still exist in the outer seas.

"Formerly, in regard to the receiving ships anchored in the outer seas, the commanders of the cruisers always stated, that their coming and going were so uncertain, that their actual number could not be ascertained. We, your ministers, however, conceiving that the names and numbers of the receiving ships were generally known, and that it was requisite to obtain accurate information regarding them, before adopting measures against them, would not admit them thus to conceal these facts and not speak out freely, thus to close the ear while the ear-rings were being stolen! We, therefore, last year, gave orders to all the naval cruisers to ascertain their exact number, and whether or not there were any from time to time coming or going away, and present reports every ten days. They communicated the result of their investigation, having found after due examination, that there were, indeed, altogether 25 sail, which had stayed there for a long time. The greater number were English country ships, and there were besides vessels under the American, French, Dutch, Manilla, and Danish flags, of each from one or two, to three or four. Some came and others went, but their aggregate number never exceeded this. These then are the facts as to the existing number of the receiving ships.

"When, in obedience to the Imperial orders, we had issued, this year, our strict injunctions to the said Hong merchants and the Superintendent Elliot, to send these ships back to their country; a naval captain, subsequently to this, reported, in September, that only one single Dutch ship, the Lihteaychin, (?) had lifted her anchors and sailed out beyond the Ladrone; this is also a fact, the truth of which we have upon enquiry ascertained. Since, however, only one vessel had left, your ministers could not then report the circumstance, for all the remainder, though they had also hoisted their sails, and lifted their anchors, yet moving, some to the east, and others to the west, they none of them proceeded beyond the Ladrone Islands. Though unwilling to offer contumacious disobedience, yet they cannot refrain from lingering about, indulging hopes and anticipations. For these are not matters of one year alone, nor are the vessels from one country only, and though the opium is contraband, yet to them it is a property highly valuable; and these vicious barbarians, only hankering after gain, are therefore unwilling to throw this commodity away, and use every possible expedient and means, in hopes of obtaining some temporary respite. This is the true cause why it is yet a

fact that all the receiving ships have not within the prescribed time sailed away.

"We, your ministers, are under the highest obligations, for having obtained the great and high favour of being entrusted with the command of the sea-coast; and our duty is to eradicate every depraved and vicious practice. We received previously the expression of your majesty's pleasure, enjoining us to issue severe orders to the Hong merchants, in regard to the sending home of the receiving ships. We have now again received a proof of your majesty's condescension in investigating these matters, and, burning with the deepest anxiety, we fear and tremble. Having again issued severe orders to the Hong merchants, Howqua and the others, to command the instant departure of these vessels, they reported to us, that the said Superintendent Elliot would not give them precise and true answers to this demand, and in reply to their enquiries, addressed to the foreign merchants, they were told that the receiving ships were not their own property, and that it was out of their power to drive them away. Thus they make excuses on all sides, and again seek for delay.

"We, your ministers, have found on examination, that, according to law, whenever foreigners proved refractory the trade ought to be stopped, in order to give them a fair warning and merited punishment. As they are thus determinate in pursuit of gain, and can come to no resolution (to sending away the ships,) there ought to be a temporary stoppage of the trade, in order to cut off their expectations. Yet so many nations participate in this commerce, while the receiving ships belong only to a few states, that due investigation ought to be made, so as to distinguish between them, and to prevent good foreigners from suffering by this measure.

"We have therefore ordered the Hong merchants to enquire, how many nations have hitherto had commercial intercourse, how many amongst them have traded honestly and had no receiving ships, and how many there have really been possessed of such receiving ships. We directed them to send in a distinct and clear statement of these matters, for our guidance in adopting measures.

"We, at the same time, gave the strictest orders, that they should again enjoin your majesty's severe commands upon the resident foreign merchants, not permitting them to make excuses to obtain delay and extricate themselves from this dilemma; but threatening them, if they again should prove dilatory and still should nourish hopes, that the hatches shall be immediately closed, and a stoppage of the trade ensue. We desired those foreign merchants to consider, whether it be better that they suffer the existence of these receiving ships—thereby turning aside the laws to serve their own private ends, or that they should still continue to reap, eternally, the advantages of a free (legal) commerce; to weigh well which of these two things will be the gain, and which the loss;

we desired that they should carefully make their election, and that they should no longer persevere in their blindness, without once awakening, and thus, of their own accord, bring upon themselves cause for bitter repentance.

"We find on examination, that every nation earns a subsistence by this trade. All the merchants run together, bringing hither their goods to exchange for our commodities. They will certainly not consent to throw away their property, by waiting here at a ruinous loss of time. The rhubarb, the teas, the porcelain, the silks, and other articles, &c. of this country, moreover are necessary to those nations. On account of disturbances created by barbarians, in 1808, and in 1834, the hatches were closed; and afterwards they earnestly supplicated to have them reopened. Thus it appears, as past events fully prove, that the various nations cannot cease to look up to the flowery, central land. If they are now intimidated therefore by the stoppage of trade, they will probably no longer allow the receiving ships to remain, by such contumacious conduct, effectually damaging their means of livelihood. If in this way they be indeed aroused and awakened, and the vessels be sent away, then matters will fall into their former quiet course, and there will be no need to take any further measures. But if, with inveterate obstinacy, they still offer open defiance to the laws, it will then be for us to adopt new expedients, and propose to the court other measures for their punishment.

"We have, while suggesting this course, written at the same time to the naval commander-in-chief of the province, that he may in concert with the captains of the cruisers himself adopt means for expelling the receiving ships; and have earnestly desired him to watch carefully their movements, and to instill into them a wholesome terror and dread; not to allow any to be careless and neglectful of their public duty; yet, at the same time not to commit such blunders, as may give rise to affrays and strife. It is our confident expectation that these steps will be attended with advantage.

"We calling to mind that the receiving ships anchored in the outer seas, need a daily supply of the necessaries of life, for which they are dependent on our country, worthless vagabonds from the coast are accustomed to embark in small boats, pretending to go out fishing, whilst they put a variety of provisions and other articles on board, and go, in fact, to the ships to sell them: they are called bumboats. The vicious barbarians while they can look to these for supplies, are thereby enabled to prolong their stay; yet if these supplies were cut off, we might succeed in getting rid of them.

"We, your ministers, have for some time past made seizure of opium-dealers and smugglers of every description, without mercy, in order to prevent the exportation of sycee silver, and the importation of opium, and thus to put a stop to this contraband

traffic. We have since also given orders to capture these bumboats, and not to permit them to have communication with the ships on the high seas, in order to cut off the supplies of those vicious men. The said barbarians will then have nothing to hope for, their expectations will be groundless, matters will come to extremes, and circumstances will then necessarily be changed, and thus the fountain may be purified, the stream of impurity being also arrested. According to the reports forwarded by the officers of the Ta-pang and Heang-chan stations, four of these bumboats, with some cargo, and twenty-eight vagabonds in them, had been taken and committed for trial to the provincial city, where they will meet with a most severe judgment.

"Lew Tszelin, Chin Auox, and Ting Asan, together with other scoundrels, formerly taken with sycee silver and opium, have been repeatedly examined and their sentence has been forwarded for the imperial approval. During the present year, according to the report transmitted by the military and civil authorities and other official persons, they have made, from the beginning of the spring until the close of December, thirty seizures, taking in all, 144 offenders of silver, 866 taels in sycee, and 3027 taels in foreign money; and of opium to the amount of 3842 catties.

"These criminals were all severally judged, the money was given as a reward to the captors, and the opium was burnt. The haunts of opium dealers have also been found out, and after investigation the public seal was placed upon them, while orders were issued for their apprehension of the persons frequenting them. The above is all authenticated by entries on the records.

"Your ministers have now been earnestly engaged in these measures for one year; they dare not yet say that their efforts have had the full and desired effect. But, with relation to the existing state of things in the provincial city, we would observe, that the price of sycee is at present very low; and opium, one ball of which on board the foreign ships formerly cost the traitorous natives about thirty dollars, can now only fetch from sixteen to eighteen dollars. Of the smuggled silver, too, that has been seized, a large portion has been foreign money, which would seem to imply, that to export sycee silver is now comparatively difficult. The proofs of the foreigners having to sell at reduced prices, and of their receiving payment in foreign money, being thus clear, the course that has been adopted, if pursued with vigour and firmness for a long period, and if followed up by the seizure of sycee silver and the capture of the bumboats, as measures of the first importance, will greatly tend towards increasing the wealth of the port, and doing away with abuses, and will thus prove extremely beneficial.

"But there being many crafty and cunning devices which fail of success, numerous complaints have hence arisen, proceeding from malicious tongues, that these failures are brought on by the measures now adopted. Some there are, with rumour-spreading

tongues, who represent that we your ministers, if besought by those who bring rich offerings in their hands, are not unwilling to accept gifts.

"Others, speculating men of ruined fortunes, declare that the civilians, and the military officers, when bribed, liberate, and apprehend offenders only when unfeed; that in searching for contraband articles, they try only to annoy the honest merchants, and that when they have made seizures, they represent that the goods have been sunk and lost. There are others, again, anxious, fearful-minded men, who lament these proceedings, saying that since these urgently preventive measures have been taken, the foreign merchant vessels that have come hither, have been but few; that the teas and silk have come into a dull market; and that the circulation of capital and sale of goods have been far from brisk; so that the merchants cannot preserve themselves from overwhelming embarrassments, and that the port of Canton province must be reduced to wretchedness; further, that since search is in every place made after idle vagrants, in order to seize them, many of the boat-people are in consequence thrown out of employment, and it may justly be feared that they will be driven to plunder, and that robberies will daily be multiplied.

"These and many similar rumours are confidently circulated; but they are all the slandering assertions of the credulous or the malicious, intended to confuse and trouble the hearts of your ministers, and to disturb our hearing and confuse our vision.

"Though we presume not to be wholly wedded to our own opinions, nor to act as if we heard nothing, and though, therefore, we seek to examine with the greatest impartiality into well-founded rumours, and well-authenticated accusations of abuses, with the hope of preserving all free from taint or imperfections—yet will we not give way to apprehensions which would make us fear to begin, or hesitate to proceed to an end, and would reduce us to the condition of the man who would leave off eating, because of a hiccough.

"We shall faithfully, with our whole heart and soul, discharge our duty in managing these affairs, and allow in ourselves no remissness in the issuing of orders to that effect. Having received such great and abundant favours from your Majesty, we dare not screen ourselves from the malice of rancorous slander, and never will we incur the guilt of acting deceitfully or ungratefully. Thus we would hope to meet your Sacred Majesty's most earnest wish, that we should make *truth* our motto.

"We have thus minutely represented matters to your Majesty, and united in preparing this memorial in reply to your Majesty's commands."

In February 1838, a Chinaman was ordered to be strangled in front of the English factories at Canton, for being engaged in the opium trade. The edict declared the offence thus:—

" Second moon. 2nd day. (February 25th, 1838.) The imperial will has been received.

" 1 order that *Kwo-Se-ping* be immediately strangled. This criminal has audaciously dared to form connexions with the outside foreigners at the important passes of the sea frontier. *He opened a shop, stored it with opium, and seduced people to buy and smoke it.* He has been known to be engaged in this way for five years; but the former governors and lieutenant-governors have been negligent, and not one of them has examined and managed this affair with a regard to truth. But *Tang-tingching* ordered his officers to seize strictly, and he was immediately taken. It may, therefore, be seen that when pursuit and prosecution are managed with a regard to truth, the effects are evident. I order that *Tang* and *Ke* be referred to the proper board, for their merits to be taken into consideration; and hereafter, with reference to the offences of buying and selling opium, and opening smoking houses, if in these instances criminals are guilty, they must be seized at all times and all places, and punished; they must not be suffered to escape out of the net: thus they will be a warning to others. *Respect this.*"

The punishment for the crime of smoking opium or dealing in it, was changed to its present severity by Taoukwang in the 10th year of his reign.

Those who deal in opium shall be punished according to the law against those who trade in prohibited goods, (gunpowder, saltpetre, nitre, sulphur, military weapons.) The principal shall wear the collar one moon, and be banished to the army at a *near* frontier. The accomplices shall be punished with 100 blows and banished from the province.

He who clandestinely opens an opium smoking shop, and seduces the sons and younger brothers of respectable families to smoke opium, shall be punished according to the law against those who delude the multitude by depraved doctrines. The principal, when his crime is proved, shall be strangled after his term of imprisonment; the accomplices shall be punished with 100 blows, and banished 3,000 *le*. And the boat-people, constables, and neighbours shall all receive 100 blows, and be banished from the province for three years.

The following are the penalties for buying and smoking opium.

If an officer of government buys and smokes opium, he is to be dismissed the service, to wear the collar for two months, and be beaten with 100 blows; soldiers and the people are to be punished with 100 blows and wear the collar for one month. Eunuchs in the imperial palaces are to wear the collar for two months, and be sent to the most distant frontiers, as slaves to the soldiers.

In the first year of Taoukwang (1820-21,) a native named *Yih-hang-soo*, was the great agent for opium at Macao. When he

fell under the notice of government, he was only banished as a slave to the army; and we are told that he is living in comfort in some of the distant provinces, where he carries on a flourishing trade, and is supposed to be rich.

The earnest attention of different high officers continued to be given to the subject, and about November 1838, the following close-reasoning memorial was presented to the Emperor:

"HWANG TSEOTSZE, president of the Sacrificial Court, upon his knees addresses the throne, soliciting the adoption of severe measures to prevent a continual draining of the country, in the hope of enhancing thereby the national resources.

"When your minister observes the nightly watchings, and the late meals, to which, in your diligent and anxious care to provide for the interests of the empire for thousands of future generations, your august majesty is subjected—and when he sees, nevertheless, that the national resources are inadequate, that very few among the people enjoy affluence, and that this condition of things is gradually growing worse, each year falling behind its precursor,—to what cause, he is induced to ask, is this attributable? In the reign of your majesty's progenitor, surnamed the 'Pure,' (Kienlung,) how many were the demands for the settlement of the frontier! How great the changes incurred on imperial progresses! How extensive the public works and improvements! And yet abundance prevailed amid high and low, and the nation attained to the pinnacle of wealth. In the time of Keaking, too, riches and affluence yet lingered among us, insomuch that the families of the scholars and people, as well as the great merchants and large traders, acquired habits of luxury and prodigal expenditure. Shall we compare those times with the present? Heaven and earth can better bear comparison! How is it, that the greater extravagance was then attended with more affluence, and that now the greater frugality is followed but by increasing scarcity?

"It seems to your minister, that the present enhanced value of silver, of a tael of which the cost has recently exceeded 1600 cash, arises not from the waste of silver bullion within the country, but from its outflow into foreign regions.

"From the moment of opium first gaining an influx into China, your majesty's benevolent progenitor, surnamed the 'Wise,' (Keaking,) foresaw the injury that it would produce, and therefore he earnestly warned and cautioned men against it, and passed a law plainly interdicting it. But at that time his ministers did not imagine that its poisonous effects would ever pervade the empire to the present extent. Had they sooner been awake to this, they would have awarded the severest penalties and the heaviest punishments, in order to have nipped the evil in the bud.

"There is a regulation by which every foreign vessel, upon reaching the coast of Canton, has to obtain the suretyship of a Hong merchant, who is required to bind himself under sureties,

that the ship has no opium on board, nor until this is done can any vessel enter the port. But this suretyship, though it is still required, has in process of time come to be regarded as an empty form; and it has been found impossible to prevent opium from being brought in the ships. From this cause, before even the third year of Taoukwang, (1823,) the annual draining of silver had already amounted to several millions of taels.

"In the first instance, the use of opium was confined to the pampered sons of fortune, with whom it was an idle luxury, but still used with moderation and under the power of restraint. Since then, its use has extended upwards to the officers and belted gentry, and downwards to the labourer and the tradesman, to the traveller, and even to women, monks, nuns, and priests. In every place its inhalers are to be found. And the implements required for smoking it are sold publicly in the face of day. Even Moukden, the important soil whence our empire springs, has become infected by its progressive prevalence.

"The importation of opium from abroad is constantly on the increase. There are vessels for the specific purpose of storing up opium, which do not enter the Bocca Tigris, but remain anchored off Lintin, and off the Grand Ladrone and Lantao, islands in the open sea. Depraved merchants of Kwangtung form illicit connexions with the militia and its officers appointed to cruise on the sea-coasts, and, using boats designated 'scrambling dragons,' 'fast crabs,' &c., they carry silver out to sea, and bring in the opium in return. In this way, between the third and eleventh years of Taoukwang, (1823-31,) the country was drained to the annual amount of from seventeen to eighteen millions of taels; between the eleventh and fourteenth years, it was drained to the annual amount of more than twenty millions; and between the fourteenth year and this time, to the yearly amount of thirty millions and upwards. In addition to this, too, from the coasts of Fuhkein, Chekeang, Shantung, and from the port of Tientsin, there has been a total efflux of many millions of taels. This outpouring of the useful wealth of China into the insatiable depths of transmarine regions—in exchange, too, for an article so baneful—has thus become a grievous malady, still increasing, day by day, and year by year: nor can your minister see where it is to end.

"The land and capitation taxes, and the contributions for supply of grain, are paid, for the most part, in all the provinces and districts, in copper cash. When the sums collected are accounted for to government, these copper cash have to be exchanged for silver. The loss now experienced upon this exchange is so very heavy, that, in consequence of it, the officers have everywhere to supply deficiencies in the revenue, whereas formerly there was in general an overplus.* The salt merchants of the several provinces

* An allowance is made for loss in the exchange, which formerly more than covered, but now (according to the memorialist,) does not equal, the actual loss experienced.—*Trans.*

always sell the salt for copper coin, while they are invariably required to pay the gabel in silver; and, hence, the business of a salt merchant, a business formerly contended for as affording certain profit, is, under existing circumstances, looked upon as a pursuit surrounded with risks. If this state of things continue a few years longer, the price of silver will become so enhanced, that it will be a question how the revenue collected can possibly be accounted for, or the gabel paid up. And, should any unanticipated cause of expenditure arise, it will become a question, how it can by possibility be met. Whenever your minister reflects on these things, the anxious thoughts they occasion wholly deprive him of sleep.

"Throughout the empire, it is now universally acknowledged, that the draining of the country's resources is the consequence of the introduction of opium: and many are the suggestions and propositions for staying the evil. By one it is proposed to guard strictly the maritime ports, and so block up the paths of outlet and admission; but it is not considered that the officers who must be appointed to this preventive guard, cannot always be depended upon as upright and public spirited men; and that the annual trade in opium, amounting to some tens of millions, will yield these officers, at the rate of one-tenth or one-hundredth only, as their share, [the price of their connivance,] not less than some millions of taels. Where such pecuniary advantage is to be acquired, who will faithfully watch or act against the traffic? Hence, the instances of seizure that do sometimes occur are few and far between. Besides, along a maritime coast of thousands of miles, places of outlet and admission abound everywhere. These considerations make it clear, that this, for one, is not practicable as a preventive of the national draining.

"Others say, 'put an entire stop to foreign commercial intercourse, and so wholly eradicate the origin of the evil.' These, it would seem, are not aware, that the woollens, and the clocks and watches imported by the foreigners from beyond sea, together with the tea, rhubarb, and silk, exported by them, constituting the body of the legitimate trade, cannot be valued at ten millions of taels. The profit therefore enjoyed from this trade, does not exceed a few millions, and is at the same time but a barter of one commodity for another. Its value is not a tenth or twentieth part of that of the opium traffic; and, consequently, the chief interest of the foreign merchants is in the latter, and not in the former. Though, therefore, it should be determined to set aside the revenue derived from the maritime customs of Canton, and to forbid commercial intercourse; yet, seeing that the opium vessels do not even now enter the port, they will no doubt continue to anchor outside, in the open seas, there waiting for high prices; and the native consumers of opium, unable to bear a moment's delay of smoking, will still find depraved people ready to go thither and

convey it to them. Hence the difficulty of prevention is not as regards the foreign merchants, but as regards the depraved natives. This, too, must plainly, then, be ineffectual as a preventive of the national draining.

"Others again propose to search for and arrest all who deal in opium, and severely to punish them, as well as all who keep houses for smoking it, maintaining that thus, though we may fail to purify the source, yet it will be possible to arrest the stream. Are these persons ignorant, that, since the enactment of the laws against opium, the punishment awarded to dealers therein has been enslavement to the military at a distant frontier district, and that awarded to the keepers of smoking houses has been strangulation, or one degree beyond the punishment of those who by false doctrines deceive the people and honest families? Notwithstanding this, how incalculably numerous are the dealers in opium and the keepers of smoking houses! and how exceedingly few the cases, in any of the provinces, in which these penalties are inflicted! For in the province of Kwang tung, the wholesale dealers in opium having established large stores, maintain a good understanding with the custom house officers along the various routes from that to the other provinces. The opium dealers in the several provinces, if possessed of capital, obtain the protection of these wholesale men; and the corrupt officers of the places of customs and toll consequently connive, and suffer them to pass; while, on the other hand, legitimate traders, passing to and fro, are, under pretence of searching for opium, vexatiously detained and subjected to extortion. The keepers of smoking houses, too, in all the departments and districts, are depraved and crafty under-officers, police-runners, and such like. These, acting in base concert with worthless young men of large families possessed of a name and influence, collect together, under the protection of many doors, and in retired alleys, parties of people to inhale the drug; and the private officers and attendants of the local magistrates, being one half of them sunk into this vicious habit, are induced always to shield these their friends and abettors. From these causes, we find this measure also ineffectual as a preventative of the national draining.

"There is yet another proposal, to remove the prohibitions against the planting of the poppy, and to suffer the preparation of opium within the country, by which it is hoped to stay the increasingly ruinous effects of foreign importation, to stop the efflux of silver. Are the proposers of such a measure altogether ignorant, that the home-prepared opium, when smoked, does not yield the needed stimulus, that it is merely used by the dealers to mix up with the foreign opium, with the view of increasing their profits? No, this measure, should it be adopted, and the planting of the poppy no longer prohibited, will also be found effectual as a preventive of the national draining.

"The injury inflicted by opium, is it then altogether past prevention? Your minister would fain think that to prevent it is not impossible, but only that the true means of so doing have not yet been discovered.

"Now the great waste of silver arises from the abundant sale of opium, and this abundant sale is caused by the largeness of the consumption. Were the consumption of it to cease, there would of course be no sale, and did the sale of it fail, the importation of it by foreigners from abroad would necessarily cease also. If then it be desired to increase the severity of punishments, it is against the *consumers* of the opium that this increased severity must be directed.

"Your minister would therefore solicit your august Majesty to declare by severe edicts your imperial pleasure, that, from such a month and day of this year, to such a month and day of next year, a period of one year will be granted, in which to overcome the practice of using opium. Within this period of time, it cannot be impossible for those even with whom the habit is most confirmed to overcome it altogether. If, then, after the period of a year any continue to smoke opium, they may be regarded as lawless and incorrigible, and none will hesitate to admit the justice of subjecting them to the heaviest penalties. I find that the existing laws against opium smokers, award no more severe punishments than the wearing of the wooden collar, the bastinado, and, in case of refusing to point out the dealer, a chastisement of a hundred blows, with transportation for three years. Thus the utmost severity of punishment stops short of death, and the pain of breaking off the habit of using opium is greater than that of the punishments, the cangue, the bastinado, and transportation. Of this, crafty and hardened breakers of the law are well aware, and they do not therefore strive to overcome the vile habit. But, were the offence made capital, the bitter anguish of the approaching punishment would be found more trying than the protracted languor of breaking off the habit; and your minister feels assured, that men would prefer to die in their families, in the endeavour to refrain from opium, rather than to die in the market place, under the hands of the executioner.

"In considering what may be the clear and thoughtful views of your Majesty, in regard to such punishments, an apprehension may be presumed to exist in the imperial breast, lest, if the laws be rendered somewhat too severe, they may become, in the hands of evil men, instruments for drawing down penalties upon the guiltless. But an habitual smoker of opium can always be so readily distinguished when brought before a magistrate for trial, that one who is not such a smoker, but a good orderly subject, cannot be hurt by false accusations, though instigated by the greatest animosity and the most implacable hatred; while one who is really a smoker will not by any means be able to gloss

over or conceal the fact. Though such severe punishments, therefore, be had recourse to, there can no evil flow therefrom.

"In the history of Formosa, written by Yu Wanee, your minister finds it mentioned, that the inhabitants of Java were originally nimble, light-bodied, and expert in war; but when the [European] red-haired race* appeared, these prepared opium and seduced them into the use of it; whereupon they were subdued, brought into subjection, and their land taken possession of. Among the red-haired race, the law regarding those who daily make use of opium is, to assemble all their race as spectators, while the criminal is bound to a stake, and shot from a gun into the sea. Hence among the red-haired race, none is found so daring as to make use of it. The opium which is now imported into China is from the English and other nations, where are found preparers of it alone, but not one consumer of it. Your minister has heard moreover, that the foreign ships coming to Canton pass on their way, the frontiers of Cochin China, and that at the first they seduced the Cochin Chinese into the use of opium; but that these, discovering the covert scheme laid for them, instantly interdicted the drug under the most severe penalties, making the use of it a capital crime, without chance of pardon. Now, if it is in the power of barbarians out of the bounds of the empire, to put a stop by prohibitions to the consumption of opium, how much more can our august Sovereign, whose terrors are as the thunderbolts and vivid lightnings of heaven, render his anger so terrible that even the most stupid, perverse, and long-besotted, shall be made to open their blind eyes and dull ears!

"The great measures affecting the interests of the empire, it is not within the compass of ordinary minds to comprehend. The sacred intelligence, and heaven-derived decisiveness, of the Sovereign may however, unaided determine, and need not the co-operation of every mind. Yet it may be, that men of fearful dispositions, unwilling to bear reproach for the sake of their country, will, though well aware that none but severe punishments can stay the evil, pretend nevertheless, that the number of those who smoke opium is so great as to give cause for apprehending, that precipitate measures will drive them into a calamitous outbreak. To meet these fears it is, that the indulgent measure is suggested, of extending to the smokers one year wherein to repent. The point of greatest importance is, that at the first declaration of the imperial pleasure, the commands issued should be of an earnest and urgent character; for if the Sovereign's pleasure be forcibly expressed, then the officers who are to enforce it will be profoundly attentive; and if these officers be attentive, the breakers of the law will be struck with terror. Thus in the course of a

* This term, originally applied to the Dutch and northern nations, was afterwards extended to the English, of whom it has latterly become the exclusive patronymic.—*Trans.*

year, even before punishments shall have been inflicted, eight or nine out of every ten will have learned to refrain. In this manner, the consumers of opium will in fact owe to the protection of the laws the preservation of their lives; and those who have not been smokers will be indebted to the restraint and cautions of the laws, for their salvation from impending danger. Such is the vast power of your august Majesty, for the staying of evil. Such your Majesty's opportunities of exhibiting abundant goodness, and wide-spreading philanthropy.

Once more your minister solicits that commands may be issued to all the governors and lieutenant-governors of provinces, to publish earnest and urgent proclamations for the general information of the people, and to give wide promulgation to prescriptions for the cure of the habit of smoking opium, that these high functionaries may be required to suffer no smoking beyond the allotted period of forbearance. And that, at the same time, they may be directed strictly to command the prefects of departments and magistrates of districts, to examine and set in order the tithings and hundreds, giving beforehand clear instructions in regard to the future enforcement of the new law. The people, after the year of sufferance shall have elapsed, should be made to give bonds—a common bond from every five adjoining houses, and if any one continues to transgress, it should be required of all to inform against him, that he may be brought to justice, and to this end liberal rewards should be accorded to the informers; while, should a transgression be concealed and the offender shielded, not only should the transgressor, upon discovery, be in accordance with the proposed new law executed, but all those mutually bound with him, should also be punished. With regard to general marts and large towns, where people are assembled from all parts, seeing that the merchants there are ever passing to and fro, and not remaining in one place, it would be found difficult, should their neighbours be made answerable for them, to observe their conduct. The keepers of shops and lodging-houses, should, therefore, be held responsible, and should be made punishable for sheltering opium-smokers, in the same manner as for harbouring and concealing thieves. If any officer, high or low, actually in office, continue to smoke after the year of sufferance shall have elapsed, he, having become a transgressor of those very laws which it is his duty to maintain, should be punished in a higher degree than ordinary offenders, by the exclusion of his children and grandchildren from the public examinations, in addition to the penalty of death attaching to himself. Any local officers who, after the period of sufferance shall have elapsed, shall with true-heartedness fulfil their duty, and shall show the same by the apprehension of any considerable number of offenders, should be, upon application for the imperial consideration of their merits, entitled to a commensurate reward, according to the provisions of the law relating to the apprehension of thieves.

If any relations, literary friends, or personal attendants of officers, continue, while residing with such officers, to smoke opium, in addition to the punishment falling upon themselves, the officers under whose direction they may be, should also be subjected to severe inquiry and censure. As to the military, both of the Tartar and the Chinese forces, each officer should be required to take from the men under his immediate command a bond similar to those of the tithing-men. And their superior officers, in case of failing to observe any transgression, should be dealt with in the same manner as has been suggested in relation to civil officers failing to observe the conduct of those residing with them.

"Thus it may be hoped that both the military and the people—those of low, as well as those of high degree,—will be made to fear and to shun transgression.

."Such regulations [if adopted] will need to be promulgated and clearly made known everywhere, even in decayed villages and wayside hamlets, that the whole empire may be made acquainted with our august Sovereign's regard of, and anxiety for, the people and their welfare, and his extreme desire to preserve their lives from danger. Every opium-smoker who hears thereof, cannot but be aroused, by dread of punishment, and by gratitude for the goodness extended to him, to change his face and cleanse his heart. And thus the continual draining of the nation will be stayed, and the price of silver will cease to be enhanced. And this being the case, plans may then be discussed for the cultivation of our resources. This will in truth be a fountain of happiness to the rulers and the ruled in ten thousand ages to come.

"Your servant's obscure and imperfect views are thus laid before your August Majesty, with the humble prayer that a sacred glance may be vouchsafed that their fitness or unfitness may be determined. A respectful memorial."

The Emperor's pleasure in this matter was recorded as follows:—

"Hwang Tsestsze has presented a memorial, soliciting the adoption of measures to stay the continual draining of the country, with the hope of enhancing thereby the national resources. Let the commanders-in-chief in the provinces of Mookden, Kirin, and Tsitsihar, and the governors and lieutenant-governors of all the other provinces, express, in the form of regulations, their own several views on the subject, and lay the same speedily before the throne. To this end let the memorial be sent to them herewith. Respect this."

Consequent on the foregoing the following imperial edict was issued:—"In reference to a memorial laid before us by Hwang Tsestsze, the vice-president of the sacrificial court, it has now been represented to us, by the sub-censor, Tau Szelin, that the governors and lieutenant-governors of the provinces having been more strict in the seizure of opium, a brighter spirit has recently been exhibited throughout the provinces. It thus appears that the repre-

sentations before made by Hwang Tsestsze were all right: but that all the officers have, with one consent, mismanaged the matter. When, perchance, they have made seizures, these have been so few and far between, that it cannot be that they have all acted with uprightness and public spirit. Hwang Tsestsze and those with him have, however, apprehended and punished with true purpose of heart, and he has represented his views with plainness and perspicuity: he may well be called a servant useful and devoted to us. Let, therefore, the board of office consider of his merits liberally, in order that we may, by rewarding him, encourage like conduct.

"Henceforth, let the governors and lieutenant-governors of the provinces, with severity and earnestness, make known their commands to the people. And let them, at the same time, send out officers with military retinues to make search, imperatively requiring that the depraved merchants who deal in opium, and those people who open houses for smoking it, shall, without fail, be apprehended and brought to trial; and these, after a period of three months shall have elapsed, shall, according to a new law, be condemned to death, and so punished. The consumers of opium throughout the provinces must be imperatively required, within the space of three months, to throw off the habit of using it. If any should continue its use after the lapse of this period, such persons must be regarded as unruly people, fearless of the laws, and shall also be condemned, in accordance with the new law, to the penalty of death.

"The governors and lieutenant-governors of the provinces must utterly root out the evil, and must allow no guilty persons to escape through the meshes of the net. If any officers dare to connive at, pass over, or fail to discover, acts of disobedience, besides receiving in their own persons the penalties prescribed by the new law, their sons and grandsons, also, shall be excluded from the public examinations. Such local officers as may with all their hearts fulfil their duty, shall, in accordance with the new law, be, upon fitting representation, rewarded conformably to their merits. Let these commands be generally made known to the governors and lieutenant-governors of all the provinces. Respect this."

(Without date. True translation.)

"J. ROBERT MORRISON,
"Chinese Secretary's Interpreter."

Captain Elliot, Her Majesty's Superintendent of Trade in China, who was averse to the opium trade, and foresaw the evil effects which must inevitably result from its continuance and open prosecution, issued a public notice on the subject.

"I, CHARLES ELLIOT, Chief Superintendent of the Trade of British subjects in China, moved by urgent considerations immediately affecting the safety of the lives and property of all Her

Majesty's subjects engaged in the trade at Canton, do hereby formally give notice, and require, that all British owned schooners, cutters, and otherwise-rigged small craft, either habitually or occasionally engaged in the illicit opium traffic within the Bocca Tigris, should proceed forth of the same within the space of three days from the date of these presents, and not return within the said Bocca Tigris, being engaged in the said illicit opium traffic.

"And I, the said chief superintendent, do further give notice, and warn all her majesty's subjects engaged in the aforesaid illicit opium traffic, within the Bocca Tigris, in such schooners, cutters, or otherwise-rigged small craft, that if any native of the Chinese empire shall come by his or her death by any wound feloniously inflicted by any British subject or subjects, any such British subject or subjects being convicted thereof, are liable to capital punishment, as if the crime had been committed within the jurisdiction of Her Majesty's court at Westminster.

"And I, the said chief superintendent, do further give notice, and warn all British subjects being owners of such schooners, cutters, or otherwise-rigged small craft, engaged in the same illicit opium traffic within the Bocca Tigris, that Her Majesty's government will in no way interpose if the Chinese government shall think fit to seize and confiscate the same.

"And I, the said chief superintendent, do further give notice, and warn all British subjects employed in the said schooners, cutters, and otherwise-rigged small craft, engaged in the illicit traffic in opium within the Bocca Tigris, that the forcible resisting of the officers of the Chinese government in the duty of searching and seizing, is a lawless act, and that they are liable to consequences and penalties in the same manner as if the aforesaid forcible resistance were opposed to the officers of their own, or any other government, in their own, or in any foreign country.

"Given under my hand and seal of office, at Canton, this eighteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight.

(Signed) "CHARLES ELLIOT,
"Chief Superintendent of the Trade of British subjects in China."

The Chinese government also issued several strigent and severe proclamations and edicts against the importation and use of opium; but, as the naval and military forces of China were unable to contest with the armed English opium vessels, the traffic increased with fearful rapidity.

The Emperor and cabinet at Peking, finding all further proclamations and injunctions futile, resolved to depute an imperial commissioner to Canton, with the highest powers and authority which could be conferred on a subject. The officer chosen for this purpose was named *Lin*, a man about fifty-five years of age, of high repute as a scholar, born and bred in one of the maritime

provinces, of stern demeanour, and possessed of qualities which in any country would have made him distinguished. He was considered a true patriot; of incorruptible honesty, and stood high in the favour of the Emperor, from whom it is said the commissioner received his instructions in person, to whom also the Emperor narrated his "deep sense of the evils that had long afflicted his children by means of the flowing poison;" and adverting to the future, his majesty paused, wept, and said, "how, alas! can I die and go to the shades of my imperial father and ancestors until these direful evils are removed."

The powers thus vested in Commissioner Lin have only been thrice delegated by the monarch of the present dynasty. The appointment of his excellency was thus announced by the authorities at Canton:—

Injunction from the governor and Lieutenant-governor, to the territorial commissioner and others, in reference to the anticipated arrival of the imperial commissioner.

"On the 23rd of January, 1839, a despatch was received from the board of war, giving conveyance to the subjoined imperial edict, delivered to the inner council on the 31st December, 1838.

'Let Lin Tsihsen, governor of Hookwang, and ex-officio director of the board of war, be invested with the powers and privileges of an imperial commissioner; and let him, with all speed, proceed to Kwangtung to make inquiry, and to act in regard to the affairs of the sea-ports. Let also the whole naval force of the province, be placed under his control. Respect this.'

"On the same day (23rd January,) arrived also a communication from the general council, of the following address and tenor.

'To the governors of the two Kwang, Tang, and the Lieutenant-governor of Kwang tung, E. On the 3rd of January, we received the annexed imperial edict.

'The daily increasing prevalence of the use of opium, and the continually augmenting loss arising from the removal of pure silver beyond the seas, have of late years repeatedly caused us to declare to the governors and others, our desire and command, that they should with true purpose of heart, make enquiry and act in this matter. But an evil practice, so long and deeply rooted, is not, it must be feared, to be at once wholly eradicated. If the source of the evil be not clearly ascertained, how can we hope that the stream of pernicious consequences shall be stayed?

'We recently expressed it to be our pleasure, that Lin Tsihsin the governor of Hookwang, should repair with speed to the province of Kwangtung, to make enquiry and to act in regard to the affairs of the sea-ports; and that he should be invested with the powers and privileges of an imperial commissioner, and should have the whole naval force of the province placed under his control. Lin Tsihsen on his arrival at Canton, will of course exert his utmost strength in inquiring and acting in obedience to our ex-

pressed pleasure, with the view of thoroughly removing the source of this evil.

'But the buildings in which the opium undergoes preparation, the smuggling vessels in which it is conveyed, and the shops opened for its sale, or for indulgence in the use of it, with all such-like evil and pernicious establishments, will need to be thoroughly uprooted as they shall, from time to time, and in one place after another, be brought to light. Let Tang Tinching, and Eleang arouse, then all their energies, and persevere in the work of investigating and putting measures in operation to attain this end. Let them not in any degree become remiss, neither let them entertain any vain anticipations of ease, nor still less harbour any reserve to evade or to transfer their duties.

'Tang Tingching holding, however, the entire sway over the two provinces, a multitude of affairs must press upon him. Should the special responsibility of making inquiry and adopting measures to arrest the importation of opium, and the exportation of pure silver, be also laid on him, it may be feared that in giving attention to one duty, he may be distracted from others; and that he will thus be prevented from applying his whole mind and strength to the extirpation of this evil. It is for this reason We have commissioned Lin Tsihsen to go and take on him the special management of the matter.

'It will be the duty of all to apply their efforts, with increasing diligence and ardour, to cast down every wall of separation, fulfilling with earnestness each his own particular duties, and uniting together in whatever requires combination of counsel and action, reporting conjointly to us. Let them henceforth embrace every practicable measure, vigorously to redeem their foregone negligence. It is our full hope, that the long-indulged habit will be for ever laid aside, and every root and germ of it entirely eradicated. We would fain think that our ministers will be enabled to substantiate our wishes, and so to remove from China the dire calamity. Let these our commands be made known to those concerned. Respect this.

'In obedience to these imperial desires, we the ministers of the council, address to you this communication.'

"The above documents having been received by us, the governor and lieutenant-governor,—while, on the one hand, we forward copies of them to the several commanders of divisions of the naval forces, to be made known by them—while also we direct the Hong merchants, Woo Shaouyung and his fellows, to pay respectful obedience,—and while further we instruct the colonels in command of the central regiments of our own respective battalions, to consult together immediately, and within three days, without fail, to present to us lists of the number of military seunpoo (or aides-de-camp) and koshiha (or orderlies), who shall be appointed to attend (on the imperial commissioner), together with their names,—while effecting these several objects, we at the

same time, forward a copy to the territorial and financial commissioner, that he may act in accordance with the sovereign commands, and may in concert with the judicial commissioner, the commissioner of the gabel, and the commissary, make the same generally known, for the obedience of all. And in reference to the approaching visit of the high imperial commissioner to Canton, to make inquiry and act in regard to the affairs of the seaports, let these officers give their immediate attention to the following questions, viz.: what shall be the place allotted for his public residence at Canton? In case he should require to go in person to view the three divisions—central, eastern, and western —of the naval force on the coast; what portions are of most importance? And in what naval vessels will it be fitting for him to embark? What number of attendant officers, civil, seunpoo, and clerks, should be appointed to form his suite; and from what officers should they be chosen? Let them consider these questions jointly, and within three days present, for our revisal, lists, comprising the names of such officers as should be so appointed."

Preparatory to the arrival of Commissioner Lin, the annexed warning to the people was posted in printed placards in all the streets of Canton. It is supposed to have been written by Commissioner Lin himself. The translator says:—"It is beautifully composed, and would be no discredit to the first scholar of the land. We have taken a good deal of pains to translate it, but confess that we have not done justice to the beauty of the original, nor indeed is it in our power to do it justice. No language on earth, for pith, brevity, terseness, harmony of style, and apposite expressions, can be compared to the classic language of China. We must, therefore, beg our readers not to judge of the merits of the original, by the poverty of the translation."

This remarkable document is well deserving a thoughtful perusal.

"Of all the evils that afflict mankind, the greatest are those which he perversely brings upon himself. In his life, he not only builds up a line of conduct, that leads him to a miserable death, but contentedly sinks down to the lowest of his species, and becomes an object of hatred and scorn to his fellow-men. Having perversely brought these evils upon himself, which lead him to a miserable death: when he dies, no man pities him! contentedly sinking down to the lowest of his species, and becoming an object of hatred and contempt to his fellow-men, he is pleased with his depravity, which is not the original nature of man: to be not of the original nature of man then, and to die unpitied, is what belongs to reptiles, wild beasts, dogs, and swine; certainly not to the human species!

"Why do I thus express myself? reptiles and wild beasts possess no knowledge, they are not aware of the infelicity of a miserable death, and they take no steps to guard against it! Dogs and swine never heard of the expressions, right and wrong, glory and dis-

grace: they quietly receive the kicks and curses of man, and they remember not his insults with a blush of shame! Therefore it is, that men who by their own act have reduced themselves to a similar footing, are upbraided with being as reptiles, wild beasts, dogs, and swine; and though they may be unwilling to submit to such degrading epithets, yet are they unable to shake off these appellations which have been so happily applied to them! But there are men still more brutish than the brutes! Reptiles, wild beasts, dogs, and swine, do not corrupt the morals of the age so as to cause one anxious thought to spring up in the breast of our gracious sovereign: now, however, there are *men* who do so, who consequently are beneath reptiles, wild beasts, dogs, and swine; and these *men are the smokers of opium!*

"It is worthy of remark that opium smoking commenced by one or two careless, worthless fellows, who mutually instigated each other to this vicious indulgence, simply by way of amusement! When people begin to smoke, they at first observe no evil effects produced by it; when they have smoked for some time, they then require what is call *renovation;* when the time for renovating comes, if they do not smoke, then the hands and feet become weak and palsied, the mouth drops, the eyes become glazed, rheum flows from the one, and saliva from the other; they are subject to complaints which resemble phlegm, asthma, and convulsive fits: when they arrive at this stage of the disease, every atom of human reason appears to have left them. You may beat them, scold them, curse them, and insult them, yet will they not get up to give you any rejoinder! This is the first view, showing how baneful opium is to human life!

"And having smoked it still longer, the constitution begins to give way, the interior gradually decays, thousands of worms and maggots gnaw the intestines, their faces become discolored, their teeth black, their appearance like charcoal, their shoulders rise to their ears, their necks shrink in, the thrapple protrudes, and their whole frame is hateful as that of a ghost or devil (which is the reason why they are called *A peen kwei* or opium smoking devils), and in fine, they insensibly hug their bane, till death overtakes them in the very act! This is the second view that I present of the horrors of opium!

"Further, people who are in the habit of smoking opium, require the most costly viands to nourish them, and of these costly viands, the *renovating item* is the most costly of all! Day by day it goes on increasing from one and two mace, to five and six mace; there is no certain rule, but they reckon a mace of opium as among their necessaries of life. A man's wealth, as well as his strength, has its bounds: even a rich man may not always be able to fill or replenish this leak in the cup, how much less then a poor man? The evil habit thus leads to one cruelly neglecting the comfort of his father and mother, and leads to his unfeelingly exposing his wife

and children to cold and want; he cares not for his morning or evening meal, but to do without his opium, were impossible! This then is the third view that I present of the evils of opium!

"Moreover, opium smokers, by indulging chiefly in their baneful habit at night-time, waste many candles and consume much oil. Till morning they do not sleep, and while the sun shines upon the world, and other men rise to go to work, the opium smoker alone is still in his slumbers! Thus by not getting up till midday in constant succession, the employed neglects his public duties, the scholar flings aside his book, the workman's occupation goes to ruin, the merchant drains his substance, the soldier and officer become slothful and impotent, and the servant lazy in obeying his master's commands: thus then, by it, time is mispent, duty neglected, wealth dissipated, life lost, and families overtaken by destruction! This is the fourth view that I present of the pernicious effects of opium.

"Now, in reference to these four points of view in which I have shown opium to be a great calamity, it is not that people don't *see* it, it is not that people don't *know* it; but still, such is the fact, that with all this staring them in the face, they mutually hasten, they mutually urge each other to their bane, and contentedly yield up their lives to its noxious influence! As the waters of the great river flow to the east, and day by day roll on without ceasing; so we find of this evil habit, when it first began, that those who smoked, avoided the gaze of other men, they kept their shame secret and feared to avow it; *now*, however, it is taken in public, and even served up as a treat to guests and strangers! At first, none but slaves and the vilest of the vile smoked it; *now*, however, it has infected the capped and gowned gentry of the land! At first, it was merely used by the people of Canton and Fokien, and those parts which border on the sea; *now*, however, it has gone east and west, it has crossed the frontiers into Tartary, nor is there a province of the empire where it has not found its way! At first, none but a few depraved wretches of the male sex used it, and *now* we find that even Bonzes, Taou priests, married women, and young girls are addicted to the life-destroying drug. In every item! in every respect! is the evil becoming daily more grave, more deeply rooted than before! so much so, that its baneful influence seems to threaten little by little to degrade the whole population of the Celestial Empire to a level with reptiles, wild beasts, dogs, and swine! When the people of our empire shall have been degraded to this brutish level, then the three relations will be annihilated,* the nine laws or punishments will cease to act, the five businesses of life will be utterly neglected, man's reason at an end for ever, and unnumbered woes will arise! From the time that

* The three relations, (or bonds), viz: prince and people, father and son, husband and wife.

there ever was people until now, never, never, was there a calamity, which, in its first beginnings so bland, so bewitching, threatened to consume all things with its blaze, like as this fearful drug!

"Above, our sovereign, and his virtuous ministers brood over this national misfortune, and lament the havoc it has made: below, all good men, and all disinterested employers, exert themselves to counteract its effects: yet are they unable to arrest its progress! When one reflects on all these things, even granting that the final sentence of the law should be awarded to those men who have caused such disasters, who is there that may lift up his voice and say, 'it would not be right so to do?' Nor does the evil stop here. Those foreigners by means of their poison dupe and befool the natives of China! It is not only that year by year they abstract thereby many millions of our money, but the direful appearances seem to indicate a wish on their part, utterly to root out and extinguish us as a people!* I repeat, that from the time of our becoming a nation until now, never did any evil, at first so bland, so enticing, blaze so fearfully as does this dreadful poison!

"My countrymen of China well know the dangerous position they stand in, yet they contentedly hug their bane, which brings on them ruin and death! Thus it is, that by land and by water, in the public markets and in the mountain passes, those who sell opium, are to be met with by hundreds and by thousands at a time! These are all so many cut-throat ruffians, as careless of their own lives, as of those of others; they go about, with their swords and spears all prepared, in order to prosecute with violence their illegal calling: equally depraved are the police and soldiery, for they, in order to turn their employment to good account, pretend that they are searching for the prohibited drug, and under this excuse turn the baggage of the lawful traveller upside down, and subject good people to every species of annoyance. These evils and abuses day by day become more wide-spreading, more deeply-rooted, and they are entirely brought on by the *smokers of opium!* When I reflect upon this, it seems to me, that, though every one of these said opium-smokers should be exterminated, yet would not their death be sufficient to atone for the crimes they have committed, for the evils they have brought about!

"Now I have heard that our gracious Emperor, after mature consultation, is about to take this abandoned class of his subjects, and utterly cut them off! the necessity of the case imperiously calls for it, and reason strongly justifies the measure! Why is it that I thus express myself? Why, because a crime committed against an individual, against his property, or against a fraction of the community, is a small matter compared with one which threatens to put the whole empire in a blaze! and amidst a calamity

* Many Chinese are under the impression that it is our object to take their country by means of opium.

which thus affects the country from one end to another, is our sovereign lord to sit quietly looking on and see it raging, without putting forth the rod of his power to punish and repress? Moreover, such are the dictates of reason that guide mankind: where there are those who degrade themselves to a level with reptiles, wild beasts, dogs, and swine, their fellow men despise them: where their fellow-men despise them, they also reject and cast them off: thus misery is superadded to misery, and looking upon them like birds of prey, we may hunt them down, or as herbs, we may root them up, without the least feeling of pity or compunction! it is only they who have brought this woe upon themselves!

"Now, although happiness is built upon a foundation, misery has also a source from which it springs, and amidst the discord of those warring principles, it belongs to those above to seize the opportunity of bringing forth good out of evil! In reference to this, Chin-tung-foo has said. 'When the bulk of the people are joyfully hastening to their ruin, and when it is not in the power of gods or devils to change their course, *man can do it!* and if it be asked me, how can man change their course? I reply, by killing in order to stay killing!' (i. e. by putting a few to death, as an example and warning to others). Now, therefore, in reference to opium smokers, if we do not impose those laws upon them, they will die from the pernicious properties of the drug:—if we do impose those laws upon them, then will they die under the hand of the executioner:—but it seems better that a few should perish under the hand of the executioner, with the prospect of being able to arrest the evil, than that they should die from opium and our race become exterminated.

"Again, there are appearances in nature as if heaven* and earth at times repent of unnecessary severity; moreover, the holiest of men trembles while punishing wickedness, if he has not distinctly warned the parties beforehand. Obscure individual that I am, not being in the situation of the high officers of government, I cannot presume to know or regulate their plans, and for me thus to obtrude my impertinent advice, may justly be reckoned unto me as a crime! But I look upon ye all as of the same species with myself, as my brethren of the human race: in the midst of my retirement I have thought of your situation with grief and pain: and I deeply pity you, seeing the terrors of the law about to take hold of you! I have, therefore, composed a short discourse, which with the kindest bowels of compassion, I offer up for your perusal, earnestly hoping that my brethren will give good heed to

* "Heaven" is said to repent of severity by the Chinese; e. g. supposing heaven to have visited the land with long drought, when the refreshing rain falls, this is said to be a proof of heaven repenting, and vice versâ. The meaning of the author is, that as "heaven" has been cruel in permitting the opium poison to rage over the land, perhaps He will relent, and bless the vigorous measures we are now taking to put a stop to it.

the faithfulness of my intentions, and deeply ponder upon my words! It is to the following effect:

"Every man who is endowed with the gift of reason, knows to prize his life above all things: from the time our feeble body is scarce a cubit high, if it be wounded, we mourn and weep! In childhood, when traversing a dangerous road at dead midnight, we tremble and mutually warn each other to beware; whatever enticement may be held out, we reject it with suspicion and feel alarmed to proceed: this is, *because we fear to die!* And when grown to man's estate, whatever is noxious to our persons, we endeavour to avoid with the utmost anxiety; if we cannot succeed in avoiding it, we feel sorrowful and perhaps repair to a temple to implore divine aid. From childhood till old age, without distinguishing between the virtuous and the depraved, the noble and the base, the object of all our active exertions by night and by day, the object for which we rack our minds with the most intense anxiety, is merely to obtain what will benefit us, and avoid what will injure us: to follow after happiness, to shun misery, and *nothing more.* If we are overcome by dangers or sickness, we are sad: if informed that we are about to die, we are sorrowful: such is the nature of man, and *opium smokers* offer the only exception! These run after their death! these sit contentedly on the brink of danger! even as the silly moth, which keeps fluttering round the candle which consumes him! Among men, there is no one who does not like the idea of making his name famous or honourable: if you upbraid a man with being depraved, he gets angry: if you still further insult him, by telling him that his heart is cruel as that of a wild beast or bird of prey, that he is deficient of knowledge as the reptile that crawls on the ground, and that he cannot be classed as one of the human species: methinks that at language of this kind, his eyes must 'like stars start from their spheres! and each particular hair must stand on end like quills upon the fretful porcupine!'* He must put himself in a posture of defiance, and hurl back the reproach with a curse! But opium smokers are alone different in this respect! They, it is true, do not *wish* to receive such insults, but not wishing to receive the name, and doing that which induces the appellation, is very much the same as sitting down contentedly under the reproach. Therefore it is, that they who smoke opium and clearly know that it is destroying their life, are guilty of folly: they who smoke opium, and know that while they do so, it is sullying their name and reputation, are lost to every sense of shame! and those who associate with the lowest of the low, the vilest of the vile, and who in the company of such, turn day into night, have forgotten every rule of decency and propriety! To smoke opium, and not to look after the comfort of your parents, is to play the part of an undutiful child! to smoke opium and give no heed to the instruction of your son, is not fulfilling your duty as a father! to smoke opium and care not though

* This expresses somewhat the meaning of the writer.

your wife suffer cold and want, is what no kind husband would do: to corrupt the manners and customs of the age, and entail calamities upon posterity, is to be a robber of the world: to violate the laws, to break through the regulations, and not to repent of your crime, is the conduct of a rebel: to take the intelligent and educated mind of a Chinese, and prostitute it so as to be duped by distant foreigners, with their corroding poison, to heap up unnumbered crimes, to refuse to awake from your delusion, and to die with it in your embrace, shows that ye know not reason, and that your hearts are like those of the brutes!

"Now then ye who smoke opium! look at the nine foregoing crimes that ye commit! and when ye take up the opium pipe to smoke, do one and all of you put the hand upon the heart, and ask yourselves: Do I deserve death, or not? ought I to leave off this hateful vice, or not? People who have rebelled against high heaven, who have injured their fellow-men, who have opposed reason, who have trampled on the five relations of mankind, who have set at defiance every rule of decency and propriety: methinks that though our sovereign's laws may not slay them, yet that heaven and earth, gods and spirits, must exterminate them with their avenging lightning! And though you may escape our human punishments, think you that you can escape the punishment of heaven? although you have human faces and dress like men, though your houses may overflow with wealth, and you may fare on dainties every day, yet loaded as you are with every species of guilt, I can find no difference between you and reptiles, wild beasts, dogs and swine! Can ye hear a reproach of this kind, without starting with horror! without the cold sweat trickling down your foreheads!

"Before I finish, a word to you who are mandarins, and employers in government offices. It belongs to you to rule the people! You try their crimes, and you award their punishments! Let me ask of you, supposing you were called upon to judge *your own* crimes in this respect, pray by what law or statute would you judge them? And ye who are scholars and learned men! Ye have already studied a great many works! Ye know what propriety is! Let me then ask of you, supposing you were called upon to give an opinion of *your own* conduct in this respect, pray under what standard of propriety would you class it? For the operative, for the merchant, and for every class and description of the people, are there laws made and punishments annexed,—but for you!".....

The authorities at Canton, in order to deter, if possible, the English from prosecuting the opium traffic, executed a Chinese, on 27th February, 1839, who had been found with opium, opposite the British factories.

The following is a description of the mode in which the punishment of death is inflicted for dealing in opium. The execution

here referred to, took place outside the wall of Macao, and was also intended as a warning to foreigners. About five o'clock a large number of Chinese, together with some foreigners, assembled outside the wall, near the Saint Antonio gate. The *Tso-tang* of Macao arrived, and with him from fifty to sixty police runners. A few minutes afterwards the *Yew-foo,* military officers from Casa Branca, the *Fleang-shan-teen,* district magistrate of Fleang-shan, and *Keun-min-foo,* of Casa Branca, came in rotation, followed by the unfortunate culprit, in a bamboo cage, borne by the two executioners, and guarded by about one hundred of the imperial infantry, armed with boarding pikes, and other formidable weapons of war. There were two bamboo matted sheds built up for this occasion, the distance between them being from thirty-five to forty yards; one of these sheds was furnished with chairs and tables, where the mandarins seated themselves after having exchanged the customary civilities one with the other; the other was the place for the execution, and contained merely a slight wooden cross, about six feet in height, with a hole in the upper part, immediately above the horizontal cross-piece. Three guns were fired as a signal to prepare for the execution of the culprit. With his arms and legs heavily loaded with shackles of iron, he was literally shaken out of the cage, a most pitiable looking object, covered with filth, and so emaciated from an existence of about four months in a Chinese prison, as to seem more dead than alive. He was dragged to the place of execution, and placed standing on a piece of brick, touching the cross with his back. The executioners commenced by lashing a rope round his legs, under the arms, and then through a hole in the upper part of the cross; after which it was placed several times round his neck, and again through the hole. They then made use of a stick, resembling a long arrow, about five feet in length, which was passed through the loops of the cord, and twisted round several times, for the purpose of tightening the rope, so as to effect strangulation. No apparent signal, other than the removal of the piece of brick from under the feet, was given for the fatal turning of the stick. The expression of the poor man's countenance did not change, nor was he perceived to make any struggle. The manner in which his arms and legs were tied must account for the latter circumstance. When the unfortunate victim of our cupidity had been dead about ten minutes, the mandarins departed under a salute of three guns, and shortly afterwards the executioners followed, but not until they had fully assured themselves, by examining the mouth and eyes of the culprit, that he was quite dead. They left him still fastened to the cross, but removed from his hands and feet the shackles, with which up to this time they had been bound. The body was ordered to continue hanging on the cross for three days, *as a spectacle and warning to all dealers in opium and others;* after which period his friends would have permission to remove the body, on

their application for the same. The name of the unfortunate man was Kwok-pung; he kept a small shop for twenty years, at Shaleton, a village on the eastern side of the inner harbour of Macao, in the neighbourhood of the place of execution. He bore an excellent character among all those who had any dealings with him, and was seized on for having sold only a few balls or cakes of opium, on account of another party.

Kwok-pung was about forty-five years of age, he left three wives, several children, and a numerous circle of connexions to lament his untimely end.

About the middle of March 1839, a remarkable letter was addressed by Commissioner Lin to the Queen of England, and His Excellency expressed an anxious desire to know how he should convey his missive to Her Majesty. The Hong merchants at Canton obtained the annexed copy of the letter in question:

Letter to the Queen of England from the Imperial Commissioner, &c.

"Lin, high imperial commissioner, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the two Hoo,—Tang, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the two Kwang,—and E., a vice-director of the Board of War, and lieutenant-governor of Kwang-tung,—conjointly address this communication to the sovereign of the English nation, for the purpose of requiring the interdiction of opium.

"That in the ways of Heaven no partiality exists, and no sanction is allowed to the injuring of others for the advantage of one's self,—that in men's natural desires there is not any great diversity, (for where is he who does not abhor death and seek life?)—these are universally acknowledged principles;—and your honourable nation, though beyond the wide ocean, at a distance of twenty thousand miles, acknowledges the same ways of Heaven, the same human nature, and has the like perception of the distinctions between life and death, benefit and injury.

"Our heavenly court has for its family all that is within the four seas; the great Emperor's Heaven-like benevolence—there is none whom it does not overshadow: even regions remote, desert, and disconnected, have a part in the general care of life and of wellbeing.

"In Kwangtung, since the removal of the interdicts upon maritime communication, there has been a constantly flowing stream of commercial intercourse. The people of the land, and those who come from abroad in foreign ships, have reposed together in the enjoyment of its advantages, for tens of years past, even until this time. And as regards the rhubarb, teas, raw silk, and similar rich and valuable products of China, should foreign nations be deprived of these, they would be

without the means of continuing life. So that the Heavenly court, by granting, in the oneness of its common benevolence, permission for the sale and exportation thereof,—and that without stint and grudge,—has indeed extended its favours to the utmost circuit [of the nations], making its heart one with the core of Heaven and earth.

"But there is a tribe of depraved and barbarous people, who having manufactured opium for smoking, bring it hither for sale, and seduce and lead astray the simple folk, to the destruction of their persons, and the draining of their resources. Formerly the smokers thereof were few, but of late, from each to other the practice has spread its contagion, and daily do its baneful effects more deeply pervade the central source—its rich, fruitful, and flourishing population. It is not to be denied that the simple folk, inasmuch as they indulge their appetite at the expense of their lives, are indeed themselves the authors of their miseries: and why then should they be pitied? Yet, in the universal empire under the sway of the great and pure dynasty, it is of essential import, for the right direction of men's minds, that their customs and manners should be formed to correctness. How can it be borne that the living souls that dwell within these seas, should be left wilfully to take a deadly poison! Hence it is, that those who deal in opium, or who inhale its fumes, within this land, are all now to be subjected to severest punishment, and that a perpetual interdict is to be placed on the practice so extensively prevailing.

"We have reflected, that this poisonous article is the clandestine manufacture of artful schemers and depraved people of various tribes under the dominion of your honourable nation. Doubtless, you, the honourable sovereign of that nation, have not commanded the manufacture and sale of it. But amid the various nations there are a few only that make this opium; it is by no means the case that all the nations are herein alike. And we have heard that in your honorable nation, too, the people are not permitted to inhale the drug, and that offenders in this particular expose themselves to sure punishment. It is clearly from a knowledge of its injurious effects on man, that you have directed severe prohibitions against it. But what is the prohibition of its use, in comparison with the prohibition of its being sold—of its being manufactured,—as a means of thoroughly purifying the source?

"Though not making use of it one's self, to venture nevertheless on the manufacture and sale of it, and with it to seduce the simple folk of this land, is, to seek one's own livelihood by the exposure of others to death, to seek one's own advantage by other men's injury. And such acts are bitterly abhorrent to the nature of man—are utterly opposed to the ways of Heaven. To the vigorous sway exercised by the celestial court over both the civil-

ized and the barbarous, what difficulty presents itself to hinder the immediate taking of life? But as we contemplate and give substantial being to the fullness and vastness of the sacred intelligence, it befits us to adopt first the course of admonition. And not having as yet sent any communication to your honourable sovereignty,—should severest measures of interdiction be all at once enforced, it might be said, in excuse, that no previous knowledge thereof had been possessed.

"We would now, then, concert with your honorable sovereignty, means to bring to a perpetual end this opium, so hurtful to mankind: we in this land forbidding the use of it,—and you, in the nations under your dominion, forbidding its manufacture. As regards what has been already made, we would have your honourable nation issue mandates for the collection thereof, that the whole may be cast into the depths of the sea. We would thus prevent the longer existence between these Heavens and this Earth, of any portion of the hurtful thing. Not only then will the people of this land be relieved from its pernicious influence: but the people of your honorable nation too (for as they make, how know we that they do not also smoke it?) will, when the manufacture is indeed forbidden, be likewise relieved from the danger of its use. Will not the result of this be the enjoyment by each of a felicitous condition of peace? For your honorable nation's sense of duty being thus devout, shows a clear apprehension of celestial principles, and the supreme Heavens will ward off from you all calamities. It is also in perfect accordance with human nature, and must surely meet the approbation of sages.

"Besides all this, the opium being so severely prohibited in this land, that there will be none found to smoke it, should your nation continue its manufacture, it will be discovered after all that no place will afford opportunity for selling it, that no profits will be attainable. Is it not far better to turn and seek other occupation than vainly to labour in the pursuit of a losing employment?

"And furthermore, whatever opium can be discovered in this land is entirely committed to the flames, and consumed. If any be again introduced in foreign vessels, it too must be subjected to a like process of destruction. It may well be feared, lest other commodities imported in such vessels should meet a common fate—the gem and the pebble not being distinguished. Under these circumstances, gain being no longer acquirable, and hurt having assumed a visible form, such as desire the injury of others will find that they themselves are the first to be injured.

"The powerful instrumentality whereby the celestial court holds in subjection all nations, is truly divine and awe-inspiring beyond the power of computation. Let it not be said that early warning of this has not been given.

"When your majesty receives this document, let us have a speedy communication in reply, advertising us of the measures you adopt for the entire cutting off the opium in every seaport. Earnestly reflect hereon. Earnestly observe these things.

"Taoukwang, 19th year, 2d month, —— day. Communication sent to the Sovereign of the English nation."

It is presumed that this beautiful and convincing letter never reached the Queen of England.

The commissioner arrived in Canton the beginning of March 1839, and on the 18th issued an edict to foreigners of all nations.

"Lin, high imperial commissioner of the Celestial Court, a director of the Board of War, and governor of Hookwang, issues his commands to the foreigners of every nation, requiring of all full acquaintance with the tenor thereof. It is known that the foreign vessels which come for a reciprocal trade to Kwangtung, have derived from that trade very large profits. This is evidenced by the facts, that, whereas the vessels annually resorting hither were formerly reckoned hardly by tens, their number has of late years amounted to a hundred and several times ten; that whatever commodities they may have brought, none have failed to find a full consumption; and whatever they may have sought to purchase, never have they been unable readily to do so. Let them but ask themselves whether between heaven and earth, any place affording so advantageous a commercial mart is elsewhere to be found. It is because our great emperors, in their universal benevolence, have granted you commercial privileges, that you have been favoured with these advantages. Let our port once be closed against you, and for what profits can your several nations any longer look? Yet more—our tea and our rhubarb—seeing that, should you foreigners be deprived of them, you therein lose the means of preserving life—are without stint or grudge granted to you for exportation, year by year, beyond the seas. Favours never have been greater! Are you grateful for these favours? You must then fear the laws, and in seeking profit for yourselves, must not do hurt to others. *Why do you bring to our land the opium, which in your own lands is not made use of, by it defrauding men of their property, and causing injury to their lives?* I find that with this thing you have seduced and deluded the people of China for tens of years past, and countless are the unjust hoards that you have thus acquired. Such conduct rouses indignation in every human heart, and is utterly inexcusable in the eye of Celestial reason.

"The prohibitions formerly enacted by the Celestial Court against opium were comparatively lax, and it was yet possible to smuggle the drug into the various ports. Of this the great Emperor having now heard, his wrath has been fearfully aroused, nor will it rest till the evil be utterly extirpated?' Whoever among the people of this inner land deal in opium, or establish houses for the smoking of it, shall be instantly visited with the extreme penalty of the

laws; and it is in contemplation to render capital also the crime of smoking the drug. And you, having come into the territory of the Celestial Court, should pay obedience to its laws and statutes, equally with the natives of the land.

"I, the high commissioner, having my home in the maritime province of Fookien, and consequently having early had intimate acquaintance with all the arts and shifts of the outer foreigners, have for this reason been honoured by the great Emperor with the full powers and privileges of a high imperial commissioner, who having repeatedly performed meritorious services, is sent to settle the affairs of the outer frontier: should I search closely into the offences of these foreigners, in forcing for a number of years the sale of opium, they would be found already beyond the bounds of indulgence; but, reflecting that they are men from distant lands, and that they have not before been aware, that the prohibition of opium is so severe, I cannot bear, in the present plain enforcement of the laws and restrictions, to cut them off without instructive monition. I find that on board the warehousing vessels, which you now have lying at anchor in the Lintin and other offings, there are stored up several times ten thousand chests of opium, which it is your purpose and desire illicitly to dispose of by sale. You do not consider, however, the present severity of the measures in operation, for seizure of it at the ports. Where will you again find any that will dare to give it escort? And similar measures for the seizure of it are in operation also in every province. Where else then will you yet find opportunity of disposing of it? At the present time the dealings in opium are brought utterly to a stand, and all men are convinced that it is a nauseous poison. Why will you be at the pains then of laying it upon board your foreign store-ships, and of keeping them long anchored on the face of the open sea, not only expending to no purpose your labour and your wealth, but exposed also to unforeseen dangers from storms or from fire. I proceed to issue my commands. When these commands reach the said foreign merchants, let them with all haste pay obedience thereto. Let them deliver up to government every particle of the opium on board their store-ships. Let it be ascertained by the Hong merchants, who are the parties so delivering it up, and what number of chests is delivered up under each name, and what is the total quantity in catties and taels. Let these particulars be brought together in a clear tabular form, and be presented to government, in order that the opium may all be received in plain conformity thereto, that it may be burnt and destroyed, and that thus the evil may be entirely extirpated. There must not be the smallest atom concealed or withheld. At the same time let these foreigners give a bond, written jointly in the foreign and Chinese languages, making a declaration of this effect: 'That their vessels, which shall hereafter resort hither, will never again dare to bring opium with them:

and that should any be brought, as soon as discovery shall be made of it, the goods shall be forfeited to government, and the parties shall suffer the extreme penalties of the law: and that such punishment will be willingly submitted to. I have heard that you foreigners are used to attach great importance to the word '*good faith.*' If then you will really do as I, the high commissioner, have commanded,—will deliver up every particle of the opium that is already here, and will stay altogether its future introduction, as this will prove also that you are capable of feeling contrition for your offences, and of entertaining a salutary dread of punishment, the past may yet be left unnoticed. I, the high commissioner, will, in that case, in conjunction with the governor and lieutenant-governor, address the throne, imploring the great Emperor to vouchsafe extraordinary favour, and not alone to remit the punishment of your past errors, but also—as we will further request—to devise some mode of bestowing on you his imperial rewards, as an encouragement of the spirit of contrition and wholesome dread thus manifested by you. After this, you will continue to enjoy the advantages of commercial intercourse; and, as you will not lose the character of being good foreigners, and will be enabled to acquire profits and get wealth by an honest trade, will you not indeed stand in a most honourable position?

"If, however, you obstinately adhere to your folly and refuse to awake—if you think to make up a sale covering over your illicit dealings—or to set up as a pretext, that the opium is brought by foreign seamen, and the foreign merchants have nothing to do with it—or to pretend, craftily, that you will carry it back to your countries, or will throw it into the sea—or to take occasion to go to other provinces in search of a door of consumption—or to stifle inquiry, by delivering up only one or two-tenths of the whole quantity; in any of these cases it will be evident that you retain a spirit of contumacy and disobedience, that you uphold vice and will not reform. Then, although it is the maxim of the Celestial Court to treat with tenderness and great mildness men from afar, yet, as it cannot suffer them to indulge in scornful and contemptuous trifling with it, it will become requisite to comprehend you also in the severe course of punishment prescribed by the new law.

"On this occasion, I, the high commissioner, having come from the capital, have personally received the sacred commands: that wherever a law exists, it is to be fully enforced. And as I have brought these full powers and privileges, enabling me to perform whatever seems to me right; powers with which those ordinarily given, for inquiring and acting in regard to other matters, are by no means comparable; so long as the opium traffic remains unexterminated, so long will I delay my return. I swear that I will progress with this matter from its beginning to its ending, and

that not a thought of stopping half-way shall for a moment be indulged.

"Furthermore, observing the present condition of the popular mind, I find so universal a spirit of indignation aroused, that should you foreigners remain dead to a sense of contrition and amendment, and continue to make gain your sole object, there will not only be arrayed against you the martial terrors and powerful energies of our naval and military forces; it will be but necessary to call on the able-bodied of the people, (the militia), and these alone will be more than adequate to the placing all your lives within my power. Besides, either by the temporary stoppage of your trade, or by the permanent closing of the ports against you, what difficulty can there be in effectually cutting off your intercourse? Our central empire, comprising a territory of many thousands of miles, and possessing in rich abundance all the products of the ground, has no benefit to derive from the purchase of your foreign commodities, and you may, therefore, well fear, that from the moment such measures are taken, the livelihood of your several nations must come to an end. You, who have travelled so far, to conduct your commercial business, how is it that you are not yet alive to the great difference between the condition of vigorous exertions, and that of easy repose—the wide distance between the power of the few and the power of the many? As to those crafty foreigners, who, residing in the foreign factories, have been in the habit of dealing in opium, I, the high commissioner, have early been provided with a list of them by name. At the same time, those good foreigners, who have not sold opium, must also not fail to be distinguished. Such of them as will point out their depraved fellow-foreigners, will compel them to deliver up their opium, and will step forth amongst the foremost to give the required bonds—these shall be regarded as the good foreigners. And I, the high commissioner, will at once, for their encouragement, reward them liberally. It rests with yourselves alone to choose whether you will have weal or woe, honour or disgrace.

"I am now about to command the Hong merchants to proceed to your factories, to instrust and admonish you. A term of three days is prescribed for an address to be sent in reply to me. And at the same time let your duly attested and faithful bonds be given, waiting for me, in conjunction with the governor and lieutenant-governor, to appoint a time for the opium to be delivered up. Do not indulge in idle expectations, or seek to postpone matters, deferring to repent, until its lateness render it ineffectual. A special edict. Taoukwang, 19th year, 2nd month, 4th day, (March 18th, 1839).

(True translation). J. ROBERT MORRISON,
"Chinese Secretary, and Interpreter to
the Superintendent of British Trade
in China."

Along with the above, the Hong merchants received, while on their knees before the commissioner, an address to themselves—several of whom, as well as a number of the linguists and a compradors of the foreigners, he had previously examined.

On 19th March, the High Commissioner ordered that no leave or passes be given to foreigners to proceed from Canton to Macao. The next step of his Excellency was to stop all commercial intercourse, to prevent communication with the shipping at Whampoa; troops were collected around Canton, and armed cruisers were stationed in front of the foreign factories. When the three days elapsed, on which the opium was ordered to be surrendered, he threatened to take off the heads of two of the Hong merchants; viz.: Howqua and Mowqua, who were deprived of their official buttons, and brought before the high commissioner at the Cohong, or public exchange room of the Hong merchants, with chains round their necks. The British and other foreign residents held a meeting, at their chamber of commerce, at Canton, and sent a deputation to the Hong merchants, with a copy of a resolution of the chamber, declaring that there was "an almost unanimous feeling in the community, of the absolute necessity of the foreign residents at Canton, having no communication with the opium traffic."

(Signed) W. S. WETMORE, Chairman.

To this the Hong merchants replied, that unless some opium was given up, two of their number would be beheaded in the morning. Several of the foreign traders there, stated they would give up 1,037 chests. This was rejected by the commissioner as insufficient. On 24th March, Captain Elliot, then Her Majesty's superintendent of trade, arrived from Macao at Canton, with a view of protecting Her Majesty's subjects. On his arrival a cordon of guards and boats was closely drawn around the factories, in which there were more than two hundred foreigners. Rafts were laid across the river, to prevent boats arriving from Macao or Whampoa, all letters were prevented being sent from the factories; the Chinese servants were forced to leave them, and the foreign residents were compelled to attend on themselves, and perform all household duties.

On 26th March, Commissioner Lin issued the following edict:

Proclamation from his excellency, the high commissioner Lin, desiring foreigners speedily to deliver up their Opium, under four heads, or four reasons:—

"Firstly. Ye ought to make haste and deliver it up, by virtue of that reason which Heaven hath implanted in all of us. I find that during the last several tens of years, the money out of which you

have duped our people by means of your destructive drug, amounts I know not to how many tens of thousands of myriads. Thus, while you have been scheming after private advantage, with minds solely bent on profit, our people have been wasting their substance, and losing their lives; and if the reason of Heaven be just, think you that there will be no retribution? If, however, ye will now repent and deliver up your opium, by a well-timed repentance, ye may yet avert judgment and calamities: if not, then your wickedness being greater, the consequences of that wickedness will fall more fearfully upon you! Ye are distant from your homes many tens of thousand miles; your ships, in coming and going cross a vast and trackless ocean; in it ye are exposed to the visitations of thunder and lightning, and raging storms, to the dangers of being swallowed up by monsters of the deep; and under such perils, fear ye not the retributive vengeance of Heaven? Now our great Emperor, being actuated by the exalted virtue of Heaven itself, wishes to cut off this deluge of opium, which is the plainest proof that such is the intention of high Heaven! It is then a traffic on which Heaven looks with disgust; and who is he that may oppose its will? Thus, in the instance of the English chief Roberts who violated our laws; he endeavoured to get possession of Macao by force, and at Macao he died! Again, in the 14th year of Taoukwang (1834), Lord Napier bolted through the Bocca Tigris, but being overwhelmed with grief and fear he almost immediately died; and Morrison, who had been darkly deceiving him, died that very year also! Besides these, every one of those who have not observed our laws, have either on their return to their own country been overtaken by the judgments of Heaven, or silently cut off ere they could return thither! Thus then it is manifest that the heavenly dynasty may not be opposed! And still, oh, ye foreigners, do you refuse to fear and tremble thereat?

"Secondly. You ought to make immediate delivery of this opium, in order to comply with the law of your own countries, which prohibits the smoking of opium, and he who uses it is adjudged to death! Thus plainly showing that ye yourselves know it to be an article destructive to human life. If then, your laws forbid it to be consumed by yourselves, and yet permit it to be sold that it may be consumed by others, this is not in conformity with the principle of doing unto others what you would that they should do unto you: if on the other hand, your laws prohibit its being sold, and ye yet continue to sell it by stealth, then are ye sporting with the laws of your own countries! And, moreover, the laws of our Chinese empire look upon the seller as guilty of a crime of a deeper dye, than the mere smoker of opium. Now you foreigners, although ye were born in an outer country, yet for your property and maintenance do you depend entirely upon our Chinese Empire; and in our central land ye

pass the greater part of your lives, and the lesser portion of your lives is passed at home; the food that ye eat every day, not less than the vast fortunes ye amass, proceed from nought but the goodness of our Emperor; which is showered upon you in far greater profusion than upon our own people. And how is it then, that ye alone know not to tremble and obey before the sacred majesty of your laws! In former times, although opium was prohibited, yet the penalty attached thereto, did not amount to a very severe punishment, this arose from the extreme mildness of our government; and therefore it was that your clandestine dealings in the drug were not scrutinized with any extraordinary rigor. Now, however, our great emperor looks upon the opium trade with the most intense loathing, and burns to have it cut off for ever; so that henceforward, not only is he who sells it adjudged to death, but he who does not more than smoke it must also undergo the same penalty of the laws! Now try and reflect for one moment. If ye did not bring this opium to China how should the people of our inner land be able either to sell or smoke it? The lives of our people which are forfeited to the laws, are taken from them by your unrighteous procedure; then what reason is there that the lives of our own people should be thus sacrificed, and that ye alone should escape the awful penalty? Now I, the high commissioner, looking up to the great Emperor, and feeling in my own person his sacred desire to love and cherish the men from afar, do mercifully spare you your lives. I wish nothing more than that ye deliver up all the opium you have got, and forthwith write out a duly prepared bond, to the effect, that you will henceforth never more bring opium to China, and should you bring it, agreeing that the cargo be confiscated, and the people who bring it put to death. This is pardoning what is past, and taking preventive measures against the future: why any longer cherish a foolish indiscriminate generosity! Moreover, without discussing about the opium which ye have sold in bygone years, and adding up its immense amounts; let us only speak about that quantity which during the last years ye have clandestinely sold, which I presume was no small matter, hardly equal to the quantity which ye have now stored up in your receiving ships, and which I desire may be entirely surrendered to the mutual advantage of all. Where is there the slightest chance or prospect that after this you will be permitted to dupe our deluded people out of their money, or inveigle them to do an act in which destruction overtakes them? I have with deep respect examined the statutes of this the Ta Tsing dynasty, and upon these statutes I find it recorded, 'If a Chinese or a foreigner break the laws they shall be judged and condemned by the same statutes;' and words to that effect. Now upon former occasions we have condemned foreigners to death, as in the case of having killed our people, they require to give life for life, of which we have instances recorded. Now think for a

little: depriving an individual of his life is a crime committed in a moment, and still the perpetrator of it must forfeit his own life in return. But he who sells opium has laid a plot to swindle a man out of his money, as well as to deprive him of his life; and how can one say that it is only a single individual, or a single family that the opium seller thus dupes and entangles in destruction! And for a crime of this magnitude, ought one to die or not to die? And still will ye refuse to deliver up your opium? Which is the way to preserve your lives? Oh, ye foreigners, do ye deeply ponder upon this!

"Thirdly. You ought to make immediate delivery of this opium, by reason of your feelings as men. Ye come to this market of Canton to trade, and ye profit thereby full threefold. Every article of commerce that ye bring with you, no matter whether it be coarse or fine, in whole pieces or in small, there is not one iota of it that is not sold off and consumed; and of the produce of our country, whether it be for feeding you, for clothing you, for any kind of use, or for mere sale, there is not a description that we do not permit you to take away with you: so that not only do you reap the profit of the inner land by the goods which you bring, but moreover by means of the produce of our central land, do you gather gold from every country to which you transport it. Supposing that you cut off and cast away your traffic in the single article of opium, then the other business which you do will be much increased, you will thereon reap your threefold profit comfortably; and you may, as previously, go on acquiring wealth in abundance: thus neither violating the laws, nor laying up store for after misery. What happiness, what delight will be yours. But if on the other hand, ye will persist in carrying on the opium traffic, then such a course of conduct must infallibly lead to the cutting off of your general trade. I would like to ask of you, if under the whole heaven ye have such an excellent market as this is? Then without discussion about tea and rhubarb, things which you could not exist without; and every kind and description of silk, a thing which you could not carry on your manufacture without, there are under the head of eatable articles, white sugar-candy, cassia, cassia buds, &c., &c.; and under the head of articles for use, vermillion, gamboge, alum, camphor, &c.: how can your countries do without these? And yet our central land is heaped up and overflowing with every kind of commodity; and has not the slightest occasion for any of your importations from abroad. If on account of opium, the port be closed against you, and it is no longer in your power to trade more, will it not be yourselves, who have brought it upon yourselves? Nay, further, as regards the article of opium, there is now no man who dares to buy it, and yet ye store it up in your receiving ships, where you have so much to pay per month for rent; day and night ye must have labouring men to watch and guard. And why all this useless and

enormous expense? A single typhoon, or one blaze of fire, and they are forthwith overwhelmed by the billows, or they sink amid the consuming element! These are all things very likely to happen! What better plan then, than at once to deliver up your opium, and to reap enjoyments and rewards by so doing?

"Fourthly. You ought to make a speedy delivery of your opium by reason of the necessity of the case. Ye foreigners from afar, in coming hither to trade, have passed over an unbounded ocean; your prospect for doing business depends entirely on your living on terms of harmony with your fellow-men, and keeping your own station in peace and quietness. Thus may you reap solid advantage, and avoid misfortune! But if you will persist in selling your opium, and will go on involving the lives of our foolish people in your toils, there is not a good or upright man whose head and heart will not burn with indignation at your conduct; they must look upon the lives of those who have suffered for smoking, and selling the drug as sacrificed by you; the simple country folks and the common people must feel anything but well pleased, and the wrath of a whole country is not a thing easily restrained: these are circumstances about which ye cannot but feel anxious! The men who go abroad are said to adhere bigotedly to a sense of honour. Now our officers are every one of them appealing to your sense of honour, and on the contrary we find (to our amazement) that ye have not the slightest particle of honour about you! Are ye quite tranquil and composed at this? And will ye yet acknowledge the necessity of the case or not? Moreover, viewing it as an article which ought never to be sold at all, and more especially considering that it is not permitted to be sold at this present moment, what difficulty should you make about the matter? why feel the smallest regret to part with it? Still further, as ye do not consume it in your own country, why bootlessly take it back? If you do not now deliver it up to the government, pray what will be the use of keeping it on hand! After having once made the delivery of it, your trade will go on flourishing more abundantly than ever! Tokens of our regard will be heaped on you to overflowing. I, the high commissioner, as well as the governor, and lieutenant-governor, cannot bear the idea of being unnecessarily harsh and severe, therefore, it is that, though I thus weary my mouth, as it were, entreating and exhorting you, yet do I not shrink from the task! Happiness, and misery, glory and disgrace, are in your own hand! Say not that I did not give you early warning thereof! A special proclamation, to be stuck up before the foreign factories."

"Taoukwan, 19th year, 2nd month, 12th day. [March 26th, 1839.]"

Commissioner Lin might as well have preached to the winds, as to the opium smugglers voluntarily to give up the drug.

At six o'clock in the morning of the day following this edict

(27th March, 1839), Captain Elliot issued a public notice, calling on all British subjects to surrender the whole of the opium in their possession into his hands, to be delivered over to the Chinese government, holding himself responsible on the behalf of Her Majesty's government. This demand was promptly answered by the surrender of 20,283¾ chests of opium, or rather the orders to receive the same from the different receiving vessels outside or near to the coast. Indeed, the efforts of Commissioner Lin had been so stringent, and his orders so efficiently obeyed, that the traffic in the drug had almost ceased; along the east coast it was found impossible to sell a chest, or even to procure any of the usual supplies of provisions from the natives. The compradors or linguists of the different vessels, whenever they attempted to land, were seized and sent in chains to Canton. It was, therefore, a wise policy of the opium owners to surrender it at once to Commissioner Lin.

It is not necessary to discuss here the right of the Chinese Imperial High Commissioner to shut up the Europeans in their factories, in order to obtain possession of the opium which they had under their control, although it was in their vessels off Lintin, in the Canton river, but assuredly as much within the legal jurisdiction of the Empire of China, as the Nore is within the limits of the British Empire. The commissioner waited until the opium was delivered up to him, and so accurate was his information, that he not only knew the number and names of the vessels containing the opium, but also the quantity on board each vessel.

Although the commissioner had received the written promise that 20,283 chests of opium should be delivered up, he was unwilling to relax entirely his hold over its owners, until he had the opium in his possession, lest the vessels should sail away with the drug from Lintin; on the 2nd of April, he therefore notified to Captain Elliot that the servants should be restored after one fourth of the whole be delivered, the passage-boats be permitted to run after one-half be delivered, the trade opened after three fourths be delivered, and everything to proceed as usual after the whole be delivered. Breach of faith to be visited, after three days of loose performance of engagements, with the cutting off of supplies of fresh water; after three days more, with the stoppage of food; and after three days more, with the last degree of severity on Captain Elliot himself.

But for these measures Commissioner Lin would never have received the opium. On the 3rd of April, Mr. Johnston, the deputy superintendent of trade, accompanied by an escort of Chinese officers, Hong merchants, &c., proceeded down the river, without the Bogue forts, to receive the opium for H. E. Commissioner Lin.

On the 5th of April, the commissioner required the owners of the opium to enter into a bond, that "they would not again intro-

duce any opium into the inner land; that if such be done the vessel and cargo containing the opium should be confiscated to the use of government; and that the parties offending would readily submit to suffer death at the hands of the Celestial Court." The merchants declared that they "hereby *bound themselves for ever to cease from opium*," and that they "united together in this plain declaration, that this their *full and earnest bond is true*."

It is not very creditable to several who signed this bond, to state that it was very quickly violated. Mr. Lancelot Dent, I understand, honourably adhered to his bond, so also the respected American firm of S. Wetmore and Co.

On 10th of April, Commissioner Lin, and the governor of Canton, proceeded to the Bogue to witness the delivery of the opium in person. On the 12th there were rumours that the parties outside the Bogue had resumed the opium traffic, whereupon Captain Elliot addressed an earnest remonstrance to Her Majesty's subjects to abstain from the traffic, for the lives of those detained at Canton might be sacrificed. Owing to the tardiness of the receiving ships in coming to the Bogue, the whole of the opium was not delivered up until the 4th of May, and on the following day the trade was re-opened and affairs resumed their usual course.

The war which followed these proceedings is detailed in the preceding pages.

The account of this memorable transaction, would be incomplete without describing the final destruction of the 20,238 chests of this pernicious drug (valued at 6,000,000 dollars), which the Chinese government were unwilling to cast into the river, lest the fish should be thereby poisoned. My estimable friend, the late Mr. King, an American merchant at Canton, was permitted with others to be present at the destruction of the opium. Mr. King and his amiable wife were treated with great and marked kindness by Commissioner Lin, by reason of his having always abstained from the opium trade.

It was the express command of the Emperor that the opium should be destroyed near Canton, where the natives and foreigners might "both alike hear of it and see it." The place of destruction was at Chunhow (Chinkow), near the Bogue forts, about five miles from Chuenpe.

A large area was surrounded by a strong palisade with gates on each side, where sentinels were stationed, and no person was allowed to enter without a ticket. On going out of the place, every one was examined. The number of workmen was said to be about five hundred. The number of officers, civil and military, could not have been less than sixty or eighty. All these officers were employed as inspectors and overseers. A part of them were on elevated seats, under mat sheds, to watch all the movements, in every part of the enclosure; and their position was such that

nothing could escape their notice. By alternation, some of these were kept always at their posts, day and night. Another part of the officers superintended the delivery of the opium from the chests, which had been stored up in small enclosures within the large one. Special care was taken to see if each chest and parcel now corresponded to what it was marked down, when taken from the store-ships.

On the west side of the enclosure, just within the palisades, were three large vats or trenches, running from east to west, say one hundred and fifty feet long, seventy-five feet broad, and seven deep, flagged with stone, and lined along the sides with heavy timbers. Each of these three had its own fence, with entrances only on one side.

The process to which the drug was subjected, was briefly this. In the first place a trench was filled two feet deep, more or less, with fresh water, from the brow of the hill. The first trench was in this state, having just been filled with fresh water. Over the second, in which the people were at work, forms, with planks on them, were arranged a few feet apart. The opium in baskets was delivered into the hands of coolies, who going on the planks carried it to every part of the trench. The balls were then taken out one by one, and thrown down on the planks, stamped on with the heel till broken in pieces, and then kicked into the water. At the same time, other coolies were employed in the trenches, with hoes and broad spatulas, busily engaged in beating and turning up the opium from the bottom of the vat. Other coolies were employed in bringing salt and lime, and spreading them profusely over the whole surface of the trench. The third was about half-filled, standing like a distiller's vat, not in a state of active fermentation, but of slow decomposition,and was nearly ready to be drawn off. This was to be done through a narrow sluice, opened between the trench and the creek. This sluice was two feet wide, and somewhat deeper than the floor of the trench. It was furnished with a screen, made fine like a sieve, so as to prevent any large masses of the drug from finding their way into the creek. The destruction of the opium, which commenced on the 3rd, was completed by the 23rd. Not less than 1000 chests per day were worked off.

By half-past 11 o'clock, Mr. King had examined, and re-examined, every part of the process of destruction. The degree of care and fidelity, with which the whole work was conducted, was remarkable; no business could be more faithfully executed. The watch was apparently much stricter, on every side, than it was during the detention of foreigners in Canton. One poor man, at Chunhow, for only attempting to carry off some small pieces of opium about his person, was, on detention, almost instantly visited with the extreme penalty of the law. If any was pilfered, it must have been in very small quantities, and at the most imminent hazard of life. H. E. Commissioner Lin, superintended this extraordinary scene.

Mr. King, after witnessing the destruction of the opium, was honoured by Commissioner Lin with an interview. H. E. made very particular inquiries respecting the intentions of the English in withdrawing from the port, and also as to the best mode of conveying communications to the Queen of England and other European sovereigns, in order to secure their co-operation for the suppression of the traffic in opium. Inquiries were made for maps, geographies, and other foreign books; and particularly for a complete copy of Morrison's Dictionary. Mr. King says, that from the whole drift of the conversation and inquiries during the interview, it seemed very evident that the sole object of the commissioner was to do away the traffic in opium, and to protect and preserve that which is legitimate and honorable. Both in the manner and matter of his conversation, he appeared well; betraying, indeed, now and then, more or less of Chinese partiality for his own country and sovereign. Throughout, he was bland and vivacious, and exhibited nothing that was "barbarous or savage." He appeared to be not more than forty-five years of age; short, rather stout; with a smooth, full round face, a slender black beard, and a keen dark eye. His voice was clear, and his tones distinct. His countenance indicated a mind habituated to care and thoughtfulness. Once only he smiled. The accounts given him of British naval power—especially of steam vessels—seemed rather unpalatable, and once or twice raised a frown on his brow. This remarkable man, to whom justice has not been done by the British nation, is now governor-general of the province of Kweichoo, and has recently published an extraordinary work on different subjects, scientific and political.

After taking leave of the commissioner, a large collection of presents was sent to Mr. King and others.

The commissioner had in his service four natives, all of whom have made some progress in the English tongue. The first a young man, educated at Penang and Malacca, and for several years employed by the Chinese government at Peking. The second an old man, educated at Serampore. The third a young man, who was once at the school at Cornwall, Conn., U. S. A. The fourth a young lad, educated in China, and able to read and translate papers on common subjects, with much ease and correctness.

A few further explanatory remarks, on this extraordinary traffic, which is now being carried on to a greater extent than it has ever been, will be desirable.

The purchasers of the drug in India, are principally native merchants—Parsees and Hindoos. Agents for large houses, such as Jardine, Matheson & Co., give these merchants an advance of from two-thirds to three-fourths of the invoice amount, at the rate of 210 rupees per 100 Spanish dollars; the dollars payable in China from the proceeds. The opium is shipped in a "clipper," belonging to the agents in China; pays a very high rate of freight, and is,

probably, insured in an office where they are the principal partners. The agents' profit, apart from freight and insurance, supposing the drug to be sold, at 700 dollars per chest, is commission, 3% . . . . . 21 dollars.
Premium on Spanish dollars exchanged for Mexican 5% . . . . . 35 „
Profit on the purchase of bills on India, at the rate of 225 rupees per 100 dollars per chest. . 50 „
Remitting commission 1% . . . . . 7 „

Per chest . . . . . 113 dollars.

The agent's connection with the drug, does not cease when it is *nominally* passed through his sale book, and account sales rendered the shipper. It is commonly taken over at a certain price, and shipped to the coast of China, where, in a few weeks, it is actually sold on his (the agents') account, at an advance of 100 dollars per chest, or more, payment being made in sycee, which is sold at a premium of 2 or 3%. It will be seen from the foregoing :—

1st. The *bonâ fide* purchasers and shippers, very rarely make a profit, *if shipped under advance.*

2nd. The rich agent, with a capital to make advances, cannot fail to clear a large sum in the transaction.

3rd. Strong temptations are afforded the agent, who, being himself the buyer, cannot be anxious to see the market high anywhere, except on the coast of China.

4th. The fact of one house (Jardine, Matheson & Co.,) sharing among the partners a profit of *three millions sterling* in twenty years, when we consider the nature of the trade they were engaged in, is no longer a mystery. Much the larger portion of the sum was amassed within the last ten years, and the profits of that house now, far exceed those of any former period.

The profits of this iniquitous traffic are divided among a few individuals in China and India, and the mercantile interests of England suffer materially, in purse as well as in character, by the smuggling. When I enquired of the *Toutai,* (chief Chinese officer at Shanghai), how trade could best be promoted, he immediately, and with great sternness, instantly answered : *" Cease sending us millions' worth of opium, and then our people will have more money to purchase your manufactures."*

This reply solves the case, why our exports have not increased to China; a few opium smugglers are draining and impoverishing the people of China, and then our manufacturers at Manchester, Glasgow, Leeds, Halifax, and Sheffield, wonder why they cannot find purchasers for their wares in China !

There are a number of vessels engaged in the opium trade. Jardine & Company have the following opium vessels stationed

—at Amoy, one; Namoa, one; Chimmo Bay, one; Fuhchoo, one; Shanghai or Woosung, one; Macao, one; Whampoa, one; and four or five always plying between Hong Kong and the coast of China.

About five vessels are employed conveying opium between India and China, and a large receiving ship of 700 tons, is moored all the year round at Hong Kong. Dent & Company have nearly as many vessels as Jardine & Company, but of a smaller class. Burn, Macvicar & Company, about four on the coast, and two between India and China. Gilman & Company, three on the coast. Pyver, two on the coast with India. A Parsee firm, Rustomjee & Company, two on the coast. An American firm, Russell & Company, four on the coast, and three between India and China, under the American flag.

Altogether there are about fifty vessels or "clippers" of various sizes, generally well-manned and armed, and fast sailers, engaged in the opium traffic. The *Mazeppa,* a schooner, of only 130 tons, conveyed on one occasion half-a-million dollars from the north-east coast of China to Hong Kong, the proceeds of opium sold on the coast. The vessels conveying the drug from India to China are probably the finest boats in the world. The *Lanrick* of 283 tons register, built at Liverpool, cost £13,000, belonging to Jardine & Co., is superior in sailing on a wind to any man-of-war. I made a voyage in her down the China Seas to Java in 1845, in the teeth of the monsoon, when she was under the command of one of the most skilful and daring seamen that ever sailed. Frequently we were running eight and nine knots close hauled, and carrying royals, when a frigate would have had reefed topsails and courses. In one of her voyages the *Lanrick* carried 1,250 chests of Bengal opium, valued at £200,000 sterling.

The *Lanrick,* like the other vessels of her class, was fully armed with long nine-pounders, musketry, &c. These vessels give a good idea of the 'buccaneers,' which frequented the Spanish Main. Their commanders are generally educated men, of gentlemanly manners, very hospitable, of generous dispositions, well skilled in seamanship, and of a courage and boldness unsurpassed.

It is painful to see qualities so useful, directed to such pernicious purposes. A similar remark may be made with reference to those engaged in the opium trade in China; who have several excellent characteristics, are prompt in kindly acts, and imbued with strong national feelings. The late Mr. Jardine was a good example of his class: originally a naval surgeon, his quick and calculating mind led him early to perceive the great wealth that might be made in China from opium. To this object he devoted all his time and singular energies for about twenty years, and then returned to England, with a fortune of more than a million sterling. He lived but a short period for its enjoyment—died from a most excruciating and lingering disease—and bequeathed his vast wealth

in an equitable manner among his nephews and nieces. While in China many meritorious young men, who had no claims on him, but seemed deserving of encouragement, were advanced in life by Mr. Jardine. By the Chinese, as well as by the English at Canton, he was respected for his active habits, his intelligent mind, and hospitable disposition. Steady and ardent as a friend, equally steady and implacable as a foe; he devoted himself to the opium trade, totally divested of all consideration as to its moral consequences, unscrupulous of the means employed, and regardless of the saying, which in China has almost become a proverb, that "*ill luck and misfortune sooner or later overtake all engaged in the opium trade.*" But the blame ought not to be cast solely on the individuals engaged in this dreadful traffic; it rests chiefly on the government of our Gracious Sovereign, and on that of the East India Company. To dwell more on this distressing theme would be unnecessary; if the facts herein stated will not awaken the minds of those who *call themselves Christians in England*—neither would they hear, "although one came from the dead." It would be contrary to the admitted order of Divine Providence, to suppose that such a career of iniquity as we have been pursuing in China, can bring with it any blessing. If there be a Supreme Being—the Creator of the Universe and of man—*if He be a God of justice,* and have any regard for the creatures He has made, it is not possible to contend that He can view with indifference the commission of crimes, such as the previous pages incontestibly establish.

The grossest idolater admits and practically recognises the truth of this principle. Those who have the slightest belief in the Jewish and Christian Testaments, must, at least with their lips, acknowledge that the Creator and Preserver of mankind, has by example and precept established most conclusively the retributive decree, that *as a nation sows, so it must reap.* Can England reasonably expect peace and plenty at home, when she is scattering poison and pestilence abroad? Can she without hypocrisy consecrate churches and ordain ministers of a Christian faith, while her rulers and governors are licensing opium-hells, and appointing supervisors to extract the largest amount of profit from the iniquity therein perpetrated?

Is Christianity a name, or is it a principle? What an abomination it must be in the sight of a great and good Deity, to behold national prayers offered to Him to avert dispensations of calamity, while the very nation that is offering them is *daily inflicting destitution and death on more than three million of our fellow creatures?* Thus impiously seeking relief from its own suffering, while recklessly spreading sorrow, vice, and crime among myriads of mankind!

The records of wickedness since the world was created, furnish no parallel to the wholesale murders which the British nation have been, and still are, hourly committing in China. Neither are they

committing this awful destruction of human beings in ignorance. There never was a question on which our Parliament concurred more unanimously than on the iniquities of the opium trade; no senator ventured to say that that good man Lord Ashley had exaggerated in the slightest degree the magnitude of the evils which his lordship implored, with an eloquence heightened by piety, the legislature to correct. On the contrary, the assembled representatives of the nation, men of all parties—ministers and ex-ministers concurred with the noble lord in the enormity of the crime we were perpetrating, deplored its continued existence, and promised its correction.

What has been done since on the subject? Have we simply remained passive, and allowed the crimes and the murders caused by the opium trade to go on silently, unnoticed and unapproved by Her Majesty's government? We cannot even allege the poor miserable plea of winking as a government against a crime which it is pretended could not be checked. On the contrary, the representative of Queen Victoria has recently converted the small barren rock which we occupy on the coast of China, into a vast "opium smoking shop;" he has made it the "Gehenna of the waters," where iniquities which it is a pollution to name, can not only be perpetrated with impunity, but are absolutely *licensed* in the name of our gracious Sovereign, and protected by the titled representative of Her Majesty!

Better—far better—infinitely better—abjure the name of Christianity; call ourselves heathens—idolaters of the "*golden* calf"—worshippers of the "evil one."

Let us do this, and we have then a principle for our guide; the acquisition of money at any cost—at any sacrifice. Why the "slave trade" was merciful compared to the "opium trade." We did not destroy the bodies of the Africans, for it was our immediate interest to keep them alive;—we did not *debase their natures, corrupt their minds,*—nor *destroy their souls.* But the opium seller slays the body after he has corrupted, degraded, and annihilated the moral being of unhappy sinners,—while every hour is bringing new victims to a Moloch which knows no satiety—and where the English murderer and the Chinese suicide vie with each other in offerings at his shrine.

No blessing can be vouchsafed to England while this national crime is daily calling to Heaven for vengeance;—none of the millions of mere nominal Christians who throng our churches, one day in the week, can expect to prosper in their worldly callings, while they are silently abetting an awful crime, which no sophistry can palliate, no ingenuity refute.

We stand convicted before the nations of the world, as well as before an Omniscient Deity from whom nothing can be hidden, as a government and people actively and legally engaged in the perpetration of murder and desolation, on a scale of such magnitude as to

defy calculation. Disguise it as we may, this is the naked truth,—this is the damning fact which no water will obliterate.

We are all involved in the guilt, and participants, even by our silence, in a sin—which if not rooted out—must ere long bring on us that Divine vengeance which though slow, is sure, and never invoked in vain !

Even those whose thoughts are chiefly occupied with the acquisition of wealth, with adding house to house, and field to field, too often heedless of the means used for such acquisition, and who are alas—ready to overleap every law, human or Divine, which may interfere with their rapid accumulation of gain must admit if they peruse the annexed report on the opium traffic laid before Her Majesty's government, that it is a painful and unexaggerated record of national guilt, and of human suffering.

To the bishops of the Anglican church who are placed in the highest legislative tribunal, to watch over the morals of the nation, this report is specially commended.

It is primarily their sacred duty to bring the whole subject under the immediate and serious deliberation of the exalted assembly in which they sit; if this duty be neglected, then they become as much participants in the crime as if they themselves were engaged smuggling opium on the coast of China.

Next, to the clergy of all denominations in the United Kingdom this report is presented; if they also continue passive, when ignorance can no longer be pleaded as a justification for their silence, their hebdomadal prayers to a just Being, whose laws we are daily outraging, become a mockery. To the laity—Protestant, Presbyterian, Romanist or Sectarian,—these pages are also submitted. We have abolished slavery, mitigated our sanguinary code, purified our prisons, and ministered relief to suffering humanity everywhere. If our collective opinion be pronounced on the crime developed in these pages, no government nor individual can longer continue in its perpetration.

Finally—this report is dedicated, (by gracious permission) to the Sovereign of the British nation, with an earnest prayer that the Almighty—by whose authority—"*kings reign and princes decree justice,*"—may influence the councils of Her Majesty to do that which is right in the sight of Him who declareth, that "*they who set their heart on their iniquity will have the reward of their doings.*"

CHAPTER V.

THE CONSULAR PORTS IN CHINA.—CANTON, AMOY, FUH-CHOO, NINGPO, AND SHANGHAI.

By the treaty of Nankin it was stipulated and agreed that "British subjects, with their families and establishments shall be allowed to reside, for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint, at the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Fuh-choo, Ningpo, and Shanghai; and Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, will appoint superintendents or consular officers, to reside at each of the above-named cities and towns," &c.

By this clause of the treaty, the British consuls are not merely to be the medium of communication between the Chinese authorities and the said merchants; but they are "*to see that the just duties and other dues of the Chinese government, as hereafter provided, are duly discharged by Her Britannic Majesty's subjects.*"

The five ports opened, extend over a line of coast of about 800 miles in length, from Hong Kong, near the Canton River, to Shanghai, near the Yang-tze River, in about the following directions:—The course from Hong Kong to Amoy, is about north-east by east, rounding the coast; distance about 270 miles; from Amoy to Foo-choo, north-east by north, distance about 150 miles; from Foo-choo to Ningpo, north by east, distance about 300 miles; from Ningpo to Shanghai, north by west, across Hang-choo bay, distance about 100 miles, or half a-day's run by a steamer; whole distance from the two extreme ports, about 820 miles, five days steaming, or about four days direct from Hong Kong to Shanghai."

The edicts and ordinances under which commerce is conducted and regulated, will be found in the Appendix.

CANTON—DESCRIPTION, HISTORY, &c.

Canton city is situated in the province of Kwantung, which is bounded on the north-east by that of Fookien, on the north by Kiangsi, on the west by Kwangse, and Tungking; the rest is bounded by the sea. The province is divided into ten districts, containing ten cities of the first class, and eighty-four of the second class, exclusive of forts and military stations. The physical aspect is

mountainous, but there is a good deal of low land, cropped with rice. It furnishes gold, precious stones, pewter, quicksilver, copper, iron, silk, pearls, saltpetre, many valuable kinds of wood, and various kinds of fruit and useful vegetables. The sea-coast which has several excellent harbours, abounds in fish. The population is stated to be 19,000,000. Canton is styled by native geographers "Kwangtung-Sang-ching," or the capital of the province. It is in 23° 7′ 10″ north latitude, 113° 14′ 30″ longitude, east of Greenwich, and about 3° 30′ west of Peking.

The city is built on the north bank of the Choo-keang or Pearl River; distant sixty miles from the Bogue, or Bocca Tigris, which is considered the mouth of the river, and entrance to the inner waters. The country immediately contiguous to the city is flat, and richly cultivated, and becomes hilly and mountainous to the north and north-east. To the southward, the surface of the country is covered with rivers, canals, and broad ditches, in which innumerable boats carry on active intercourse and traffic. The city of Canton (properly so called), is surrounded by a wall, built nearly in the form of a square, and divided into two unequal parts, by another wall running from east to west, as shewn in the accompanying plan. On the south side the wall runs nearly due east and west, parallel to the river, but curves on the north, where the city rests on the brow of the hill, about 250 feet above the river.

The walls are composed of sand-stone, and brick; the former is placed in the foundations, and in the arches of the gates. The walls are thirty to forty feet thick, and in height twenty or twenty-five feet, except on the north side, where they are higher and more substantial; there is no fossen or ditch, and no bastions. A line of battlements, with embrasures at intervals of a few feet, are raised on the top of the wall, all around the city; the Chinese call these "ching-jin," which is translated city-men; the gates are sixteen in number, four of these lead through the wall which separates the old from the new city; there are twelve outer gates: a few soldiers are placed on the gates day and night; the night-watches are strictly kept, and a gratuity must be given to pass them after a certain hour. There are several canals, the largest extends along the east side of the city; there is another on the west side; these are connected by a third, which runs contiguous to the wall which separates the new from the old city, so that, boats with goods and passengers, have free ingress and egress from the east and west ends of the suburbs. There are several other canals in the eastern and western suburbs; and one in the southern. The Chinese call them "the veins of the city," which, together with the river, supply the inhabitants with water; but rain water is also used, and preferred. Natural springs abound within and without the city. There are several bridges built of stone over the canals, some formed with high arches—others, as is ge-

nerally the case in China, made with large slabs laid horizontally on stone buttresses.

The streets of Canton are more than 600 in number: among which are, the Dragon-street; the Golden-street; and the Golden Flower-street; and many other descriptive terms. The streets are generally short, slightly curved, and varying in width from six to sixteen feet, but are, generally speaking, from six to eight feet wide, and all flagged with granite. During the hours of business, the streets are crowded with half-naked porters carrying heavy loads of merchandise, suspended from either end of a pole, borne on the shoulders; by pedlars and itinerant barbers, carpenters, &c., by sedans of every description, and by numerous wild-looking beggars and strolling idlers. The shops are in many instances equal to those in some European cities—considering the difference of climate: They are commodious, well stocked with goods, and are associated together, very much according to their respective trades. Neat and gaudily-painted signs and names are placed on long boards, affixed longitudinally to the door-way, and by their bright colours, they give a gay appearance to the narrow streets.

Few of the houses or temples at Canton have more than one story, the walls of which are the whole height of the fabric, without any concealment of the beams or rafters of the roof. Terraces are often built above the roofs, which afford in the cool of the evening a pleasant retreat, and good prospect.

Europeans that have seen the city, were struck with the difference that existed in the various buildings,—although this diversity, as in Europe, does by no means exhibit the relative condition and circumstances of the people. There are very few of what may be called wealthy inhabitants, and they make no exhibition of it in the external appearance of their dwellings.

Judging from the aspect of the greater part of the dwellings, there must be a large number of very poor people in the city, as they exhibit abundant evidence of the absence of the common comforts of life.

In the style of their houses, as in many of their customs, (already noticed) there is a striking coincidence with those met with in the Sacred Scriptures.

Professor Jahn, in his Biblical Archæology, speaking of the Jewish habitations, says: "the gates not only of the houses, but of cities, were customarily adorned with an inscription,' which was to be extracted from the law of Moses; a practice in which may be found the origin of the modern Mezuzaw, or piece of parchment inscribed with sacred texts, and fastened to the door posts. The gates were always shut, and one of the servants acted the part of a porter. The space inside the gate is called the porch, is square, and on one side of it is erected a seat, for the accommodation of those strangers, who are not to be admitted into the interior of the house.

"From the porch we are introduced through a second door, into a court, which is commonly paved with marble, and surrounded on all sides; sometimes, however, only on one, with a peristyle or covered walk, over which, if the house have more than one story, there is a gallery of the same dimensions, supported by columns, and protected by a balustrade. In this court large companies are received, at nuptials, &c.

"On such occasions, a large veil of thick cloth, is extended by ropes, over the whole court, to exclude the heat of the sun. The back part of the house is allotted to the women, and is called in Arabic, the harem, and in Hebrew, by way of eminence, the palace. In the smaller houses, the females occupy the upper story. This is the place assigned them also by Homer in the Iliad and Odyssey."

This is the best description that could be given of the buildings of the Chinese, as regards all I have seen, and fully agrees with Sir William Chambers in his elaborate description of Chinese architecture.

The nearest approximation to the total number of inhabitants in the city of Canton, including Nanhae and a part of Pwangu, is by the following estimate, viz.: 50,000 people engaged in the manufacture of cloth; 7,300 barbers; 41,300 shoemakers: these three callings employ 61,500 individuals, and are not more than one-fourth of the artificers of the city; allowing this as fact, the number is probably 246,000; there are also 84,000 boats, and allowing three to each boat, this will make a total 252,000; add four times the number of mechanics, and there will be a total estimate of 1,236,000 as the population of Canton. The people were formerly classified as scholars, husbandmen, mechanics, and merchants, which still exists to a certain extent. But there are also two classes styled elders and gentry. The first includes all the old men, sixty years of age and upwards. The "gentry" are the managers of all local affairs which are not in the hands of the government officers. The proportion of males and females is unknown; the opinion is prevalent that ninety-five of the men are married of every hundred. Polygamy is more or less practised. The population of Canton have the reputation of being the most licentious and troublesome people in the empire. Whenever an opportunity occurs, they eagerly evince their dislike and hatred to foreigners; their local government have encouraged this feeling for many years by opprobrious edicts against foreigners—on whom all sorts of contumelious epithets have been heaped. Canton is also said to be the favourite retreat of all the most turbulent and worst portion of the Chinese. It is said there is an organized band of 20,000 robbers in and around Canton.

The character of the Cantonese is thus given in an official proclamation:—"Chow, by imperial command criminal judge of Canton, hereby prohibits the putting away of wives for slight causes,

husbands conniving at the wife's adultery, or selling her to another man. The relation of husband and wife is the first of the five social bonds. Husband and wife should respect each other, and live in harmony.

"*For vile practices of this, and every kind, there is no place so bad as Canton.* Some sell their wives to sing and play, and submit to the embraces of others. Some invite profligate men to their own houses, and give up their wives to prostitution. Such practices inflict a deadly wound on the public morals, and, therefore, Chow issues this order to prevent them. Even in deep poverty, still submit tranquilly to Heaven's decree. If ye, adulterers and adultresses, persist in and reform not, it is resolved to prosecute you to the utmost rigour of the law. Under the luminous heaven and renovating sun of his majesty's reign, it is impossible to endure you, ye wounders and destroyers of the public morals. Let each tremblingly obey this mandate.

"January, 1828."

Dr. Bridgeman, a profound Chinese scholar, who has long resided at Canton, and whose writings breathe true Christian charity, says: "Intelligent natives admit that more luxury, dissipation, and crime exist here than in any other part of the empire; at the same time, they maintain that more enterprise, more enlarged views, and more general information prevail among the higher classes of the inhabitants of Canton, than are found in most of the other large cities; these bad qualities are the result of a thrifty commerce acting on those who are not guided by high moral principles; the good, which exists in a very limited degree, results from an intercourse with 'distant barbarians.' The contempt and hatred which the Chinese authorities have often exhibited towards foreigners, and the indifference and disdain with which the nation generally has looked down upon everything not their own, aught to be strongly reprobated; on the other hand, the feeling which foreigners have often cherished, and the disposition and conduct which they have too frequently manifested towards this people, are such as should never have existed; still, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, we think that the intercourse between the inhabitants of the western world and the Chinese, has been beneficial to the latter. Hitherto this intercourse has been purely commercial; and science, literature, and all friendly and social offices, have been disregarded."

Of the whole population of Canton, it is said, that not more than one-half are able to read. Probably not one boy out of ten is left entirely destitute of education; and yet of the other sex not one in ten is ever instructed. There is scarcely a school for girls in the city.

Public opinion and immemorial usage is against the education of the females. If an argument were required against the philoso-

phy of their sages, there is an unanswerable one, in the degradation of the fairest half of the human species.

The majority of the schools in Canton are only designed to prepare youth for the ordinary duties of private life. These schools, as well as those of a higher class, are all private establishments. The government provides teachers and inspectors for every district in the empire, yet there are no public or charity schools to educate the great mass of the people. To provide for this culpable defect in the government, several families unite, and hire a teacher to instruct their children. The payment awarded to the teachers varies according to the class of scholars, as in Europe, but the payment is guaranteed for one year certain, whether the child attends or not. These payments range from two to twenty dollars per annum.

Every school-room is supplied with a tablet, on which is written in conspicuous figures the name of Confucius, the patron of learning; a small altar is placed before it, upon which incense and candles are kept continually burning. The moment the scholar enters the room he bows, first before the tablet, and then to his teacher; the former is not merely a tribute of respect, but an act of worship.

The school hours are from six to six, with the exception of meal times. The scholars all study aloud, and the only emulation amongst them is which will raise his voice the loudest.

Chastisement on the idle and disobedient is applied with unusual severity, by the application of the rattan. The dunce is compelled to go upon his knees; whilst the most incorrigible are made to kneel on gravel. The three-character classic is the first book taught. Though written expressly for infant minds, it is scarcely better suited for them than the propositions of Euclid would be were they thrown into rhyme. But, "it is not to be understood" at first; and the tyro, when he can rehearse it correctly, takes up the Four Books, and masters them after the same manner. This, and having to write a few characters, finishes the education of all those who are not destined for the literary class.

The high schools and colleges are numerous; but none of them are richly endowed, or well suited for the purposes of education. There are thirty colleges; most of which were founded many centuries ago. Several of them are now deserted and falling to ruins. Three of the largest have each about two hundred scholars, and like all the others only one or two professors. Information has been sought for in vain, as to the discipline and government of these establishments, and the probability is, that they have none, or, if they had, have become obsolete, with the general declension of the nation for the past two centuries.

Canton is the oldest city in the south of China, and since the foundation has undergone many changes. More than 4,000 years, according to the Chinese classics, *Yaou* commanded one of his

ministers to govern Nankeaou, called Mingtoo, the splendid capital and the surrounding country. Nankeaou then included the site of the present city of Canton, and belonged to the southern regions of Yang, which formed one of the twelve states into which the whole world (China) was divided. These southern regions seem to have been large, as they were afterwards known by different names, and are still known, in official documents of the present day, to designate the province of Canton. During the Shang dynasty, 1123 B.C., the inhabitants of these regions first paid tribute to the Emperor of China.

On the accession of the next dynasty (Chow) the empire was greatly extended; and great attention was paid to agriculture, and when the "son of heaven received tribute from the four quarters of the earth," some of the tribes of Keaouchow (which included Canton) brought crabs and frogs, and others snakes and crickets. The historians say they are able to trace their city to the time of Nanwang, who reigned 2,000 years ago, it was then called Nan-Wooching "the martial city of the south," and was surrounded by a stockade made of bamboo and mud. One of its earliest names and which is still used in its books was Yang-Ching, "the city of rams," from the legend that five genii clothed in garments of five different colours, and riding on rams of different colours, met at the capital; each of the rams bearing in his mouth a stalk of corn having six ears, which were presented to the people by the genii, who thus spoke: "May famine and dearth never visit your markets;" the genii then disappeared, and the rams were changed into stones. Canton is also called the "city of genii," and the "city of grain;" one of the temples is named the temple of the five genii, and in it the five stone rams are to be seen to this day. There are many similar legends connected with the history of the city. During the reign of Tsin-Chehwangte, about two centuries before the Christian era, it is stated that the people of the south rose in rebellion against the Emperor, who sent 500,000 soldiers against them. After three years' contest, provisions failing, the people overcame the invaders and the slaughter is represented as awful. These tribes submitted to the Han dynasty, two centuries before the Christian era.

A.D. 210. The territory which now includes Canton was named by the Emperor Keéngan—Kwanchoo, during the reign of Teenkein or Woote. A.D. 543, the people of Canton sent a piece of fine cloth as tribute to the Emperor; who was so displeased with this approach to finery, that he forbid any more to be made thereof. Canton from an early period had intercourse with India. A.D. 620—during the Tang dynasty, foreign commerce was established at Canton, and an imperial officer appointed to receive the duties. A.D. 705—a pass was cut through the Meiling ridge of mountains to connect Canton with the northern parts of the

empire. In A.D. 795—in consequence it is supposed of extortions, foreign merchants removed to Cochin China, the people of which place subsequently made war against Canton, and reduced the city to great straits. The Tang dynasty ceased A.D. 906; in the succeeding fifty years five families reigned and fell. The people of Canton are represented as liberal in their tributes, consisting of gold, silver, and various commodities, to the amount of five million taels of silver. Native historians are not likely to paint their own history in the worst light, but it is painful to read their own description of the cruelty and oppression practised; "criminals were boiled, and roasted, flayed and thrown on spikes, or forced to fight with tigers and elephants." The Sung dynasty commencing A.D. 960, gave much attention to the city of Canton, whose inhabitants lived in a barbarous state; witches and sorcery were prohibited, and all the superstitious temples were demolished by order of the Emperor, who prohibited the people "*to kill men to sacrifice to demons.*" Dispensaries were established; all ornaments of dress, gold and pearls were strictly prohibited. A.D. 1067—Canton was enclosed by a wall about two English miles in circumference at an expense of 50,000 taels. This defence was intended as a protection against the Cochin Chinese, who frequently plundered Canton. During the Mongol dynasty A.D. 1279, Canton became the scene of frightful slaughter, which put an end for a time to commerce; towns and villages it is stated were literally ruined by those who became masters of the throne; and such was the destruction of life that the "*blood flowed in sounding torrents.*" Commerce was subsequently restored, and in the year 1300 a great number of ships came to Canton. Subsequently Chekeang and Fookein were opened to foreign ships. Fernao Peres de Andriade is said to the first commercial European adventurer that reached Canton, about 1518, when peace and contentment were then universal under the Ming or native dynasty. English, Spanish, and Dutch traders next visited China, and the ports of Canton; Amoy, Macao, Chusan, and Ningpo are represented as having been then large commercial markets. On the accession of the present Tartar family to the throne, divisions and dissensions interrupted the trade and prosperity of Canton; Yung-lueh, endeavoured to restore the Ming dynasty; troops were dispatched from Peking, and Canton was the last city to surrender. Relying on its own resources, the inhabitants resisted the Tartars eleven months, and repulsed them frequently with great slaughter, and not until the walls were battered down with cannon could the inhabitants be prevailed on to surrender. Treachery is said to have caused their defeat on the 24th November, from which date according to the Jesuit, Martin Martini, to the 5th December, indiscriminate butchery of men, women and children was commanded, with the exception of a few artificers, whom the Tartars judged necessary to preserve the arts.

On the 6th December the slaughter ceased, after the destruction in various ways of 100,000 people. According to native manuscripts the number slain was not under 700,000, and "every house was left desolate." The Tartars took up their residence in the old city, where their descendants still live, and where it is said one old house still remains standing. To this day it is not an uncommon thing to discover treasures sunk in the earth near old temples and houses, hidden by the inhabitants during the siege. Canton has now risen to its present extent, and state of commercial prosperity; but the natives are not free from pirates and from bands of robbers, who are a continual source of trouble. To its foreign trade Canton owes its present affluence.

Until the recent allotment of some additional building ground, the European factories facing the river had a frontage of about eight hundred feet. Each factory (of which there are thirteen) extends backwards about 130 yards into a long narrow lane, on each side of which, as over arches that cross it, are the confined abodes of the English, Americans, and others. To the east of the factories is a narrow inlet from the river, a *fetid ditch*, which serves to surround a portion of the city wall, as well as to drain that part of the city. This is crossed with a single arch, by a narrow street at the rear of the factories, that leads to the warehouses of the several Hong merchants, all of them communicating with the river stairs, from which the merchandise is shipped.

The space occupied by the foreign factories, is crossed by China Street, and Hog Lane. The former contains the shops of small dealers, and the latter is not easy to describe by any standard of comparison, as nothing so narrow or so filthy exists in any European town. The hovels by which it is lined are occupied by abandoned Chinese, who decoy sailors, drug them, and then rob and ill use them.

This pandemonium has been the chief cause of disagreement between the English and Chinese government, and it is to be hoped, that the degrading and comfortless position of our merchants will be altered, and that we shall be permitted freedom of access to, and residence in the city, to which we are entitled by the treaty of Nankin.

Local Government of Canton.—Canton, like every other part of the wide dominions of this vast empire, receives her rulers from the alleged "son of heaven," the sovereign of men, who says that statesmen and nobles are his children; and the people are the children of the nobles and rulers, and should never neglect to look up to and obey them as such. These principles are strictly enjoined in writing as guides for the conduct of the government. To carry out these views, a palace is dedicated to the Emperor in the capital of every province of the empire, and is distinguished by being painted the imperial

colour, yellow; it is called Wanshaw-keeng, and annually, three days before and after his birthday, the officers of government, civil and military, must attend with the respectable inhabitants, and there offer devotion and adoration as if the Emperor were present. No seats are allowed in that sacred place,—so that every votary brings with him a cushion, to sit on the ground. *The governor and general director* of Kwantung and Kwangse provinces (———) is entrusted with the power of life and death, but he usually acts with other high functionaries deputed from Peking (for instance with the *Fooyuen*) on important occasions. The supervision of all affairs of the two provinces rest with him, he cannot originate any new law without the consent of the Emperor, and must act according to statutes and precedents. He proposes all new regulations, but they must have the sanction of the Emperor before they become law. The governor-general is ex-officio president of the board of war at Peking, and frequently has a seat in the cabinet. His orders have the force of law, and he is held accountable to his Majesty, for the peace and prosperity of the two provinces, (Kwantung and Kwangse). Every calamity that befals the provinces he must report minutely on pain of dismissal and degradation.

A most disastrous fire occurred in the western suburbs of Canton in the month of October 1843, by which, about one thousand Chinese buildings, and three of the foreign hongs, were destroyed. The fire was said to be accidental, and spread with frightful rapidity. The Chinese police did their utmost to protect property, but the chief protection to the property of foreigners was afforded by the marines of Her Majesty's ship, "Dido," commanded by the Honorable Captain Keppel, and the seamen from the merchant ships. When a fire occurs in Canton, exertions are chiefly directed to saving property, and not to extinguishing the fire. The plunderers are so daring at fires here, that both British and Chinese are compelled to fire on the miscreants. On this occasion it is said more than one life was sacrificed before the robbers would desist.

The 25th December 1844, a large theatre which had been erected near the hall for public examinations in Canton, was consumed by fire; and 2,300 persons, men, women, and children, perished in the flames. About thirty buildings, were also destroyed. The Arabian travellers who visited China in A.D. 850 speak of fires being frequent in Canton. The most disastrous was in 1822, when all the foreign factories were consumed; but ever since, fire engines and a constant watch, prevent them being very destructive.

The late governor Le, for a most unforeseen affair, was degraded and sent in chains into banishment. In case of fires, it is the law that when more than ten houses are consumed, the governor

is deprived of nine months' salary; if more than thirty are destroyed, one year's allowance is mulcted, and if three hundred are burnt he loses one degree or grade of his rank. Suburban fires involve no penalty. The penalties may be remitted by the Emperor. All complaints are made by petition personally to the governor on the 3rd, 8th, 13th, 18th, 23rd, and 28th days of each month, and if redress is not granted, appeal may be made to Peking. The governor's house is situated in the new city; and is in every way suitable to his rank. His salary is 15,000 taels annually, but by the most moderate calculations, his emoluments are estimated annually at ten times more than his salary. Corruption is prohibited by edicts and maxims, without however producing the desired result. The second official in rank is styled (Fooyuen) and he is usually addressed by foreigners as the lieutenant-governor; his jurisdiction is confined to this province. Though nominally second in command, in many affairs he acts independent of the governor, his titles are honorary vice-president of the board of war, member of the court of universal examiners or censorate, universal controller of the province of Kwantung, a director of military affairs and of the taxes. He holds the Emperor's order, or "death warrant" for the immediate execution of criminals. The third officer in authority is called *Tseang-keun;* or more properly the Tartar general. He has command of the Tartar troops and is charged with the defence of the city. He is a member of the provincial council, and acts independent in many instances of the two preceding functionaries. Subordinate to him are *two foo-tootings* or generals, and various inferior officers, who all reside in the old city with their general and the Tartar troops. The fourth officer is styled the superintendent of maritime customs, and is addressed as the "grand hoppo of the port of Canton;" like the others he receives his appointment from the Emperor, and is solely connected with the maritime commerce; he is a commissioner of customs, and is usually an officer of the imperial household. The fifth in rank is the *Heyaun,* or literary chancellor of Canton, and his influence and duties are extremely onerous, as he is judge of the qualifications of all the students of the province, and of all ranks seeking preferment. He has also charge of all schools, colleges, and examinations. The sixth is named *Poochingsze,* or treasurer, who is under the Fooyuen, the controller of the civil government and financier of the province; he has the appointment of all the subordinate officers of the local government. The seventh or *Gancha-sze* is the criminal judge; he generally sits alone, unless where life is involved, when he is assisted by some of the higher officers of the province, the *Szego,* or keeper of the provincial prisons, is under his control. Eighth the *Yenyun-sze* who superintends the salt department, the duties of which form a most important item in the imperial revenue, the salt trade being a government monopoly, and as there are only a

few persons licensed to trade in it, large fortunes are acquired. Ninth the *Tuhleang-taon,* who has charge of the public granaries, and who is also responsible, in times of scarcity, to supply the public with food. There are fourteen granaries belonging to the city of Canton, at all times full.

Tenth, the *Kwang chow foo,* or prefect of the department; his duty is to be well acquainted with every portion of the territory, over which he is placed, and subordinate to him is a szeyo or superintendent of all the prisons in his department. It is difficult to determine the exact limits of these numerous functionaries. All the officers are general officers, and their authority extends all over the province, as well as over the city; there are two commanders-in-chief of the land and naval forces, who act alone in many cases, and sometimes in concert with the other general officers.

The government is despotic, and is so constructed that those who form the provincial government shall, while they enjoy a degree of independence, serve as mutual checks; and each superior officer is held responsible for those who are subordinate and accountable to himself. The distribution of these officers shows a desire to preserve a balance of power. In the disposition of the troops the same principle is observable. The land and naval force of the province is estimated nominally at 100,000, all of which is under the control of the governor; he has however only the immediate command of 5000 soldiers, and these are stationed at a distance from the city: on most occasions he is escorted by a detachment from the Kwangchoo (chief military officer) which in the absence of his own troops, serves him for a body-guard, and constitutes at the same time a part of the police of the city. The *Fooyuen* has only 2,000 men at his command, while the *Tseang-keun* has 5,000 which would enable him to master the city.

The proper seat of the governor is several miles from the city, westward; he is allowed to reside at Canton, but cannot have his troops there, lest in conjunction with the Fooyuen, they might be an over-match for the Tartar general commandant and his 5,000 men. This jealousy of power is further manifested by the order that no individual can hold an office in any province, or district of the empire, that includes the place of his nativity, or within several hundred miles of it. The number of soldiers that are generally quartered in the city is about 7,000 men. In the vicinity of Canton there are two forts on the heights, north of the city, which completely command it, and were taken by our troops during the war in 1841. Generally speaking, the soldiers are badly equipped and worse disciplined; their arms consist of bows and arrows, short swords and matchlocks, all ill suited for attack or defence. Desertion is punished by beating, and banishment, and extends to the relations of the deserter. The police of the city is considered inefficient, and the inhabitants make arrangements with

each other for their mutual protection. Each street is enclosed by gates at night with a guard-house at the entrance of each. Watch-houses are erected in winter, in the form of towers, and being higher than the houses, give the watchman an advantage in early discovering a fire; these are called double watch-houses, and have bells to give alarm.

Not one half the thieves are ever discovered, and it frequently happens that justice is administered in one hour, the culprit punished, and at liberty the next hour, to commit fresh crime. There are no forms of trials, the criminal kneels before the judge, who hears the witnesses, and very little evidence is necessary to insure conviction. Sentence of death is passed, or he is remanded to jail, according to the nature of the crime. Very few that are caught, escape punishment; hundreds are annually executed without the southern gates. When brought to the fatal spot, they kneel with their faces towards the Emperor's court, and bending forward in an attitude of submission and thanksgiving, they perish beneath the axe or rope of the executioner.

The jail is commonly called *Te-yo*—hell—or literally "earth's prison." In the city of Canton there are six jails; five of them occupy more than five mow, ($6\frac{2}{10}$ mow, or Chinese acres, are equal to one English acre), and are capable of holding upwards of 500 prisoners; the sixth jail occupies an area of more than seven mow, and will contain more than one thousand prisoners. The inner wall of each jail is twenty-one Chinese feet high, which is surrounded by a second wall the same height, leaving between the two a space of seven feet; in this space a nightly watch is kept, beyond the outer wall a guard is kept night and day. The internal arrangements are all equally precautionary, the prisoners are kept in irons, with rings upon their wrists, and secured by an iron rod, a chain round their necks, and fastened to the handcuffs. During the day, one hand is released, to allow the prisoner to prepare his food. Formerly the stocks were in general use, but now only in some of the neighbouring districts; the number of deaths under this system are very numerous. The jail of the commissioner of justice, is still more severe, and is regulated according to their strength, and ability to bear the additional weight of chains, also with reference to the class of crime for which the culprits are imprisoned; according to law, each prisoner should daily receive one catty and a half of rice, and twelve cash, to purchase fuel and other necessaries. The jailors seldom give them more than three fourths of their allowance, and not more than two or three cash. In warm weather a supply of tea is provided, and in winter a cup of congee (boiled rice) made into jelly.

Clothing of a warm description is provided in winter, also a blanket. Trousers and a jacket are sometimes given, and in summer a fan. The law makes no provision for these extra things,

and hence they are considered as favours bestowed on them, by the officers of the prison. Usage has made it common to confer favours, on occasion of the birth of a son, in the imperial family; on those occasions flesh, fish, and wine, are distributed liberally. Extortion and cruelty are practised on the prisoners to a frightful extent, with impunity; each fresh prisoner must give money to the headman, and the cruelties practised to extort it are very dreadful.

There is published in Canton, annually, a catalogue of all the government officers, attached to the city and province, not unlike our court guide. It forms a volume of about one hundred leaves, and contains the names and official history of every officer. Each leaf is divided by red lines, into eighteen columns, separated into an upper and lower part. In the upper part are given the genealogies of the officers, from their great grandfathers to their great grandsons, and the names of their wives are also included, with the names of such male relatives of their wives, as have been or are persons of distinction. In the lower part of the page are given the officers' own names, the time of their birth, the year in which they became Siutsai, which answers to our B.A., and Kin-jin, to our M.A. There are 158 names in this book, as officers, the remainder are ancestors and offspring.

There was published at Canton a narrative of the birth, parentage, and literary qualifications acquired by the celebrated Commissioner Lin, whose remarkable proceedings for the suppression of the opium trade are detailed in Chapter IV., which prove him to be a man of no ordinary ability.

The religious institutions of Canton, as a matter of course, are numerous, where three separate degrading systems of idolatry are practised. The one I visited, presented a dark and melancholy picture for contemplation. In beholding "the three precious Budhas," in the temple of Honan, I was forcibly struck with the idea that, as the devotees believe them to represent the past, the present, and future Budha, they may have originated this type of the Blessed Trinity, in the primitive ages, in a sincere belief and true faith.

From a translation by Dr. Bridgman, of the history of these temples, (124 in number), the most ancient is the middle of the third century of our era, which strongly favours the belief, that Christianity was not only taught, but practised in China, from an early period.

The number of priests and nuns in these temples of vice, is said to be about 3,000, of which the latter are reckoned at one third that number. The estimated expense is computed at 500,000 dollars or £108,333.

The charitable institutions of Canton, as compared with temples, in number or support, exhibit a sad contrast.

The foundling hospital, founded in A.D. 1698, is situated outside

the city, has accommodation for two or three hundred children, and is maintained at an annual expense of 2,500 taels. The retreat for the aged, infirm, and blind, is allowed 5,100 taels.

The above sums are raised from a tax levied on all rice ships, which enter the port of Canton, viz., 620 taels on each. It is stated that 17,360 taels have been collected in one year, but what became of the balance, 9,738 taels, is not known. The hospital for lepers, contains upwards of 300 patients, who are supported at an expense of 300 taels per annum. The condition of the above mis-called hospitals, is represented as wretched in the extreme; the first is supplied with children that have been exposed by their parents, and when grown up (see page 48, vol. i.) are sold, and not unfrequently for the worst purposes.

The manufactories at Canton are numerous, but much of the goods required are made at Fuh-shan, a large town a few miles west of Canton. There is no machinery, but the quantity of goods sent to market is very considerable. There are at least 17,000, men, women, and children, engaged in weaving silk; the loom is very simple, and the work neatly executed. The number engaged in weaving cloth is over 50,000; they occupy 2,500 shops, averaging twenty in each shop; the females earn at embroidery, about twenty dollars a month; shoemakers are a numerous class, about 4,250. Those who work in stone, brass, and iron, are numerous, and each trade or calling are united into guilds for mutual protection and support, and have rules and laws for regulating their business. The printing and book trade is very considerable; but accurate returns are unavailable to shew its extent. The barbers of Canton are numerous; strict regulations for their protection are enforced, and each must have a license from the headman of his own craft. The barbers in number are returned at 7,300 at the present time. There are about 2,000 medical practitioners; the Chinese apothecaries hold themselves a distinct class from the physicians. Surgery is really unknown. The distinguishing mark of medical men, and of the literati, are the length of their nails, which show they do no manual labour.

One of their prescriptions will illustrate their erroneous views, and prove how much they stand in need of enlightment on this subject.

"The jinseng and foo liquid. To regulate the breath and blood of the 'Yin and Yang,' let a dose of the jinseng and foo (a medicinal herb) be taken, prepared with boiling water."

The commentary on this is as follows. The former part of the body when produced is called the prior heaven; the latter the subsequent heaven. The constitution of the first depends upon the kidneys, which are the gift of the father and mother; the constitution of the second depends upon the stomach, which is renovated by water and grain. The 'prior heaven' is the substance of the primary substance in nature preeminent for

repose, and therefore the child enwrapped within the womb depends upon its mother's quietness for nourishment, and then in its living breath, the divine concealment and secret springs of life will be tranquil. The 'subsequent heaven's' breath is the *use* of the primary principles in nature, which is carried out in motion; therefore after the nourishment of figure, water and grain are administered to it; and in the production of the body, the divine impulse is set in motion and begins to circulate; heaven and man unite their virtues. The two substrata, that is motion and rest, are in mutual operation, whence the 'latter heaven's breath,' having obtained the 'former heaven's breath,' there is life, and when there is life there is no repose; but if the former heaven's breath obtains the latter, renovation commences; where there is renovation, there is no exhaustion. If in motion or at rest, the kidneys are injured by want of care, the former heaven's breath will be empty; if eating and drinking be immoderate, the stomach will be injured, and the latter heaven's breath be empty. Now to supply this latter deficiency, there is nothing equal to the draught made from the two ingredients, jinseng and foo."

If the viscera be much weakened, these medicines are esteemed of the first importance for quickly restoring the system to its wonted strength. These and some astrological opinions on the influence of the elements, like the 'Ethers and Elements' of Heraclitus, occupy the place of the well-established principles of physiology and chemistry known amongst us.

A further proof of the defective state of medical knowledge in China, may be judged of, by their native doctors administering the pounded bones of the tiger, made into pills, in all cases of general debility, on the supposition that as the animal was strong, his bones must be efficacious. To alleviate human suffering, and establish some sound principles of medical science, an American missionary, Dr. Parker, established an hospital at Canton, which has been eminently useful.

I gladly bear testimony to the praiseworthy exertions of Dr. Parker, by whose perseverance in travelling through Europe and America, to collect subscriptions for its support, this excellent and truly Christian institution has still been maintained.

Since the commencement in 1838 to 1842, I ascertained from its well-regulated books and regularly published reports, that upwards of 20,000 persons have been relieved of their sufferings. And when it is recollected that during the greater portion of the period there was nothing but war and strife, and a Native to be seen in company with an European, endangered his life or liberty, if such an amount of good has been rendered to our fellow-beings during this ever-to-be-lamented period, by one gifted Christian, what may be expected from perfect freedom of intercourse.

In 1805—Surgeon Alexander Pierson, who was attached to

the Honourable East India Company's factory, successfully introduced the art of vaccination, which has ever since been extended over the whole empire. The late Dr. Morrison and Dr. Livingston, opened an infirmary for some poor Chinese in 1820, which was sustained for a short time, and alleviated much suffering.

1827. Mr. T. R. Colledge, surgeon to the East India Company, opened an eye infirmary at Macao, and during the three years of its continuance, afforded relief to 4000 patients, among whom were persons of different ranks, and from distant parts of the empire, from whom he received many, and unequivocal tokens of gratitude.

Professor Kidd, whose experience at Canton qualified him to judge, says "cutaneous eruptions of the severest kind are very common. Leprosy, at least that species of it which I have seen, is of pure white very common, and not, as far as I remember of the copper-coloured spots usually referred to in European treatises, as symptomatic of this disease. From the heat of the climate and the irritation generated by other causes, it is no uncommon thing for limbs to be destroyed, and other parts of the body essentially injured by cutaneous diseases, which ere long terminate in death. There have been principally four eminent writers on the art of medicine in China; one lived in the third century of this era. He was the originator of prescriptions, but erred in giving immoderately large doses of medicine. The circulation of the blood was recognized at an early period in China; but almost all works are introduced by reflections on the system of nature, and hence the difficulty of separating what is fanciful from what has some foundation in the nature of things, and in the analogies subsisting between them." These medical facts are stated to shew what good may be done at Canton by European medical skill.

The prices of the principal articles of food depend very much on the seasons, and various other causes, such as inundations and extortions of the local officers. The wages of a field labourer is about fourteen cents. per day; and the hundreds or thousands employed on the river do not exceed one mace: clerks, compradors, and such like, have five to ten dollars per month; female servants are frequently glad to obtain food and clothing for their services. The rent of houses averages 100 dollars per annum, and a house at that price will accommodate ten or twelve people, and contain six rooms: a similar one in the country may be rented at fifty dollars, including ground-rent to government. A house with two rooms rates at $1\frac{5}{100}$ dollar per month: hovels and boats constitute the residence of the poorest class.

From thirty to sixty people are known to inhabit a single house, which of course reduces the rent to each. A family of ten persons can get house accommodation and provisions for about 400 dollars per annum, and this includes clothing as well as food. Cotton garments cost from four to eighteen dollars, and silk

dresses from ten to twenty each. A labourer can live for about two dollars or two and a-half per month, including clothes and rent.

THE PRICE OF PROVISIONS IN CANTON.

	T.	M.	C.	C.		T.	M.	C.	C.
Beef per catty ..	0	0	9	0	Turnips „	0	0	1	0
Buffalo „ ..	0	0	5	0	Oranges „	0	0	4	4
Tongues, each ..	0	1	0	0	Water chesnuts	0	0	1	0
Mutton per catty	0	2	4	0	Irish potatoes, per pecul ..	3	0	0	0
Kid's flesh „	0	1	2	0	Taro or sweet potatoes	1	0	0	0
Pork „	0	1	0	0	Yams per catty ..	0	0	3	0
Sausages „	0	1	5	0	Rice per pecul 1½ to	3	0	0	0
Hams „	0	1	8	0	Wheaten flour per catty	0	0	5	0
Pig's feet „	0	0	9	0	Bread, small loaves, per loaf	0	0	2	5
Hens „	0	0	6	8	Eggs, each	0	0	0	7
Capons „	0	1	1	0	Salt per catty 2 to 4 candareen ..	0	0	4	0
Ducks „	0	0	6	8	Tobacco per catty	0	0	4	0
Geese „	0	0	8	0	Sugar candy „	0	1	0	0
Turkies, each ..	3	0	0	0	Pingfa „	0	0	3	0
Partridges „ ..	0	1	2	0	Charcoal per pecul	1	0	0	0
Pigeons per catty	0	1	0	0	Wood „	0	1	8	0
Pheasants, each	0	3	0	0	Fossil coal	0	2	4	0
Teal „	0	0	1	6					
Sole fish per catty	0	1	0	0					
White rice fish „	0	0	6	0					
Oysters „	0	0	5	0					
Salted fish „	0	1	6	0					

The money terms in the foregoing table are taels, mace, candareens, and cash; the taél is equivalent in English money to five shillings, the mace to six pence, the candareen one penny; the cash is about one-seventh of a farthing. The weights or measures are peculs, and catties; the pecul is equal to 133 pounds, one pound avoirdupois is equal to three-fourths of a catty.

The cost of a fast boat from Canton to Macao is thirty-six dollars for a foreigner, and for the same a native will be only charged nine dollars. Postage one mace per letter, while a native gives less than three candareens.

Notwithstanding the abolition of the Hong monopoly, by which all classes of natives are at liberty to trade, commerce still retains many of its former features, and dealers in particular articles still keep up their old branches of trade. The former Hong merchants are still the largest dealers in tea and silk goods, and caution is necessary in dealing with petty dealers who have com-

menced business. A large proportion of foreign trade with China will remain at Canton for some years, owing to the acquaintance subsisting between the native and foreign merchants, and the nnmerous artizans at Canton who find a market for their labour. The geographical position of Canton, its fine river and harbour at Whampoa, and the policy of the Chinese government in driving foreign commerce to the extremity of the empire, have contributed to render it the scene of an active, domestic, and foreign trade—where productions of every part of China may be exchanged for those of other regions.

Kwangtung (or Canton) province sends to the city silks, rice, fish, salt, fruits, vegetables, and various kinds of fancy wood, silver, iron, pearls, cassia, and betel nut. From *Fookein* are imported nearly all the black teas, camphor, sugar, indigo, tobacco, paper, lacquered ware, grass-cloth, minerals, woollen and cotton cloths of various kinds.

Chekeang province sends to Canton the best silks, paper, fans, wines, dates, golden flowered hams, and a most expensive tea called lung-tsing-cha. *Keangnan*, now divided into two provinces, *Ganhwuy* and *Kangsoo*, with a population of seventy-two millions, although at a great distance from Canton, sends a large quantity of green teas and silks, which obtain high prices. From *Shantung*, come fruits, drugs, wines, which are brought down the coast to Canton, and paid for in a coarse description of clothing, as the inhabitants are very poor. From *Chihle*, dates, ginsing, raisins, skins, wines, venison, drugs and tobacco are sent to Canton, and cloths, clocks, watches, and sundry other articles of foreign imports are returned. *Shanse* sends skins, wines, ardent spirits and musk. *Shense*, with a population of ten millions, supports a large trade with Canton, and sends brass, iron, precious stones, and drugs; and takes in return cotton and woollen cloths, books, and wines. *Kansuh* sends gold, quicksilver, musk, and tobacco. *Szechuen* sends gold, iron, tin, musk, and a great quantity of drugs. *Yunnan* supplies the shops of Canton with iron, brass, peacocks' feathers; and receives cotton and woollen cloths, books and tobacco.

Kwangsi has a population of seven million, and supplies rice in large quantities, and takes both native and foreign productions. *Kweichoo* the central province, sends gold, lead, tobacco and drugs. Hoonan and Hoopih, two provinces, supply large quantities of rhubarb, hemp, honey, tobacco and a great variety of singing birds. *Kiangsi* sends coarse cloth, hemp, China-ware, drugs, &c. The productions of Hoonan are nearly similar to those of the former named province.

Whampoa, the anchorage for foreign shipping, is in 23° 6·30′ north latitude, about fourteen miles east of Canton. It is a large safe anchorage, land locked, surrounded by picturesque scenery, and abounds in supplies of meat, poultry, fish, vegetables and fruits.

The geology of the country, between the city and the ocean, partakes of a primitive character, and the usual accompaniments of the presence of such rocks are seen in the insulated and barren peaks which line the coast. On the north side of the river the country rises into hills, which are formed of a compact graywacke, probably belonging to the lower secondary class of rocks. It is fine grained, and contains a large proportion of quartz. Lying beneath the graywacke, is the old red sandstone. This stratum is found varying from a bright red, fine grained rock, to a coarse conglomerate, full of large pebbles of quartz.

It is seen outcropping in the middle of the river, a short distance below the factories, and from thence it extends southward for many miles. This stratum also extends eastward, and most of the hills between Canton and Whampoa, have this rock for a substratum, with the graywacke above. Below the sandstone is found the granite. This rock outcrops more and more as the river descends towards the sea, until, below the Bogue, it is the only stratum. The subspecies are numerous, and in some places it passes into gneiss and hornblend. The usual variety, however, is a dark coloured fine grained rock, somewhat fissile. At the mouth of the river, the granite is found raising up into peaks, ranging in height from 1,200 to 2,000 feet.

The minerals as yet discovered in these different strata, are inconsiderable, consisting only of crystals of felspar, quartz, and pyrites, which occur sparingly in the granite.

Coal is plentiful and extensively used, (see vol. i. p. 100).

The soil in the neighbourhood of Canton is mostly alluvial, but on the declivity of the hills, it is decomposed sandstone, and of a red colour. On ascending the hills, the soil is found more nearly primitive, and consists mostly of the decomposed rock underneath. The number of islands which have been formed by depositions, is said to amount to several hundreds. On these islands, great numbers of erratic blocks of rocks are found, weighing several tons.

The climate of Canton, taking it all the year, with the exception of oppressive heats from June to September, is not unfavourable to health, especially when it is recollected that the position is in latitude 20° 7′ north. It is found that the mean annual temperature of Canton, is what more generally prevails in the 30th parallel. Europeans who have long resided at Canton and Macao, state that the cold in winter is most invigorating. Snow fell one winter, a few years ago; it being an unusual occurrence, the Cantonese, as usual, prognosticated some evil would follow. The longevity of the inhabitants is not great, but this may partly arise from their excessive sensuality, and the extreme destitution they are subject to in seasons of distress, inundations, &c.

The following table shews the range of the thermometer and barometer for ten years, at Canton.

Mean of the monthly range of the Thermometer and Barometer in Canton for ten years; namely, from 1829 *to* 1838, *both inclusive, with the predominance of N. and S. winds, and number of rainy days, and the average monthly range of the Thermometer and Barometer, and number of rainy days in* 1838 :—

Month.	1829 to 1838.				1838.						
	Thermometer.	Barometer.	Winds N. S. days.	Rainy days.	Mean of night.	Mean of noon.	Mean of night and noon.	Thermometer. Lowest, Night.	Thermometer. Highest, Noon.	Barometer.	Rainy days.
January . . .	52½	30·24	25·6	6	50	59	54¼	39 . . 12th	73 . . . . 1st	30·21	2
February . . .	55	30·17	18·10	7	55	61	58	32 . . 8th	72 . . . . 3rd	30·20	7
March	62½	30·11	17·14	11	61	68	64½	46 . . 6th	76 14, 25, 30, 31st	30·05	10
April	70	29·96	12·18	12	67	72	69½	50 . . 9th	85 . . . . 25th	29·96	15
May	77	29·89	10·21	16	76	83	79½	67 . . . 4th	89 . . . . 30th	29·88	19
June	81	29·87	4·26	14	78	85	81½	72 . . 13th	92 . . . . 29th	29·83	20
July	83	29·80	6·25	16	81	89	85	76 . . . 11th	96 . 16, 17, 18th	29·80	17
August . . .	82	29·80	10·21	14	80	89	84½	77 24th, 29th	94 . . . 4, 7th	29·83	11
September . .	80·033	29·82	17½·12½	10⅗	77	85⅘	81⅕	72 13th, 25th	93 . . . . 17th	29·84	14
October . . .	73¼	30·03	21 9/10·9	4 9/10	67	78	72½	60 . . 11th	86 . . . . 5th	29·79	1
November . .	65⅓	30·17·033	23 7/10·6⅖	3 8/10	59⅔	70½	65	44 26th, 27th	78 . . . 7, 8th	30·19½	2
December . .	57·134	30·20	25½	6 7/10	53 4/31	63 5/31	58·145	32 . . 18th	72 . . . 8, 27th	30·22	7

TABLE OF METEOROLOGICAL AVERAGES.—*Observations on the thermometer and barometer, for the year* 1831. *The averages were taken at Canton and Macao.*

	Table 1st. Thermometer at Canton.				Table 2nd. Thermometer at Macao.				Table 3rd Barometer at Canton.				Table 4th. Barometer at Macao.			
	Average noon.	Average night.	Highest.	Lowest.	Average 7 a m.	Average 2 p m.	Highest.	Lowest.	Mean.	Height.	Highest.	Lowest.	Mean.	Height.	Highest.	Lowest.
January.	64 50	75 29	62 65	72 53	30 22	30 50	30 00	30 26	30 50	30 05						
February	57 49	78 38	59 59	71 49	30 13	30 50	29 60	30 13	30 40	29 97						
March	72 60	82 44	66 69	77 55	30 17	30 50	29 95	30 20	30 48	30 05						
April.	77 68	86 55	73 75	83 66	30 03	30 25	29 85	30 08	30 27	29 93						
May.	78 72	88 64	77 78	85 71	29 92	30 10	29 80	29 95	30 06	29 85						
June.	85 79	90 74	82 84	89 74	29 88	30 00	29 75	29 92	30 00	29 85						
July	88 81	94 79	84 88	92 81	29 83	30 00	29 60	29 87	30 01	29 60						
August	85 78	90 75	82 85	90 79	29 85	30 00	29 55	29 88	30 02	29 56						
September. . . .	83 76	88 70	81 84	88 76	29 91	30 10	29 70	29 91	30 05	29 35						
October.	77 69	85 57	75 78	86 61	30 01	30 20	29 50	30 03	30 19	29 45						
November. . . .	67 57	80 40	65 68	80 57	30 16	30 55	29 95	30 14	30 36	29 95						
December	62 52	70 45	62 65	70 57	30 23	30 35	30 15	30 23	30 31	30 15						

The average of rain is the mean of its fall at Macao, during sixteen years, from an account by Mr. Beale. The number of rainy days, and continuance of winds, are the mean of four years, at Canton, taken from the diary of the Canton Register.

	Table 5th. Hygrometer at Macao.			Table 6th. Rain at Canton.		Table 7th. Continuance of winds at Canton, the mean of four years.							
	Average.	Highest.	Lowest.	Mean quantity in inches.	Mean number rainy days.	N. Days.	N.E. Days.	E. Days.	S. E. Days.	S. Days.	S.W. Days.	W Days.	N.W. Days.
January	76	95	46	0·6¾	3½	11	2	2½	4	4	0½	0	7
February	82	96	70	1·7	7	11	1½	2¼	5¼	1½	0¼	0	6¼
March	78	97	30	2·1½	6	8¾	1¾	3¾	10¾	2½	0	0½	3
April	81	95	50	5·6¾	10	5¼	1	4	14¾	1	0½	0	3½
May	81	95	57	11·8½	15½	4¾	2¾	3½	16¾	1¼	0¼	0¼	2¾
June	80	95	70	11·1	9	1¾	0¾	2	21¼	3	0¾	0	0½
July	83	97	70	7·7½	10	1¼	1	1¾	21	3	1¾	0¼	1
August	84	97	70	9·9	12½	3	2	3	18	1¼	0¼	0½	3
September	84	95	50	10·9¼	10	10⅜	4	3⅛	8¾	0	0	0	2¾
October	75	95	20	5·5	5	12	3¼	3⅛	5	1¾	0⅛	0⅛	5¾
November	61	95	20	2·4½	3	23	0½	0⅜	1¼	1⅞	0	0	3
December	71	96	30	0·9¾	3½	18½	2⅞	1⅛	2⅞	2¾	0	0⅛	3⅛

The restrictions on foreigners at Canton now confine them to the "Hongs," that is, to a few feet on the banks of the river, compared with which the filthiest part of Wapping would be respectable and bearable. This is shewn by the following recent proclamation from

"The acting district magistrate of Nan-hae, raised ten steps, recorded ten times, bearing by imperial authority the title of sub-prefect, and promoted to the prefecture of Lo-ting-chow, hereby issues his orders and prohibitions.

"Whereas, of the foreigners who come to Yue (Canton) to trade, only the head-merchants and their assistants *are permitted to come to the Hongs,* the others, sailors, &c., are all not allowed to come on shore; and even the head-merchants and their assistants may not presume to go to other places.

"As the triennial military examinations are now at hand, and as it is to be apprehended that the foreigners may, without ceremony, go to the eastern parade-ground to look at the horse and foot archery; and that, there being a great crowd, they may at once madly and fiercely have recourse to blows and wound the people; or that when the trials in archery are going on, that the foreigners, not being skilled in evading them, may be wounded by the arrows; it is therefore fitting that a prohibitory proclamation be issued.

"For this reason, I now issue my commands to the Hong-merchants, linguists, and the various Te-poos, to the boat-people, and the chair-bearers. Let all, acting in obedience hereto, and maintaining the laws, transmit my commands to the foreigners, and not allow them to repair to the eastern Parade-ground to view the archery. If any one should dare to offer a wilful opposition, I shall certainly have the Hong-merchants and linguists brought before me, prosecuted, and punished. The boat-people and chair-bearers are also not allowed presumptuously to carry the foreigners to the place, to look on. If any of them should disobey, they will, as soon as they are found out, be immediately apprehended and severely dealt with. Let all yield a reverential obedience. Do not oppose this especial edict."

25th October, 1846.

A true translation of a proclamation posted on the 13th November, in front of the Consoo House.

JOHN A. T. MEADOWS,
Public Translator.

Such are the modes in which the Treaty of Nankin is violated. Our merchants are now, in fact, in a worse position than they were before the war.

The trade of Canton is given at page 149. The consular regulations will be found in the Appendix.

AMOY.

Amoy is the principal emporium of the province of Foo-kein. The harbour is in the south-western corner of a considerable bay, in which are two large and many small islands. The largest and westernmost island, named Amoy, forms the northern limit of the harbour, which is sheltered on the east by the smaller of the two principal islands, while the mainland shelters it on the west and south. The town of Amoy (Heamun) is situated at the south end of the larger island, and the anchorage is immediately in front of the houses. The bay and harbour will easily accommodate from 70 to 100 vessels, the access and egress is easy. The entrance to the inner harbour is by a channel, 675 to 840 yards across, from Amoy to Kulangsu. On approaching Amoy from the southward, Chapel Island, called by the Chinese Tungting, and situated in latitude 24° 10′ 3″ north, and longitude 118° 13′ 5″ east, or 9′ 44″ east of the south-west point of Kulang-su, may be seen from four to five leagues; it has an even surface, is about 200 feet high, and its circumference three cables. It is perforated at its south-east extreme, which shows when it bears E., N.E., or W., S.W. When in its neighbourhood, a pagoda will be seen, which is elevated 1,720 feet above the sea, and is a good mark for the entrance.

The Position and General Government of Amoy. — The city of Amoy is situated in latitude 24° 10′ 3″ north, and longitude 118° 13′ 5″ east, or 9′ 44″ east of the south-west point of Kulang-su, and may be seen by vessels five leagues distance. It is built at the mouth of two rivers, the one on the south-west side communicating with the large and wealthy city of Tchang-chaw-foo, thirty miles distant only; that in the north side flows through a very populous district.

A ridge of hills about 600 feet high, skirt the city with broken and abrupt eminences, covered with boulder stones. The houses are built on a declivity, sloping to the harbour. The outer town is divided from the city by a chain of rocks, with a paved pass to a covered gateway at the summit, and skirted by the outer harbour; the city is bounded by the inner harbour and an estuary, which deeply indents the island. The city, including the outer town and north-east suburb, is supposed to be about nine miles in circumference. The citadel which commands the inner town and suburb, is about a mile in circumference; the walls castellated; fifteen to thirty feet high, according to the inequality of the ground, and with an inner rampart all the way around, except where the houses are close to the wall. There are four gates, with, as usual, to each, an exterior gate at right angles to the inner gate as an outwork. The citadel is commanded by hills about a mile distant.

The district is governed by the *Taoutai*, who is the Intendant of

a circuit comprising three large cities; he resides chiefly at Amoy, and is a shrewd and intelligent Tartar, of the second order of the Blue Button; his salary is about £1,300 sterling per annum.

The police is under the Hai-Fang (magistrate), his salary is uncertain,(the present official paid 12,000 dollars for his appointment), but he is purveyor of provisions for the troops.

The customs are superintended by the Hai Keon, who is generally a military officer; and remains only six months in office; the entire of the business is generally attended to by old officials; but the present Hai-Keon is stated to be a very intelligent, obliging officer.

The Chinese naval force of Amoy is governed by an admiral who is of the first order of the Red Button; and his force consists of about twenty junks, mounting from six to fourteen guns each, these vessels are built at Fuh-choo-foo; for Chinese war-vessels they are well equipped, some having their guns mounted on slides.

The admiral frequently, on returning from his periodical cruises, reports that he had great encounters with pirates, but they do not appear to fear his prowess, as they are a most formidable and numerous gang.

The military force is commanded by the Chamfoo; it consists of 5,000 men; a muster takes place twice a year, when they are exercised: the force is divided into five battalions, viz.—

The centre commanded by the Chamfoo or Colonel; 1st rear battalion by the lieutenant-colonel; 2nd ditto, by ditto; two wings each by ditto. Each battalion has one captain, two lieutenants, 350 matchlockmen, 350 bowmen, 240 spearmen, and 40 gunners.

The colonel receives 120 dollars per month; lieutenant-colonel 80 dollars; captain 60 dollars; and lieutenant 40 dollars. The privates have very small pay, and receive one pound and a quarter of rice per diem, and one jacket per annum. When not required for duty, the privates are allowed to attend to their own business.

The municipal government is weak and inefficient, and may be styled one of fraud; and, in individual cases, of force. The authorities could not quell a riot, and conflicts occur in the streets attended with bloodshed. The strongest party receive bribes to remain quiet. A great difficulty presents itself in bringing the authorities to a proper sense of their duty towards foreigners.

Amoy contains about 250,000 souls, the greater part of whom are engaged in the coasting trade; it is admirably situated for both the foreign and native trade, having deep water within fifty yards of the houses; the junks lie in tiers, and extend for more than a mile off the town. The streets are narrow, and in many places filthy, and the houses indicate a place falling to decay. Mr. T. Lay, Her Majesty's consul, said, that opium was ruining the city, and "hamstringing the whole nation." The buildings at Amoy, called Hachong, forming the establishment of the sub-prefect, were so spacious as to furnish ample quarters for the whole of Her

Majesty's 65th regiment. The commandant's office near the southern gate, was occupied by the sappers and miners; the Admiral's office in the citadel is an immense building, and was more than sufficient for the 18th regiment and staff; and near this was the residence of the Rear Admiral of Formosa, a titular guardian and Duke of the empire. Outside the fort is the intendant's office, and near it a foundry. Large quantities of timber were seen in the navy yard.

On our taking possession of Amoy, on the south side of the island, upon which the city of Amoy stands, was a battery more than 1,100 yards long, with a wall fourteen feet at the base, mounting ninety guns: opposite this was another fort and battery of forty-two guns; and westward were several others. The long battery was found to be a masterly piece of work, and would do credit to European engineers. There were five arsenals with large quantities of powder, and materials for making more; a considerable stock of gingals, matchlocks, varieties of fire-arms, swords, bows and arrows, spears, shields, and military clothing. There was also a foundry with moulds and materials for casting ordnance. The guns captured by us on the 26th August, 1841, without any nameable loss on our side, were on Amoy island 211, on Kulungsoo 76, batteries south west side of bay 41, Little Gouve 15.

Total mounted	343
Total not mounted	157
	500

Of these 4 were 86 pounders, 2 of 48 lbs., 6 of 34 lbs., and one 24 pounder.

The Revenue and Taxes of Amoy.—The houses of the city of Amoy are divided into eighteen districts, and over each is a Tepoo, or head man, who registers the inhabitants, and is entrusted with the peace and good order of his district; the gates of each street are shut at night. The houses are divided into three classes; the first class pay annually two dollars and a half, second class one dollar and a half, third class one dollar: this tax is collected by the *Tepoos,* and handed over to the *Hai Fong.* The recognized taxes are a house, poll and a land tax. The authorities privately derive an income from many sources, which are most oppressive and extortionate, opium houses, gambling houses, and licenses to foreign junks, or junks trading abroad; the perversion of justice is said to be one of the perquisites of office. The Chinese always expressed the greatest astonishment, that no presents were received after the recovery of their debts from English ships.

The Morality and Slavery of the Inhabitants of Amoy.—Captain Gribble, the late consul, states, the morals of the

people are at the lowest possible ebb; murder, robbery, and child-murder, are most frequent, the latter fearfully so; great pains have been taken to ascertain the amount of child-murder per annum, and from the best sources it appears to amount to 40 per cent. of the females which are destroyed immediately after birth. The common price of a girl of fourteen years of age, is from 80 to 120 dollars.

Dr. Gutzlaff, Chinese Secretary to the British Government, and one of the best Chinese scholars, thus speaks of Amoy. "I was shocked at the spectacle of a new-born babe, which shortly before had been killed, and in answer to a question, the bystanders answered 'it is only a girl.'" On our occupation of Amoy, we observed a house called a foundling hospital, and near it a pond green with duck weed, in which were discovered the bodies of several infants, sewed up in mats, which had been recently drowned.

It is a general custom in this district to drown female infants immediately after birth; even respectable families seldom take the trouble, as they express themselves, to rear these useless girls: the numerous emigration of the male population renders it probable, that their daughters would not be married, if permitted to live; they therefore select this as the shortest way to avoid rearing them. The unnatural crime is so common among them, that it is perpetrated without either feeling or remorse. Neither the government, nor the moral sayings of their sages, have put a stop to this infamous system. The birth of a boy is considered a most fortunate event in a family, and no care is too great for him; the traffic in females is too disgusting to detail, the facts are revolting to humanity.

Kulangsu is situated opposite to, and commands the town of Amoy. The island is of an irregular oval form, stretching nearly east and west, and is about two miles long, and nearly four in circumference. It is naturally barren, but in several places carefully cultivated, and good water is procurable by digging only a few feet from the surface. The geological formation is similar to that of Hong Kong, viz., rotten granite, and red sandstone; the former predominating, and crumbling to the touch. The north-east and eastern sides of the island are represented at all times most unhealthy, but particularly during the south-west monsoon; fever and cholera prevail to an alarming extent. The only production is the sweet potatoe. The inhabitants of Amoy and Kulangsu are dependent on the neighbouring island of Formosa, for almost all the necessaries of life. There is, however, an active native commerce; no portion of China, of the same extent, can surpass the natives, in wealth and enterprise. Their junks, which are distinguished from the junks of all other provinces by being painted green at the bow, and are termed green heads, (the Canton junks are called red-heads,) may be met with all along the coast of China.

Kulangsu is distinguished by a pile of rocks, forming its sum-

mit, of immense size and completely disintegrated. The most remarkable things met with on the island are the tombstones of some Englishmen, who appear to have been interred there upwards of 150 years ago, the well-known characteristic custom of the Chinese in paying respect to the dead, is here strikingly developed, as the stones were a few years ago replaced, and their present appearance shews they are still attended to. An English captain of one of the vessels at Amoy, received the epithet of "Old Mortality," from his praiseworthy endeavours to re-engrave the almost worn-out inscriptions on these tombstones, and thus to preserve the names of our enterprising countrymen, who perished in a foreign land.

THE IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF AMOY.—The city of Amoy is a large entrepôt, and likely to continue so. The Native imports from sea are:—Rice from Formosa in large quantities; sugar from ditto; camphor from ditto; and from Fuh-chow, alum and cotton from Shanghai; which is finer than the Indian; the staple is short, and the Bengal cotton is required to mix with it, although in the north the native is preferred. The cotton arrives in November and December; grain, pulse, oil-cake, and a coarse description of cotton goods are imported from the northern ports.

The foreign imports are, Bengal and Bombay cotton, (Bengal preferred) English cotton goods of every description; cotton yarn, iron, lead, steel, betelnut; liquid indigo from Manilla, pepper, rattans, rice, and grain, beche-de-mer, sharks' fins, buffalo horns, deers' ditto.

THE NATIVE EXPORTS OF AMOY, are camphor, sugar in tubs from Formosa, and also from the large sugar district of Tehang chow-foo, conveyed hence to Shanghai and the gulf of Ptche le. Sugar candy of the finest quality and much cheaper than at Canton. Earthenware to the straits of Malacca. Paper umbrellas (25,000 in one ship) paper, joss paper, joss stick, &c. and a great variety of sundries for the consumption of the Chinese settled at other ports.

Amoy is within fifteen days porterage of the large congou tea country, and is therefore well adapted for exporting that very extensive article of commerce.

Circulating medium.—doubloons, guilders, and many Spanish and Dutch coins are in frequent use. The Spanish and Mexican dollars, with the rupee, are the current coins.

The native superintendent of trade at Amoy made the following representation to his government in July, 1844. "Amoy has hitherto paid 90,000 taels per annum in Customs, which is one-half of all the receipts throughout the whole province. But on account of the disturbance of the barbarians, this sum has for two years not been collected. It is therefore thought necessary, notwithstanding the presence of the alien craft, under the present financial pressure, to have the stipulated quota raised. The island

of Kulangsu is close to Amoy, and there is much intercourse with the barbarians—if the barbarian eye does not restrain them, the mandarins cannot remain in those places. The custom-house that formerly existed at Kulangsu was removed, as it was apprehended, that traitorous natives would have commercial intercourse with the barbarians and defraud the revenue; since that time matters have gone on well.

"Most of the large establishments have been ruined on account of the war, and merchants who come from other provinces to Amoy, cannot on account of the presence of the barbarians throw away their fears, and this is the reason why the duties last year only amounted to 34,000 taels. As Kulangsu will be restored to us, we will make arrangements for levying the customs in the same manner as of old.

"Paouchang, Tartar general of the Fuhchoo garrison and superintendent of customs, makes this representation to the Emperor."

Captain Gribble, one of the most intelligent and able consuls we have had in China, and to whom I am indebted for a great part of the preceding remarks, has also favoured me with the following observations. "There are a few causes which still interfere with the English trade at the port of Amoy. The merchants there, and at other places near it, have partners resident at Canton; these have established hongs or companies, and their known stability enables them to obtain credit from the wealthy merchants at Canton, who allow them to hypothecate goods, chargeable with a small rate of interest per mensem, from ½ to 1 per cent; goods are thus easily obtained; the transit is moderate, and the Canton merchant, who has advanced either the goods or the money to purchase them, has his partner also on the coast, who retains the *lien* till the advance is repaid. By the distribution of goods at a greater number of ports, this system will eventually be superseded, as the goods will be laid down cheaper than they can be procured from Canton, and the Chinese merchant has only to turn his capital in a new direction, to those vast territories which lie at a distance from the great thoroughfare, and to the westward of the Yangtzekang.

"Secondly—the two great staples, tea and silk, are the principal mode of remittance for English and foreign manufactures, and we require a more intimate acquaintance with the Chinese, and *to penetrate farther into their country to investigate their internal resources,* and to procure some equivalent for manufactures which are largely sought for, and which can be put into their hands at a cheaper rate than their native products. This is very applicable to Canton, Amoy, and Shanghai, which have the large manufacturing districts of Fahshan, Tchang chow foo, and Soochaw foo at a short distance. Opium is taken in barter for tea at Canton, and silk at Shanghai; and it is sold in every part of Amoy; the boats ply as commonly as the ferry boats. It is carried through

the streets, and it is reported that the mandarins receive about 5*d.* sterling per ball. At Amoy the consumption is 150 chests per month, at an average of £170 sterling per chest, and all is purchased with ready money.

"There are two stations north of Amoy, one eighty miles distant, Chin Chew from whence Fuh choo foo is supplied with cotton, and cotton goods, and Chimmo forty miles to the south. The demand at these stations for opium is larger than at Amoy. At present there appears to be a drain for the money and silver from Amoy to pay for opium."

FUHCHOO-FOO.

THE province of Fookein, originally called the *Ban* country, is bounded on the E., by the sea; on the N., by the departments of Funning and Kienning; on the W., by Yungchun; on the S., by Hinghwa. It is the smallest, but most industrious, and, perhaps, wealthy province in the empire; being famed for its trade, fisheries, and navigation. The air is warm, pure, and healthy; its principal productions are, black tea, musk, precious stones, quicksilver, iron, tin, silk, hemp, various fruits, including oranges, which have the delicious flavour of Muscat grapes. The city of Fuhchoo, the capital of the province, and of the department, stands about thirty-five miles from the sea, on the banks of the river Min, in lat. 26° 02′ 24″ N., E. long. 119° 25′. Five miles westward is Pagoda Island, where the river re-unites with a branch that had separated from it several miles above the city. There is a range of hills and mountains, forming nearly an amphitheatre, distant about four miles from the city, running from 1,000 to 5,000 feet, highest range; N.N.E. the river flows along the base of hills W. to S. The plain around the city is about four miles wide, covered with rice fields, and picturesquely interspersed with groves of trees and farmhouses.

The city is about nine to ten miles in circumference, with a castellated wall and gates, as at Amoy. The suburbs are as large as the city, and both are commanded by a fortified hill in the city, about 500 feet in elevation, with a watch-tower distant about one mile from the hill, on which the British consul resides. The celebrated bridge of Fuhchoo bears from the consulate E.N.E. It is erected on granite pillars across the river, where an island occurs; on one side the island there are thirty-six openings, and on the other, nine. They cannot be called arches, being formed of huge slabs laid from pillar to pillar, clamped together by bars of iron. One half the bridge is covered with shops, somewhat after the manner seen in pictures of Old London Bridge. The view from this spot, of the city of Fuhchoo, with its varied elevations and fantastic structures—the bold outline of mountains and wooded

heights—the winding river covered with numerous and gaily-painted junks—the green rice fields, and the busy swarming population, is probably not to be paralleled in any part of China.

The city within the walls is not inferior to any other I have seen in China: it is very superior to Amoy; has larger shops and finer streets than Shanghai, and its main street, leading to the residence of the viceroy, is better than any thoroughfare in Ningpo. The houses are all good, comparatively, but the dwellings of the high functionaries, although spacious, appear dirty, and much dilapidated.

The streets in the suburbs are narrow and dirty; the houses one and two stories high; and crowded streets are filled with stalls, cooking utensils, &c. The city is approached from the bridge through a winding street of about two miles in length, along which there is a constant stream of busy commerce. The shops of each trade, as in other Chinese towns, are generally congregated; not unfrequently ten or twelve may be seen in succession; they are well stocked with goods. There are few manufactures; most of the commodities dealt in being brought from Soochoo, Canton, and other places.

Our consulate in the city, bears from our anchorage near the bridge N. by W., about three miles distant, on a hill 400 feet high, wooded, and commanding a view of the city, and of a plain four miles wide, which extends from W. to S. The plain is covered with rice, dotted with umbrageous trees, and occasionally a few houses; the centre of the hill commanding the city, is distant from the consular hill about 1000 yards, S.S.W., and distant from the river above bridge the same distance. Within the city is another lofty hill, with a watch-tower, and the city wall along its slope, distant about one mile, and bearing N.N.W. The city walls appear to be six or seven miles in circumference. There is a range of mountains and hills, forming nearly an amphitheatre, distant three to five miles from the city, ranging from 1,000 to 5,000 feet, highest range N.N.E.; river running along base of hills W. to S. The lofty table-looking land, about 4000 feet high, distant at least ten miles, bears from Consulate Hill, S.E. These notes of the bearings were taken with a compass, furnished me by the hospitable and intelligent British consul, Mr. Alcock.

The streets in the city are rather wider and better than those in the suburbs; one street of about a mile in length, leading from a gate near the consulate to the viceroy's residence, is the widest street I have seen in China; the shops large and varied—with the usual long sign-board in red or black lettering on gold or purple ground, with an emblem of the shopkeeper painted at top or bottom of board, such as a cap, boot, &c. As usual, several trades are found together. There are more women in the streets than I have seen elsewhere, and, from infancy to extreme age, the head is tastefully

decorated with various flowers. The dress of the peasant girls who ply with vegetables, fruit, flowers, and water, is very neat; the hair is gathered in a knot on the top, adorned with flowers, sometimes worn only on one side of the head, sometimes on both, sometimes on the crown. White and red preferred. Large earrings; a small collar; a close tunic, of blue, with short tucked-up sleeves; a small white apron, and short trousers nearly reaching to the knee, to which the tunic does not reach. The girdle at the waist tight drawn, and giving a good form to the body. The countenance olive-coloured, frank, and expressive of independence, certainly prettier than any other I have seen in China; their gait bold and free; large feet and well-formed legs, with stout calves. Teeth good, and a laughing face: altogether they are pretty, buxom, interesting wenches, and, if white, would be admired in any town in England. I saw no men who could be considered the counterpart of these women; the shop-keepers are of a pale, flabby appearance; the peasants are short, stout, bronzed, and rough-looking.

The river Min is bounded by high and bold hills on each side, and has been not inaptly termed the Switzerland of China. The anchorage is in lat. 26° 6′ N., long. 119° 53′ E. Westward is Pagoda Island, beyond which the river reunites with a branch that had separated from it several miles above the city. The branches extend over half the province. As much interest is felt with regard to Fuhchoo, and our reception there, the following remarks are transcribed from my rough note-book, as written on the spot during my visit to the city in May, 1845.

Wednesday, 28th May, 1845.—Hon. Co.'s steamer, *Medusa*, Lieut. Hewitt, at nine A.M., in sight of the island of "*Ocksew*."—Up at four A.M. enjoying the freshness of the morning.—Passed several fishing vessels, their masts down, and their frail barks at anchor, ten to fifteen miles from land, in twenty fathoms, fishing by line and trawl.—Temperature delightful: fresh breeze all day.

At 11·30 P.M., anchored off the Dog Islands, within twenty miles of the entrance of the Min River, leading to Fuh-choo. Found here Her Majesty's ship, "Iris," Captain Rodney Munday, having on board the Honourable General D'Aguilar, Lord Cochrane, and Captain Charles D'Aguilar, returning from Chusan.—Snug anchorage off White Dog Islands, in the north-east monsoon.

Thursday, 29th May, 1845.—Eight A.M., up steam with General D'Aguilar, Lord Cochrane, Captain Munday, and Captain D'Aguilar, for the Min river. An extensive bank runs off the Min, to the White Dog Islands. The land is high, rugged, with but little verdure. Here and there patches of cultivation and clumps of fir trees. There are two entrances to the Min, one is said to be only adapted for boats. Tide strong against us. At 11·30 A.M. entered the Min: banks high-ranging from 500 to 3000 feet. About five miles from the embouchure, twenty miles

from "White Dogs," Wou-fou-mun pass narrows with an elbow to about 550 yards, with seventeen fathoms of water, in other places river one to one and a half mile wide. From Wou-fou-mun pass to Pagoda reach about fifteen miles, three to twenty fathoms—river winding. One rock has only two and a quarter fathoms; fifty vessels might lie at anchor off Pagoda. The left bank more lofty and precipitous than the right, a range of hills gradually increasing into mountains rising along the river bank, sometimes close to the water, and as we approached Fuhchoo, at a distance of one to two miles, with an intervening slip of alluvial ground, apparently recovered from the river, and covered with rice. Several forts, but nearly all in ruins, crown different crests and heights. They are principally situated on the left bank, and if properly constructed and manned, would render the passage of the Min impassable. The soundings are very varied, frequently and suddenly ranging from two feet to two fathoms. The "Medusa" although only drawing 4½ feet was several times aground, but backed off, sounded for deeper water and again pushed ahead, under her excellent commander, Lieutenant Hewett, Indian Navy. As we ascended the stream, the mountains on either shore became more lofty and precipitous; assuming the form of gigantic walls with buttresses, and deeply serrated. One remarkable mountain about 3000 feet on the right bank, has a tabular form with three deeply-crested ridges.

Cultivation in the proper season appears to be carried by terraces some distance up the mountains; which are generally bare, with a crumpled face, a piebald, or white and brown hue, presenting a rude and somewhat barbarous, uninviting aspect.

Several half fishing, half agricultural villages along the river bank, but by no means thickly populated. The people everywhere stared with astonishment.

About midday, low water, seabreeze set in strong.

After grounding several times, but never for more than a few minutes, anchored off the long bridge at Fuhchoo in three fathoms at 5 P.M. Not many junks in the river. Most of them laden with Chinese wood and timber piled on the vessels, and lashed in large rafts on either side.

Fired a gun to announce our arrival to Mr. Consul Alcock, whose residence is on a wooded hill in the city. Small wooden shed on the river bank, where Mr. Consul Lay resided, opposite our anchorage. Most discreditable that any British functionary, however low his rank, would allow himself to be located in such a wretched spot. Such proceedings are calculated to affect our character with the Chinese.

A canoe with four Loochoo men came alongside to satisfy their curiosity. They are a different looking people from the Chinese, have more of an aboriginal or untamed appearance. The cheek-bones high, the head better formed, and the complexion darker

than the Chinese. They do not shave their foreheads like the Chinese, but tie their stiff, wiry, black hair in a knot on the top of the head, where it is secured by long gold pins, like bodkins. They have no beard or whiskers, a few scattered hairs on the chin. Their astonishment was very great. Many boats around us for curiosity:—all the women, young and old, have artificial flowers in their hair. They are fairer than the people of Canton, and a little more expression in their countenances. The people do not understand a word of the Canton dialect, but as the written character is the same throughout China, and as every person, however poor or ragged, reads and writes, we communicated by writing through our Canton domestics.

At 6 P.M. General D'Aguilar and suite went on shore to proceed to British consulate, three miles distant. Mr. Alcock had sent four chairs to the wharf, but no interpreter or official messenger. On arriving at the city gates it was past sun-set, and the Tartar officer refused to open the gates; after remaining there in their chairs nearly two hours, General D'Aguilar and suite returned to the "Medusa." When the General and suite were at the city gates, great crowds collected round them, some leaped on the chairs, others tried to expose the persons inside to their view by opening the hanging fronts, there was not the slighest respect or decency of demeanour in the people. It was rude and uncivil in the extreme.

Friday, 30th of May, 1845.—General and suite went on shore at daylight to the consulate. At noon Lieutenant Hewitt, Dr. Bankhead of the "Iris," Mr. Glenn a merchant, and myself, went on shore to the consulate. Chairs were plying for hire on the bridge. I got into one; my companions walked before me. Crowds came out of their shops to see us, many followed through the streets, shouting "fanyoung," which seems a substitute for the "fanqui" (white devil) of Canton. A piece of brick fell off Lieutenant Hewitt's umbrella, which had been thrown at him. The sun was intensely hot. After three miles walk reached the consulate on a hill.

On returning in the evening (Dr. Bankhead, Mr. Glenn, and myself), crowds followed us, pushing against us—exceedingly rude —very ready for mischief—one of them tore a button from my coat, and then escaped among the crowd.

When Lieutenant Hewitt was returning about half past seven home along the bridge, a man leaped on his shoulders, and grasped his epaulet; Lieutenant Hewitt shook him off, dealt him a severe blow, recovered his cap, which had fallen off in the scuffle, and then made his way to the ship, which he was within sight, and hail. The ruffian tore away some of the bullion from the epaulet.

When the officers of the "Iris" were passing peaceably through the streets last week they were pelted and mobbed; and about a fortnight since, when Mr. Harry Parkes, the interpreter, was out

walking, he was met by a number of Tartars, who insulted him, pushed some of their comrades violently against him, although he is a boy in size and appearance, but probably by his being enabled to address them in their own language he was enabled to return unmolested. Lieutenant Hewitt's cockswain, a steady man, was proceeding to-day to the consulate in charge of 4,000 dollars, and on getting out of the chair he was in, to look after the money, mud and stones were flung at him, by some of which he was struck on the face and head.

The day Mr. Alcock landed and occupied the consulate, crowds collected round the house, and commenced pelting stones; Mr. Alcock sent for the prefect of the city, and the magistrates having brought some police, cleared the grounds of the mob.

Saturday, May 31.—Accompanied the General and suite, and Mr. Alcock, to-day, on ceremonial visits to Lew-yun-ko, viceroy of Fokien, and of the adjacent province, to King-muh, the Tartar general of the province, and to Sew-ke-yu, late treasurer, but now officiating governor of the province.

On arriving at viceroy's, we were purposely stopped at the *outer* court, and had to walk some distance through the rabble, and in the sun, to get to the residence, which has the appearance of a large barn, with rudely painted roofs, and a few paper and silk lanterns hanging around. We were first ushered into a mean looking waiting room, where no one received us, and thence to another equally mean apartment, with but one window, no matting, carpetting, or adornment of any kind. The viceroy's manner was as usual studied. He did not sit on the "dais," or elevated seat, with the general beside him, but on a chair at the opposite side of the room, which was as hot as an oven, and soon obliged the viceroy and three official mandarins to use fans, but none were offered to us.

The viceroy is fifty-one years of age, of large frame, and with some Tartar blood manifested in his countenance. High cheek-bones, well fleshed, large head, with the upper part or coronal sloping to a ridge.* In order to show the footing on which we were received, his dress was of the plainest character; large black satin boots, a long white garment, reaching the knees, then another of drab silk, and then another of dark coloured silk. No insignia of

* The personal appearance of a mandarin named Woo, at Canton, will serve for many other officials in China. I noted the following while sitting opposite to him. *Stature*, five feet eight inches; *form*, bulky, and without any defined outline; *age*, about forty; *head*, large; *neck*, bull-shaped; *face*, sensual; *forehead*, high and narrow; *comparative organ*, full; *causation*, small; *form and locality*, marked; *pride*, well developed; *animal region*, excessive; *eyes*, small, black, and inward angularity; *eyebrows*, high on the forehead and close; *cheek-bones*, high and well fleshed; *ears*, long, thick, and pendulous; *nose*, fat, shapeless, and truncated; *mouth*, formless; *lips*, thick; *chin*, round and beardless; no whiskers; *hands*, moderate in size, and fatty; voice coarse; manners cold, and occasionally abrupt, or guardedly contemptuous.

rank whatever. In this manner the Chinese mark the esteem or respect they have for their guests. Whenever they wish to receive a guest with honour, they dress themselves in their official costumes, or in handsome flowered garments. After a few questions from the general, the viceroy was made acquainted with the insults we had received. He professed astonishment, and enquired whether it was at *Canton* or at Foochoo. This was a ruse, or else two of the city magistrates of rank, there seated with us, and who had visited the consulate yesterday, and were made acquainted with the transaction by the consul, had never reported it to the viceroy.

When the viceroy found that we were not disposed to take insult and outrage quietly—and that his endeavours to "pooh, pooh" it were ineffectual, he assumed a serious aspect, spoke to the city magistrate then present—and turning to the consul, said "If your people land without our knowledge we cannot be answerable; but if you will give notice whenever any Englishmen wish to land, I will cause them to be attended by police." This was contrary to the treaty, as we were to have perfect security and free ingress, without being guarded and watched by police spies.

The viceroy said he would issue a proclamation to the people calling on them to respect us,—and not to annoy or molest us when walking through the streets—that we were now at peace and ought to be one people. He said he would be glad to see trade established, for while other viceroys were sending custom duties to Peking, he had none to remit. He admired the general's cocked hat and feathers,—examined the aigulet worn on the right shoulder, and evinced considerable curiosity. He then wished us to proceed into another apartment, where an entertainment was spread for us. To this we objected, lest he would not have accompanied us. The general said he was pressed for time, as he had two more visits to make. The viceroy then hoped we would take a cup of wine with him. To this we could not object. Hot "samshoo" was then brought in—with two small saucers for each person, one containing thin fried slices of bacon, the other a sweet, like candied citron. Healths were pledged around, some of the mandarins held also a piece of bacon out on the small two pronged silver forks towards us—after the manner they do their wine cups, and which is an invitation to eat. Apparently great cordiality prevailed, and the stiff constrained manner at first manifest, was diminished. The viceroy was invited to visit the steamer. He said, had we been stopping a few days he would do so with great pleasure, but at present as we were leaving tomorrow morning it would be impossible,—he being then very busy,—but on the next occasion of a steamer coming up, he would avail himself of our polite offer. We then retired,—the viceroy accompanying us farther from his chamber than the place at which he received us,—the chairs were removed to the inner court, so that we had not so far to walk in the sun. The dwelling of the

viceroy is a wretched building. No art or taste displayed,—it is filthy, gloomy-looking—and the grass growing in the court yard (if it can be dignified with that name), while rubbish and filth abound. Several large trees still form part of a fine avenue.

We next proceeded to the Tartar general or commander of the forces, distant about a mile from the viceroy's—in another quarter of the city. When approaching—a large gong was struck by some person in our rear. The Tartar residence as usual had a pallisading and gates—in three successive courts,—within each of which there were some rude looking wooden buildings—as dwellings for the Tartars. The yards were paved, and grass growing up through the paving. A few large trees imperfectly imitated an avenue. On arriving at the principal gate it was *closed* purposely, and our chairs were stopped outside, and we were obliged to walk on foot through a side gate. No guns of salute were fired,—(as when I visited the Toutie at Shanghai), and only a few domestics received us. While walking up the long yard in the sun I mentioned to the General and to Mr. Parkes that our reception was insulting. At the residence we were shown into a sort of porter's lodge—and there saw two Mandarins of inferior rank—whom the General had met at Amoy, and whose personal behaviour was civil; they were apparently glad at seeing us. We were then led up a *side passage* to the hall—but instead of being shown into a central apartment, we were conducted into a narrow, mean-looking, small apartment, where the Tartar general received us. At first he would not sit down with us—until he saw we refused to sit—and then with an ill grace he sat down. He is a man about fifty-eight years of age, rather short stature, feeble expression of countenance, small, cunning eyes, and a disagreeable tout ensemble. His dress was as mean as possible—in order to mark his appreciation of us. On being seated—instead of addressing himself to the general, he looked towards Mr. Alcock and said in a sneering tone, and with a malicious manner, "I suppose you have nothing to do, for I hear you are engaged in drawing." This or any other accomplishment is not esteemed as a gentlemanly art, and the design of the observation was evident. Mr. Alcock, who draws or rather pencils with good taste, had been recently making some sketches of some of the inferior Mandarins. The Tartar at first scarcely deigned to reply to any observations. The General put several questions, to which the Tartar replied that there were about 2,000 Tartar soldiers—that they assembled at stated periods for drill,—that their next meeting would be in half a moon—and that if we were here then we might see them. There was a table in the centre of the room, and while the conversation was going on, there were placed with some taste several sorts of sweetmeats, fruits, and cakes. These we were invited to partake of—and I asked, would not the Tartar general do so? This he declined, and said he hoped we would excuse his retiring. General

D'Aguilar was about to sit down, and had taken a nut or small fruit off one of the piled heaps, which he commenced eating, when I begged him not to sit down or partake of anything whatever, as the Tartar general was designedly insulting us by refusing to sit down with us. The General and Mr. Alcock then refused to sit down, said they were pressed for time, and begged to be excused taking anything. We then retired, and had to pass out at the side entrances, the sun pouring nearly vertical rays on General D'Aguilar and the consul, who behaved with great courtesy and kindness—which were not at all appreciated.

We departed, as we came, without any mark of respect. We next proceeded to the lieutenant-governor's, which is in the neighbourhood of the viceroy's. Here also we were obliged to get out of our chairs outside the dwelling, and pass through side entrances, walking in a burning sun.

At this mansion we were shown into a better apartment than at either of the other dwellings; but still a mere side office of the residence. After a few compliments, and refusal to partake of an entertainment laid out in another room, we retired. Several women and children were in one of the courts gazing at us. As we passed through the streets of the city, they were everywhere lined two to four deep gazing at us, with staring eyes, mouths wide open—and with all possible varieties of astonished countenances. No language would convey the wonderment which these usually automaton faces manifested. There were seven palanquins each at a little distance from the other, and the people had time to make their remarks.

Mr. Alcock says he thinks, and has indeed satisfied himself, that "tea may be procured here twenty-five per cent cheaper than at Canton"—that "there is no bullion to pay for British goods, but any quantity of tea may be obtained"—that the "Mandarins treat everything with nonchalance"—that "every junk meeting another weaker than itself, becomes a pirate"—and that "Fuhchoo is no use as a political station." "It is a timber port."

Mr. Harry Parkes, who is intelligent far beyond his years, says, "there are no manufactures—banking system general,—bank notes from 400 cash upwards, some bankers deal on credit, issue more notes than they can meet with bullion, and fail." He says the "Mandarins pretend friendship, but hate us,—they use all sorts of duplicity—and not a word they say can be believed. Does not agree in the high opinion expressed of Keying—thinks him very artful. In state papers transmitted to Peking, the truth regarding us is never stated; they seem to take a delight in deception; and the people would treat us well but for their instigation. The Fokiens hate the Cantonese, (whose language they do not understand); if a Fokien be struck, he will say, 'two can play at that game.'"

There are no beasts of burthen to convey goods to market from

the interior, but multitudes of men and women crowd every thoroughfare leading to the city, with their ponderous burthens of fish and vegetables, consisting of sweet potatoes, cucumbers, (nearly two feet in length), water melons, french beans, (with pods from ten to sixteen inches long), garlic, onions, turnips (very large), carrots, sea kale, cabbage, (in immense quantities), peas, lupins, (very large) radishes white and red, &c. The supply of fish is large in quantity, but there are few varieties of delicate fish; the turtle is plentiful, and much esteemed; crabs are of prodigious size: the climate compels the pickling of fish, so that the markets are not well supplied with fresh-caught fish.

Flesh is very little consumed by the working classes; beef is inferior, goat-flesh very common and in general use; pork excellent, and in great abundance; dogs or cats, as eatable commodities, do not appear in the public markets. Of fruits the quantity is very great, and a large trade is carried on in them preserved. Fuhchoo is celebrated for "lichees;" grapes are very abundant, but inferior to those of the Cape of Good Hope, owing probably to the want of care in the training and cultivation. The neglect of enclosing their gardens "and the great aptitude the Chinese have of gratifying their taste at their neighbour's expense," prevents many fruits being left to ripen on the trees.

Fuhchoo-foo possesses some valuable hot sulphureous springs, which are represented to be equal to those of Aix la Chapelle; one nearly at boiling heat, is without taste or odour. It has been remarked that the natives are more free from cutaneous disorders than in most other parts of China. The hot spring is made use of to wash clothes, for which it is well adapted, and the very expensive price of fuel, in Fuhchoo, compels the poor to take advantage of the hot springs.

The neighbourhood is celebrated for the manufacture of China-ware, five hundred ovens may be seen constantly at work. No place in China can produce such good specimens of ware, although it is made in Fokien and Kwang-tung, (Canton), but they have failed to rival the productions of Fuhchoo, which are however of higher price. The wood used in burning the ware is brought upwards of 300 miles, and both labour and provisions are extremely dear, so that other places more advantageously situated, in this respect, have become successful rivals by supplying it at a *lower* price.

The cotton of Fokien and of China generally is very fine, but that which is met with at Fuhchoo is particularly good. Their fabrics are coarser than those imported, but they wear much longer; and the brilliancy of their blue dye is well known. On these accounts the poorer classes prefer their own manufacture, though the want of machinery makes it dearer.

Money is said to be at some periods very scarce, as the notes issued do not circulate beyond the district, and are only for small

sums. The average sale of opium is said to be three chests per day, at an average price of 800 dollars a chest, which is always paid for in silver. This proves, however, that there must be a floating capital to no small amount; the more that is paid for a luxury the less there will be for necessary articles.

Her Majesty's consul at Fuhchoo thought it possible to procure teas direct from the Bohea Hills, instead of bringing them overland to Canton. The consul thus writes, "I have assurance from more than one source, that tea can be sent here from the districts where it is grown, with so great facility and a moderate degree of risk, as to remove the apprehension of either difficulty or danger, offering any serious impediment, and at a cost altogether trifling, compared with the expense of carriage of its transport to Canton. The difference in the expense of carriage is of itself sufficient to make a large diminution in the price of tea to the English merchant. As to the feelings of the first producers, and the tea merchants in the interior, my informant expresses not only the anxious desire of his own firm, but that of the tea growers, to obtain a market here in preference to Canton."

According to Mr. Lindsey, the principal trade at this port appears to be carried on with the neighbouring province of Chekeang. Wood and timber of every description constitute the principal articles of trade. Tobacco is exported in large quantities: Mr. Lindsay, with some difficulty, ascertained the shop prices of cotton and woollen goods:—

Camlets	per chang,	4 and 5	dollars;
Superfine broad-cloths . .	„	9 „ 10	„
Calicoes	per piece,	9 „ 12	„
Long ells	„	10 „ 14	„
Iron	per pecul,	2	„
English camlets	per piece,	56	„
Dutch ditto	„	70	„

Public expectation was disposed to think rather favourably of Fuhchoo-foo, the capital of a province containing nearly as many inhabitants as Great Britain, and occupying a larger territory,—a port which the Chinese authorities had opened with great reluctance to foreigners, and as it is in the immediate vicinity of the black-tea district, many were led to anticipate that the foreign commerce would find a ready market; these hopes have not hitherto been realized. It is difficult to be accounted for: some say the artificial wants of the Chinese are not numerous, nor have they yet appreciated many of the enjoyments or amusements of social life, which at all times tend to create and multiply real or imaginary wants; but our exclusion from the interior, and our restricted intercourse with the people, constitute one of the most formidable barriers to an extended commerce. But, amongst a population of nearly half a million of people, in an industrious and well situated city, nine miles in circumference, which has a large

trade with the northern and southern coast and the interior, failure of trade can never arise from the deficiency of the elements which constitute the true basis of commerce, as the returns are on the spot.

It has been truly remarked, that Fuhchoo-foo, of all the five ports, should be least dependant upon silver as a return for English goods. There is on the spot the great staple article of export, and the only one for which the demand is steady and regular—Tea. About seventy miles from the city, is the central depôt of the great black-tea, or Bohea, hills, from whence the tea can be sent down to the ship's-side in four days, at an expense considerably less than that which is now paid for its transit to Canton; probably twenty-five per cent. cheaper. Sugar is grown in the neighbourhood of Fuhchoo for home consumption, but the refining process is not well understood. Within six miles of the city, are extensive lead mines; the price, per pecul of eighty pounds, was last year only five dollars.

In Straits' produce, including the Indian Archipelago, much trade might be done, as there is a large and increasing consumption of their products, and our freights are considerably lower than that of the Chinese junks. The trade with Loochoo is annually increasing; numerous junks come every year, with 5,000 to 10,000 dollars in gold, to purchase foreign goods, which are principally for Japan. The best proof that can be given of the probability of a trade existing, is that there are not less than 1,000 junks annually engaged in trade.

Freight—Fuhchoo to Amoy costs 1½ dollars a pecul: sixteen peculs to a ton; hemp, 10 dollars a pecul; round buttons, 20 cash each; sugar, 5 dollars a pecul; pork, per pound, 100 cash, or $\frac{1}{10}$ of a tael; rice, per stone, seldom costs less than 2 taels.

The following prices were noted in 1844 at Fuhchoo: the import prices refers to the purchase or sale of one or two pieces, and not to bales.

IMPORTS.

Long cloth, bleached	4, 25 dollars,
„ grey	3, 75 „
American drills, grey	4, „
„ domestics	3, 50 „
Chintz	3, 50 „
Long ells	8, 25 „
Cotton twist, N. 18 to 32	30, — „
Pepper	6, 50 „
Rattans	4, 20 „

EXPORTS.

	T.	M.	C.
Tea, No. 1—Pah-koo	120	0	0
„ „ 1—Ming Choong	80	0	0
„ „ 1—Seu Poi	27	5	0

	T.	M.	C.
TEA, No. 1—Hong Mooey	18	5	0
„ „ 2—Ditto	18	5	0
Tae-pooey	20	0	0
Hong-foo	17	0	0
Sook-lay	8	4	0
SUGAR, No. 1, ...	5	3	0
„ „ 2, ...	4	4	0
„ „ 3, ...	4	3	0
„ „ 4, ...	4	2	5
„ „ 5, ...	4	2	0

Alum, 1 50 dollars,
Camphor, 18 dollars.

Captain Rodney Mundy, of Her Majesty's Ship "Iris," in order to test the facilities for inland conveyance, sent a letter from Fuhchoo to our consul at Ningpo, by a special courier, who performed the journey in ten days—of which he travelled eight by land, and two by water—and for which he received 10,000 cash. The same returned to Fuhchoo in twelve days. Letters are sent by the consul at Fuhchoo to Amoy in four days by special courier at a charge of 1,800 cash (1,300 cash to the dollar) for the journey. They may be sent cheaper by not requiring so short an interval of time.

NINGPO.

Ningpo, in latitude 29° 54° north, longitude 121° 52′ 30″ east, is situated on the banks of the river Takia, the principal of the rivers, which have here their confluence with the sea. The channel for entering this river is between some small islands on the eastern point, having on the bar from three to three and a half fathoms of water, and at the anchorage from five to six. The mouth of the river is only nine leagues distant from Chusan harbour. Ningpo is one of the first-class cities of the province of Chekeang, which reckons eighty-nine cities and large towns; its population is 26,256,784, with an area of 25,056,000 English acres, or 536 individuals to the square mile.

The present appearance of Ningpo proves that it was formerly an extensive place of commerce, and had probably a large trade with the Spaniards; when we took possession of it the people called our sepoys, "Manilla men." The city is encompassed within a wall six miles in circumference, but in a wretched state for defence; it is entered by six gates, and is incapable of any resistance to an European army. Some of the streets are well laid out with good shops, and at night look well when lit with large lanthorns.

The vast plain of Ningpo is a magnificent amphitheatre, stretching for nearly sixteen miles on the one side to the base of the

distant hills, and on the other to the verge of the ocean. To the north west, south, and south-east, are seen innumerable canals and water-courses, every patch of ground cultivated, comfortable farm-houses, family residences, villages, and tombs. On the opposite direction the land-scenery is similar to that described, but the river appears to be literally covered with boats and human beings.

The height of the city walls is about twenty-five feet, exclusive of the parapet, which is nearly five feet; the width at the top is fifteen feet, and the base twenty-two. The materials of the wall appear to be solid, and where not dilapidated is very substantial masonry. There are six gates in the wall; five are situated at the four cardinal points, there being two on the eastern face. In addition to these principal gates, there is near the south and west gates, a water-gate, or small sally port, used for the ingress and egress of boats, that ply about the city canals. Bridge-gate, so called from a floating bridge, about two-hundred yards long, and nearly six yards broad, is formed of timber lashed together and laid upon lighters, of which there are seventeen linked close together with iron chains: it is the only communication with a populous suburb.

The six principal gates are double, and each inner gate is supported by an outer one, which is twenty-five yards distant from it. The line of wall that runs off from the one side of the inner gate towards the outer, is the leading wall, which having described a section of a parallelogram, meets the inner gate at the other side. Over each gateway, whether inner or outer, a guard-house is raised, and generally two stories high. At present these stations are unoccupied: from the wall the scenery is good. There is a moat of considerable extent, which almost encircles the city. It is calculated at 2142 chang, which is about three miles long, some parts very deep, and varies in width from thirty to forty yards, is well supplied with water, and is daily navigated by small boats.

Chinhœ citadel and town is at the entrance of the Ningpo river, and about thirteen miles from the city; it is on a commanding height, was well protected by forts, walls, cannon, and possessed several large armouries, foundries, &c., filled with guns, musketry, swords, pikes, powder, &c.; yet its garrison of 15,000 men was routed in a few hours by our troops and seamen, amounting to about 1,500 men.

The situation is very beautiful, and the scenery around charming. Along the river-banks are ice-houses of a lofty size, with high gable roofs, lightly thatched to permit ventilation. From these ice ware-houses, the fishing junks are largely and economically supplied.

There are some large buildings at Ningpo; an hexagonal tower 150 feet high, and one temple in particular of vast size, with numerous columns and splendid ceilings varnished in gold and silver hues. An elegant arch or screen of exquisitely carved

style, attracted my notice. The elephants engraved thereon were well executed, but the art displayed was said not now to be manifested in China; the date was about 400 years old. The city is said to contain 200,000 or 300,000 inhabitants.

At Ningpo an attempt has been made to collect some information on population. The heads of 293 families had 660 children living, of whom 357 were boys, and 303 were girls; 369 persons had 637 brothers, and 427 sisters. Of 300 men above twenty years of age, 36 were unmarried, and only two of those were practical polygamists; these enquiries were made amongst the poorest classes. It is seldom that families have more than four children, the largest in the list had six. There appears to be less mortality among children in China, than in England or the United States. The people of Ningpo are very indignant at being charged with infanticide, yet with one voice charge the crime on the people of Fookien, and the inhabitants of the northern part of the Canton province.

The Missionaries, English and American, at Ningpo, as well as in other parts of China have done great good. An English lady—a Miss Aldersey—has settled for life at Ningpo as a missionary, and is doing much good.

The missionary hospital at Ningpo was opened in November 1843. During the first three months 650 patients received surgical treatment. The building, which is in the business part of the city, was freely given for that purpose by a native merchant. It has daily gained confidence and esteem from the inhabitants. It was at first only attended by the poor, but in a few months the hospital was surrounded with grandees in their sedans. The missionaries only profess to cure complaints of the eyes, which are very general, particularly entropium, or turning in of the lid so as to rub the cornea, which is thought to proceed from poor diet, as some wholly live on fish and green vegetables. Next to ophthalmic complaints, those of the skin are most frequent, and by no means confined to the poor.

EARLY FOREIGN TRADE AT NINGPO.—A native work published by imperial authority about fifty years ago, gives a brief sketch of foreign intercourse, both at Tinghai and Ningpo. The writer of this history purposes to give the transactions of the period 1695, and states that the grace and dignity of imperial majesty having diffused itself far and wide, the ships of foreigners arrived in a line of unbroken succession: that foreign goods were lightly taxed, to encourage them. It was then decreed that the annual tax from English imports should amount to 10,000 taels of silver. The writer states that the Hungmaw is the Yingkweili (English nation); its people are of two species, white and black. The white constitutes the honourable class, the black the inferior. Their ships are built of double plank, they are different from Chinese boats, and they sail against the wind.

All efforts failed this year to open a custom house at Tinghai,

for the accommodation of foreigners, and the board of revenue ordered that deputies do attend then from Ningpo, to collect the duties. In the 37th of the same Emperor's reign, A.D. 1699, the hoppo reported that the "*bay of Tinghae (Chusan) was much better suited for foreign trade than Ningpo;*" and it appears that consent was obtained from the board of revenue to open trade; in 1701 two English ships arrived, and in the eighth month two more ships. It appears trade was going on most prosperously, but the Ningpo people got jealous of their neighbours, and squabbling with each other constantly, when the trade was checked, and the factory was dissolved in 1703.

The commerce of Ningpo is now very active among the Chinese themselves. About 670 junks come annually to this port from Shantung, and Leautung, which bring oil of teuss (peas) green and yellow; brandy, pears, chesnuts, felt caps, cloth and cordage of different kinds, hams, salt meat, vegetables, stag horns, medicine and drugs, wheat, flour, oil, and sauce of humps, paste of green peas, nuts, barley, seeds of the water melon, oil of the fruit tree kin, (black) oil of the pea of Suchoo, a fruit called the fleshy date, a grain known as paomi, horns of animals, rice, a species of silk called kin chou, and the grain of the nuan-mi, kanliang, &c. From Fookein and Hainan, about 560 junks arrive with sugar, alum, pepper, black tea, iron, wood, indigo (both dry and liquid) salt fish, rice, dye woods and fruits: from Canton about twenty-five junks with sugar candy, cotton, and articles as above.

From the straits of Malacca, and the adjacent isles of Jolo, some ships come annually with cargoes of Straits produce, which is the same as that of the Phillipines: these are called ships of the west, some years as many as ten, in other years only one or two: during the year 1844 none arrived.

From the interior, by rivers and canals nearly 4,000 small vessels arrive annually; from Ningpo, large quantities of wood and charcoal are sent to Shanghai, which return a profit of 25 per cent; it is said that in the Archipelago of Chusan, distance only twenty-four miles from Chinhœ, more than 20,000 people are employed catching and preserving fish. The vessels thus employed belong to natives of Ningpo, and are generally the property of a family, or small company, ten or fifteen persons uniting to purchase the cargo.

The trade of Shantung and Leautung, which supports Ningpo, is annually on the decline—and well informed parties attribute the decline to the increasing prosperity of Singapore, which being a free port, has at all times a large stock of European goods, and the products of the Red and Persian Seas, the Straits of Malacca, and other adjoining countries. There is an annual increase of the vessels, which come from Teintsin and other ports of the empire, to supply themselves from first hands. The vast exportation of silver, which is constantly made from the northern provinces to meet the imports of opium, diminishes they say the

demand for various articles of luxury, as well as the capability of purchasing many of the conveniencies and necessaries of life.

The native productions of Ningpo have been sensibly affected since the opening of the ports; a piece of white long cloth (called Nankin) which six years ago sold for six dollars, can now be purchased for three dollars and a half. So that the direct importation of similar goods to their own manufactures has already thrown many looms idle. Besides the importation here, and still more into Shanghai, of Straits' produce in European ships, direct from Java and Manilla, Singapore, must have a tendency to reduce Ningpo from the character of an emporium. Ningpo can maintain its position by becoming a port for the export of tea, and import of silks. It is also within several days' journey less to the green-tea country than Shanghai, avoiding one inland custom house, by which there would be a saving of one tael of silver or more per pecul.

The vessels of the N. E. coast carry to Shantung, Leautung, &c., tobacco, porcelain of Fookien and Canton, preserved oranges, honey, wood for building, cane, roots, sugar candy, white and brown sugar, alum, European goods, opium, native cotton, cloth (white and blue), wax, white lead, sapan wood, chop-sticks, silver and gilt paper for burning in the temples, white and yellow paper, vermilion, an article of food called Tao foo, canes to serve for building materials, wine made in Siaosing, wooden covers for pots, canes for coolies, brooms, and all the articles known as Straits' produce. Calculating the 650 vessels of the N.E. at an average of 2,500 peculs; 550 of Formosa, and Fookien at 1,500; twenty of Canton and Macao at 2,500; and five of the Straits of Malacca at 10,000; the quantity is about 2,556,000 peculs, (or 159,360 tons) of goods exclusive of opium imported in Chinese vessels, and calculating the value of the imports, one with another, at three dollars per pecul, the sum of 7,650,000 dollars. A similar sum, either more or less, may be calculated as the value of the exports; notwithstanding that a great part of the goods which are exported to the N.E. are the same that have been imported from the S.E. Thus it appears that Ningpo, like Shanghai, is a port where articles of commerce are exchanged between the S.E. and N.E. shores of the empire. This proves that its own imports and exports are inconsiderable, as in the natural order of events, it ought only to provide foreign goods, and serve for an outlet to the province of Chekiang of which it forms a part; or at most to the neighbouring cities of Anjui and Quiansi.

The prices of cotton cloth (Native), first quality, white and even, each piece twenty-four feet by sixteen inches, is 600 catties. Fine bleached Nanking, straw-colour, eighteen feet by twelve inches, 600 catties. Ditto, natural colour, same quality, 400 catties. Sheep are in abundance, at an average of three and a half dollars each. Alum is procured from the mines of Uenchu in this province, and is

exported from Pignian, a port on the coast nearer to Fuh-choo-foo than Ningpo, but not so distant from that city as from Amoy. The total value of alum exported from Ningpo since the opening of the port to January, 1845, was 30,000 dollars. The article of rhubarb is sold here much cheaper than at Canton; first quality thirty-five dollars, second seventeen dollars per pecul of 100 lb.

CHIEF ARTICLES OF TRADE AT NINGPO.—Hemp is not imported into Ningpo; it is a long, strong fibre, similar to what is usually imported from Manilla, and sells from nine to ten dollars per Ningpo pecul (100 lb.); however desirable to obtain return cargoes, this article can never be one: on the contrary, it is more likely to be an article of import.

Cotton, raw, is an article of export. It is a fair, long staple, well cleansed and a pure white; price of the Native production twenty dollars per pecul. The manufacturers prefer the Manilla cotton. As for the lower qualities of American and Bombay, they are almost unsaleable at any price.

Rice varies from two to three dollars per pecul, and the rice pecul is 145 catties. At any period it is a doubtful article of import: Bengal Moonghy finds a slow sale at two dollars per bag.

Timber.—The quality in most general use is soft pine, not squared; the large junks are chiefly employed in carrying this bulky article; it averages twenty dollars per load of fifty cubit feet; planks thirty-seven dollars per load.

Sugar.—The cane is abundant, but entirely used as an edible; the supply of sugar is from Formosa and Fookien; the cheapest is from six to seven dollars per pecul; white, and a good grain, nine dollars; best candy eleven to twelve dollars.

Pepper (black) selling from nine to twelve dollars per pecul.

Birds'-nests.—First quality eighty dollars per catty; second quality sixty dollars, and third forty dollars.

Sandal wood.—The demand is trifling, as the Chinese do not appear to properly estimate the excellent qualities which are attached to hard woods. Ningpo prices from thirteen to fifteen dollars per pecul.

Lead.—Pig lead selling from seven dollars fifty cents.

Woollen cloth.—Russian has hitherto been in very general use, which is sold at extremely low prices; a serviceable cloth is sold from 180 cash to one dollar per cubit; breadth four and a half cubits. (See Kiachta and Russian trade).

Tobacco (leaf) very mild, much inferior to American, seven dollars per pecul.

Hides (cow and bullock's) ten dollars per pecul dressed; undressed from seven dollars up.

White lead ranges from fourteen to fifteen dollars per pecul. Used as a cosmetic chiefly.

Castor oil (indigenous) ranges from six dollars per pecul, used for varnishes, and unknown as a medicine.

The *black teas* offered here are of inferior quality, and ill-suited to the home market, and sell from twenty-five to sixty-seven dollars per pecul.

Green teas.—This article appears to suit foreigners much better than the black teas, only the leaf is rather too large; prices from twenty-seven to seventy-eight dollars per pecul.

Silks.—The manufactured silks are much similar to the Canton goods; the average is about seventeen dollars per roll (twenty yards); the raw materials range from 410 to 450 dollars. Hang-choo-foo silks are sold by weight, and average about forty-four cents per ounce.

The produce of a Chinese acre of land, and the expense of living at Ningpo, are thus stated:—

One mow (Chinese acre) will produce on an average four bags of paddy (unhusked rice). One bag of paddy is equal to one tan, or pecul, or to 100 kin of paddy by weight, to nearly nine tan by measure, or equal in weight to sixty-five kin of rice ready for cooking, or in measure to five tan, or fifty shing of the same. On an average one man eats one shing per day, or four bowls of rice. Field labourers eat one shing or four bowls at a sitting, and as they eat three times a day, consume three shing daily, or twelve bowls of rice, besides vegetables and fish. The rate of living is very moderate. In Ningpo a man can live on forty cash each meal, that is 120 cash daily. Three persons can procure at a cook-shop a dinner for the small sum of 120 cash, which is about one-ninth of a dollar. Six or seven rooms can be had for about ten dollars per month.

The foregoing statements are given as a stimulus to further enquiry.

SHANGHAI.

Shanghai, the principal maritime port of the province of Kang-soo, it situated on the right bank of the Woo-sung River, about fourteen miles from the sea. The anchorage at the mouth of the river is in latitude 31° 25′ north, longitude 121° 1′ 30″ east. The Woo-sung disembogues into the great Yangtzekang, which is aptly called the main artery of China. The Woo-sung river maintains a uniform breadth of half a mile or more, and has about five fathoms in mid-channel; the entrance is through a maze of sand banks, without a mark; the country is very flat, indeed a dead level on both sides of the river, and highly cultivated.

The river Woo-sung, on which the city of Shanghai is situated, comes out of the Ta-hoo (great lake), Chang-keaow-kow, and then traverses the Yun-ho, or great canal, and thus communicates with the Yang-tsze-keang, the Yellow river, and Peking; from the Yun-ho it enters the Pang-shan lake, and flows by the beautiful city of Suchow, the capital of the southern part of Kang-soo, the

most commercial, wealthy, and luxurious cities of the empire. From this place numerous navigable rivers communicate, and traverse each other in every direction. This river enables the inhabitants to trade and communicate with the remotest parts of the empire, from Peking to Yunnan, and from the eastern coasts to the centre of the deserts in Tartary.

The Woo-sung river, at its junction with the Yangtze-kang, is flat, with scattered trees; but on ascending the river, although the banks continue low, hills of 400 feet appear on the left bank, at five miles from the river. On the right bank there is also some elevation; villages are scattered in every direction, but most numerous on the left bank.

Two forts are at the entrance of the Woo-sung, bearing north-west and south-east, distant three quarters of a mile. On the left bank is a quay, three miles long; two batteries, one near the western corner of the quay, the other at the entrance.

In the river of Woo-sung, high water, full and change about one hour thirty minutes, rise fifteen to eighteen feet; stream from south-east round by east and north. Blows at full and change with rain. July, barometer, 29·74; thermometer, 78; winds south-easterly. August; barometer, 29·78; thermometer, 81. September; barometer, 29·90; thermometer, 77; winds more variable; barometer, as in other parts of China, rises with northerly winds, and falls with west and southerly.

The heat is very great in July, August, and September, but at other periods the temperature is very agreeable; and snow falls in winter, remaining on the ground some days.

The city of Shanghai, has a rampart or wall, with a circuit of about five miles. It has many embrasures, where cannon might be pointed, but is rather narrow in some places. The wall is without bastions, exterior defences, and ditches; the houses of the suburbs are built quite close to the wall. It has five entrances, each consisting of two gates, but no drawbridges, or defences. The streets are narrow and filthy, but the number of shops is amazing, and bustling trade and commerce everywhere evident. On entering the river, the forest of shipping and masts, indicates it a place of commercial importance; it is said, that in the month of January, it is not an uncommon sight to behold 3,000 junks in the river, opposite the city. The population is said to be about 120,000. It is only 150 miles by the river from Su-chow, (of which Shanghai is the port), the most delightful city in all China, hence called *Paradise*. In buildings, appearance, and opulence, Shanghai is inferior to Ningpo.

Shanghai is connected by water communications with one third of China; and there is, therefore, considerable internal as well as external trade. The coasting trade is very large; junks arriving from Singapore, Java, Penang, Malacca, Sumatra, Borneo, &c., which are entered at the custom-house as coming from Fookien,

or Canton, bring European goods of all kinds; opium, flints, pepper, sharks'-fins, deers'-horns, cochineal, hides, nails, nutmegs, liquid, and dried indigo, biche-de-mer, birds-nests, mother-o'-pearl, shells, tortoiseshell, ivory, buffaloes humps, sugar-lead, gold-thread, and all kinds of wood for spars, ornamental and fragrant, as well as materials for dying; medicines from the Red Sea, Persian, Indian, &c. There come annually to Shanghai, by the Yangtzekang, and its branches, vessels from various ports, amounting in all to 5,400. These never put out to sea, but convey into the interior, the goods brought by vessels from the south and north, as well as transport from the interior, the goods to be despatched by these vessels. In addition to the vessels employed in the inland navigation, and those which go to sea, amounting to 7,000, there are also at Shanghai, innumerable boats and barges employed in fishing, and in conveying passengers and goods. Shanghai is not only a port of great trade in imports and exports, but an emporium where there is an exchange of national and foreign commodities, between the southern and northern parts of the empire. There are annually imported into Shanghai, 520,000 peculs of sugar, 128,000 peculs of sapan wood; an equal quantity of dye stuffs; from 3,000 to 4,000 of canes, 1,960 biche-de-mer, 1700 of sharks'-fins, and 1,500 birds'-nests. These latter articles are well known to be smuggled to a very large extent. Sugar has always been charged a small duty, about 100 cash per pecul.

The ships of the north, those which return to Quan-tung, Shensing, and Lean-tung, Shensi, and Lea-wung, carry away cotton, tea, paper, silks, and cotton stuffs from Nanking and Suchow; European goods and flints, opium, and a great part of the sugar, pepper, biche-de-mer, and birds'-nests, &c., which the vessels, passing under the name of Fookein and Canton bring to Shanghai. These last mentioned vessels return with cargoes of cotton, earthenware, (principally from Formosa) pork salted, green tea, raw and manufactured silks, native cotton cloths, blankets, hemp, fruits, &c. There is also an interchange of a vast number of articles connected with the coasting trade, such as baskets, charcoal, shoes, coal, wood, pipes, tobacco, gypsum, varnish, umbrellas, mats, lanterns, sponges, sacks, vegetables, fruits, &c.

The vessels which arrive at Shanghai are known at the custom house as those of the north, of Fookien and Canton. The vessels of Quantung, Leaoutung, and Teintsin, at the mouth of the Pei-ho, the river which passes Peking and the province of Shantung. The vessels of Quantung and Leaoutung are the same as those of Teintsin. Those from Shantung proceed from the different ports of that province. Both are known under the name of vessels of the north; and the number which arrive annually is about 930 at the commencement of the N.E. monsoon.

From Fookien nearly 300 come annually, but the greater portion of that number from Hainan or Formosa, also from Manilla,

Bali, and other ports. About 400 come from Canton, the chief part from Singapore, Penang, Sulo, Sumatra, Siam, and other places. A coasting trade in English brigs and schooners is now commencing at Shanghai. The junks, therefore, of the outer sea, which come to Shanghai annually are 1,600; occasionally they have amounted to 1,800; taking them on an average of 200 tons, there will appear to be an importation of 300,000 tons. The vessels of the north are 900, and those of the south only 700, these latter have a greater total amount: among the former are many of upwards of sixty tons. The vessels of the north bring a great quantity of dry paste (tauping), salted meat, oil, hams, wine, timber for ship building, wheat, chestnuts, pears, and greens. From Fookien, sugar, indigo, (liquid and dried,) sweet potatoes, fish, black tea, paper, and soap. From Canton, sugar cinnamon, Canton cloth, fruits, glass and chrystal, perfumes, so , and white lead.

Shanghai being a cotton district, does not abound in rice. It is the port of many great cities.

Sugar.—The whole exports from the Philippines is insufficient to supply the wants of Shanghai. This article rises sometimes to a very extravagant price, as failures of the crops in Formosa are frequent.

Cotton.—The consumption is very great; large quantities exported to Formosa and the north. Its price, when over supplied, is about 15 dollars a pecul; some periods it is known to rise to 23 and 24 dollars.

Hemp.—The native article is a most excellent quality, but ranges high—from eight to nine dollars per pecul. Coir, and other inferior materials, are substituted. 7,000 vessels, besides boats and barges, must consume a vast quantity of cordage.

Cocoa Nut Oil.—The oil for burning that is made in China, is very inferior in quality; a better article is likely to be in demand in the wealthy and fashionable Suchan.

Sapan Wood maintains, at all times, a high price, from two-and-a-half to three dollars per pecul.

Bird's Nests, Biche de Mer, Shark's Fins, Deer's Horns, Canes.—These articles arrive from the southern part of the country.

Hides, for making glue.—No glue appears to be made in this district.

Sulphur.—Private persons cannot buy it, and government use the native produce.

Molave, Red Wood, Ebony.—These woods are here accounted a good branch of commerce.

Lead.—The Americans supply it cheaper than any other country.

Wheat can be bought, when there is no scarcity, at one-and-a-half dollar per pecul of 100 catties. Flour, in favourable seasons, can be bought at two and two-and-a-half dollars.

Silks.—For superior textures of silk, this is a better market than Canton; sewing silk of every kind, in colours, is prepared in Han-

chew and Nanking. The crapes made in this district are superior to what are generally seen in Canton.

Nankin.—The yellow cotton cloth known under this name; 100 pieces may be procured for forty dollars of 21⅓ chi.

Tea—Green, may be purchased here nearly twenty per cent. cheaper than at Canton.

Rhubarb—may be obtained at Shanghai full as cheap as at Canton.

Hams, of a good quality may be had of the weight of five catties for one dollar.

Excellent sheep, five dollars each.

Fat, though small, bullocks eleven to fifteen dollars each.

Pheasants, large and good, one shilling each.

Hares, wild geese, and wild ducks, abundant.

Bread, sweet, well made, and cheap.

In addition to teas and silks, among the articles procurable at Shanghai, are camphor, china root, cassia, the best porcelain. Articles are also brought here from Japan, Siam, Cochin China, and Tonquin, such as copper, sugar, gamboge, raw silk, stick-lac, liquid indigo, and plumbago, good hemp, and a superior description of fine flax.

Coal is abundant in Shanghai,—it is burned in our steamers, and appears like the description termed "kennel coal;" it is apparently worked near the surface, and a better sort would most probably be obtained by mining. The Chinese prefer charcoal for cooking; and dried reedy grass is always used, where procurable, for boiling rice; the heat thus produced being very great and sudden.

Nearly the staple article of Shanghai is a large white pea, which is ground in a mill, and then pressed in a complicated piece of machinery to extract the oil, which is used for eating and burning —principally the latter purpose; the cake is then made up in the shape of a Gloucester cheese, or good-sized grinding-stone. The quantity which leaves Shanghai is enormous, according to Mr. Thom, Her Majesty's Consul at Ningpo, this article is distributed throughout China, from Shanghai alone, to the annual amount of ten million dollars, or nearly two-and-a-half millions sterling. It is used as food for pigs and buffaloes, and as manure, for which latter purpose it is highly esteemed.

The Chinese merchants, it is said, were anxious to obtain musters of the different kinds of silk suited to the English market. Most of the fabric made in Shanghai are with *thrown silk.* The skill of the workmen in this district, together with the well-known enterprise of the manufacturers, have established the character of their goods throughout the empire. The chief articles manufactured are: damasks, satins, mazarines, and crapes, also figured and plain heavy serges. The safest article of export is the Hangchow and Nanking plain white, and the Tong-pa and Ching-tong

yellow Pongees. If purchased in the gum, and not boiled off, the purchaser will not be so liable to be cheated, as they are frequently increased in the weight, and improved in their apparent quality with congee (rice paste).

In the Wusung custom-house a register is kept of all the native vessels which enter and leave the river. While the British forces were in possession of it, Mr. Lay obtained several volumes of this record, from which it appears the pages of these books are divided into ten columns: in the margin is the day of the month, while the year is marked on the outside of each volume; at the head of each column is set down the name of the place to which the vessel belongs; the owners' name, her cargo, and lastly where she is bound for. The articles mentioned in the exports are paper, cotton, cloth, coarse drugs, ginger, ink, stones, damaged ends of cotton, tubular cap stands, spirits, confections, sugar, cottons, leeks, grass-cloth, silkworm cases, choice wood, ornamented cloth, woollen rugs and blankets, hemp thread, needles, alum, earthenware, timber, artificial flowers, glass, summer cloth, or muslin, and chop sticks. Many vessels from Canton are freighted with cakes made of the external coverings, or testa of beans, in other words the refuse that remains after the pulse cheese has been squeezed through a cloth. These vessels are represented as on their way back, having disposed of their cargo. Cakes thus prepared are given to swine for fodder, and also used as manure. Vessels from the island of Tsungming, whose staple is cotton, bear a large proportion among the entries. Rice is not cultivated in sufficient quantity to maintain the inhabitants: according to the statement of a Native, the land tax is not, as is usually the case, paid part money and part rice; but entirely in money. The average rate per "*man*" which is an area of about 248 square poles or rods, is from three to four hundred cash,=about 1*s.* 5*d.*

Vessels freighted with tea, paper, cloth, sugar, artificial flowers, drugs and timber, proceed to the coast of Shantung, and Chihle, from whence they return laden with all kinds of pulse. This cannot, however, meet the valuable cargoes they take, part must be paid in money. Vessels returning empty are those from Canton and the coast of Fookien, which having sold their sugar, pulse cakes, &c., are on their way home. Cotton cultivation is considerable in the vicinity of Shanghai, a number of vessels belonging to those places are filled with cloth, thread, paper, and artificial flowers, all bound for Chihle and Shantung.

The accounts here given, are done with a view to stimulate further inquiry. Each consulate should furnish a report on the topography, prices, staples, &c., of the station.

The small amount of trade at Amoy, Foochoo, and Ningpoo, is shown at page 150* and there is but little prospect of increase.

* In the Table at p. 101, the value of the tea exported from Shanghai, Ningpo, Fuhchoo, and Amoy was omitted. It amounted to £165,928.

The expenditure, therefore, requires revision: even if we keep open the ports of Ningpo, Fuhchoo, and Amoy, the consulate and superintendent of trade department charges may, with advantage to the public service, be reduced from about £30,000 a-year, to £15,000 per annum.

It would be necessary to retain at Shanghai a consul, but at the other three ports a vice-consul at each would be sufficient, and the superintendency of the trade department ought to be abolished, as its duties would be more efficiently done by a consul-general at Canton, with a supervising control. The consular salaries would be defrayed by bills drawn on the Lords of the Treasury. All correspondence would be direct between the Foreign Office and consul-general. At Ningpo, for instance, where no English vessel has traded during the years 1844-45, and there is not one European merchant we had during the year, a consul, a vice-consul, an interpreter (although the consul is a superior Chinese scholar), a surgeon, first and second consul assistant, &c. At Foochoo, where there is no trade, we have a consul, (a vice-consul is named to proceed there,) an interpreter, no surgeon (the consul being a surgeon), and two consular assistants, &c.

At Amoy we have a consul, a vice-consul, a surgeon, consular assistants, &c. One efficient vice-consul would fulfil the duties, if there were ten times the amount of the present trade at Amoy. The following scale of consular establishment would be amply sufficient for our present trade and position in China:—

CANTON:—Consul-general £2000; vice-consul £900; interpreter £500; two assistants at £400 and £300 each, £700; contingencies, ordinary and extraordinary, £900—£5,000.

SHANGHAI:—Consul £1,500; interpreter and first assistant £450; second assistant £250; contingencies, ordinary and extraordinary, £800—£3,000.

NINGPO:—Vice-consul, to be acquainted with Chinese language £800; assistant £300; contingencies, ordinary and extraordinary £400—£1,500. Foochoo, as Ningpo £1,500; Amoy, ditto £1,500—£12,500.

House-rent, &c., for each consulate £500 a-year each £2,500; total consular and trade department £15,000.

If the soundness and justice of these views and opinions be denied on reasoning and facts entitled to consideration, it is suggested that a commission of three disinterested men be appointed to report on the whole question.

The expense of this commission would be trifling and temporary, compared with the large and permanent expenditure now being incurred from the British Treasury on the coast of China.

[The above is embodied in a minute of "Points submitted for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government on the British Position in China," dated 3rd of September, 1845.]

CHAPTER VI.

HONG KONG: ITS POSITION, PROSPECTS, CHARACTER, AND UTTER WORTHLESSNESS IN EVERY POINT OF VIEW TO ENGLAND.

[This report, with a very few corroborative remarks, is given verbatim as furnished to Governor Davis in July, 1844.* Every statement herein made has since been amply confirmed; yet for making this report the writer was censured by the governor, who wrote home that he "entertained a confident expectation Hong Kong would supersede Canton." He might as well have said that Heligoland would supersede London. Even to the present moment, *interested* persons are endeavouring to maintain the delusion respecting Hong Kong.]

Hong Kong, which in the Chinese language signifies "red harbour" is in north latitude 22° 16′ 27″, east longitude 114° 14′ 48″, distant about forty miles east from Macao. It forms one of a numerous but scattered group of lofty islands termed the "Ladrones," which vary in size and height, but agree in their arid and rugged features. The length of the island, from east to west, is about eight miles, with a breadth of two to four miles; it is separated from the mainland of China by a strait or inlet of the sea, varying in breadth from about half a mile to three miles; one entrance, the Lymoon Pass, is less than a mile wide.

* *To His Excellency J. F. Davis, Governor of Hong Kong.*

"*At sea, latitude* 27 *N., East coast of China,*
"*July* 24, 1844, *on board 'Syed Khan.'*

"Sir,

"I have the honour to lay before your Excellency the accompanying report on the Island of Hong Kong, which I had just completed when I was seized with the recent severe attack of illness which obliged me to proceed to sea.

"The documentary appendix will not be ready until after my return to Hong Kong. The facts contained in the report are, however, sufficiently conclusive for the formation of a judgment on the present or prospective value of the colony; and I have to solicit the favour of your Excellency transmitting the report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as I believe *no report on Hong Kong has yet been laid before Her Majesty's Government.*

"Having devoted twenty years to the personal examination and study of the colonies of England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, my mind has been prepared for an investigation of Hong Kong; and I trust I may not be deemed presumptuous in having thus early formed my conclusions on the existing value and future prospects of the colony.

"I have, &c.,
"R. M. Martin,
"*Colonial Treasurer.*"

PHYSICAL ASPECT.—The island consists of a broken ridge, or "hog's back" of mountainous hills, running from W.N.W. to E.S.E., at an average height of about 1,000 feet; but from this ridge and its spurs, various conical mountains are elevated to the height of 1500 to 2000 feet above the sea and very precipitous. The whole island, indeed, rises abruptly from the ocean, particularly on the north face; there are a few narrow valleys and deep ravines, through which the sea occasionally bursts, or which serve as conduits for the mountain torrents; but on the north side of the island, especially where the town of Victoria is built, the rocky ridge approaches close to the sea, and it was only by hewing through this ridge, that a street or road could be made to connect the straggling town of Victoria, which stretches along the water edge for nearly four miles, although only comprising about sixty European houses, and several Chinese huts and bazaars. Here and there, on the tops of some isolated hills, or along the precipitous slopes of the mountains, some houses have been constructed, but the rugged, broken, and abrupt precipices and deep rocky ravines, will ever effectually prevent the formation at Victoria of any concentrated town, adapted for mutual protection, cleanliness, and comfort. Hong Kong cannot be said to possess any vegetation; a few goats with difficulty find pasturage. After the heavy rains of May, June, July, and August, the hills assume somewhat of a greenish hue, but the whity-brown or red streaked ridges with the scattered masses of black rocks, give a most uninviting and desolate aspect to the island, which is unrelieved by the adjacent mainland, whose physical features are precisely similar to that of Hong Kong.

Dr. M'Pherson, in his work "Two Years in China," expresses the following opinion respecting Hong Kong:—

"In other respects (that is, excepting its harbour), this new colony possesses but *few advantages*. Its northern side is formed by a connected ridge of mountains, the highest of which is about 2000 feet above the level of the sea. Except in a few spots, these mountains are *barren* and uncultivated; formed by black projecting masses of granite, the intervals giving shelter to herbage and brushwood. There are no trees of any size; and unlike the generality of mountainous districts, it possesses but a *few valleys, and these not of any extent*. The mountains, for the most part, *fall perpendicularly into the sea*, thus *leaving but little space for building at their base*.

"The appearance of Hong Kong is anything but prepossessing, and to those who have hitherto resided upon it, the *climate has proved far from salubrious*. There is a good deal of rank vegetation on the face of the hill; the ground on which, after a heavy fall of rain, becomes elastic and boggy. On the Cowloon side of the bay (in the Chinese territory), the atmosphere is at all times more pure, and the changes of temperature less sudden; indeed,

altogether it appears a far more likely and preferable spot to form a settlement than on the Hong Kong side."

GEOLOGY.—There is no igneous formation in Hong Kong; the island partakes of the same geological character as the whole south coast of China, excepting that it seems of older formation. The structure may be briefly described as consisting of decomposed, coarse granite, intermixed with strata of a red disintegrating sandstone, crumbling into a stiff ferruginous-looking clay. Here and there huge boulder stones, which gunpowder will not blast, may be seen embedded in a stiff, pudding earth, or they are strewed over the tops and sides of the mountains. Gneis and felspar are found in fragments. That the granite is rotten, and passing, like dead animal and vegetable substances, into a putrescent state, is evidenced from the crumbling of the apparently solid rock beneath the touch, and from the noxious vapour, carbonic acid gas, or nitrogen which it yields when the sun strikes fervidly on it after rain. On examining the sites of houses in Victoria, whose foundations were being excavated in the sides of the hills, the strata appeared like a richly prepared compost, emitting a fetid odour of the most sickening nature, and which at night must prove a deadly poison. This strata quickly absorbs any quantity of rain, which it returns to the surface in the nature of a pestiferous mineral gas. The position of the town of Victoria, which may be likened to the bottom of a crater with a lake, prevents the dissipation of this gas, while the geological formation favours the retention of a morbific poison on the surface, to be occasionally called into deadly activity.

Lyell, in his "Principles of Geology," vol i., page 317, says, the disintegration of granite is a striking feature of large districts in Auvergne, especially in the neighbourhood of Clermont. This decay was called by Dolomieu "la maladie du granit," and the rock may with propriety be said to have the rot, for it crumbles to pieces in the hand. The phenomenon may without doubt be ascribed to the continual disengagement of carbonic acid gas from numerous fissures; it is this gas which is evolved at the Grotto del Cane near Naples, and which is so pernicious to animal life. It is disengaged at Limagna d'Auvergne in France, in quantities—a lighted cantle or other burning body is extinguished by the gas. Water materially aids, by its solvent power, the operation of carbonic acid gas in the decomposition of rocks. This gas is invisible, and destitute of smell, much heavier than common air; owing to its specific gravity, it may be poured from one vessel to another; may be collected over water, which largely absorbes it, and is highly deleterious to animals. It is discharged from the surface of the water of some natural springs, and from deep and narrow vallies. Other gases are evolved from the earth. Dolomieu states that he ascertained the presence of sulphureous acid, muriatic acid, hepatic gas or sulphuretted hydrogen, and inflammable air or hydrogen, as well as carbonic acid. The most abundant of the

gases extricated from the bowels of the earth, next to carbonic acid gas, is probably carburetted hydrogen, which is so rapidly destructive of life in coal-mines; it is also sometimes emitted from the surface of the soil, or of springs and wells; M. de la Beche describes the manner in which the disintegration of rocks takes place owing to the protracted action of the atmospheric moisture. The feldspar contained in granite is often easily decomposed. Some trap rocks, from the presence of feldspar, are liable to decomposition, as in some parts of Jamaica. The main parts of granite are quartz, feldspar and mica. Some qualities of this primitive rock contain only feldspar and mica: this is generally the case in Hong Kong, where the feldspar is large, the chrystals looking like a quartzose gravel. The sound granite of Hong Kong is in isolated blocks. No drainage can ever render Hong Kong salubrious; and it is very desirable that this fallacy should be exploded, as the only effect is to drain money from the British treasury.

If further proof be wanting of this, it is to be found in the following most valuable facts, adduced by Dr. Heyne of the Madras artillery, and which I did not see until after my report on the cause of sickness at Hong Kong was written.

The remarks of Dr. Heyne ought to be carefully attended to in the formation of colonies, sites of towns, garrisons, stations, encampments, &c. &c.

Dr. Heyne observes, "that the ordinarily received opinion as to vegetable or marshy origin of fevers, will not hold in the south of India, for that the hills are not more woody than in other healthy places; some, indeed, where the epidemic of 1808 and 1810, as well as the endemic, were most destructive, are quite naked of trees, as Diudigul, Madura, and the rocks west of Seringapatam. Now, if it should be found that fever exists constantly, and invariably, among certain description of hills, when others of a different composition are as constantly free from the same, would it not become reasonable to suppose that the nature or composition of the rock itself must furnish the cause of the calamity? The hills, where it is found to prevail, appear, at first view, to be quite harmless, as they are granite, which is the most common kind of rock on the globe. They contain, however, quartz, besides feldspar and mica, a great proportion of ferruginous hornblende, which by its disintegration or separation from the rock, becomes highly magnetic, and in which I suppose the cause resides which produces this fever, besides a great train of other disorders. This iron hornblende occurs in such quantity, that all rivulets, public roads, indeed all hollows along these hills, are filled with its sand, from which, also, all the iron in this part of the country is manufactured. This granite is remarkable for its disintegration, as it is not only separates during the hot season in large masses of many tons, but crumbles as easily into its composing particles, and is found as sand in great abundance; not only near every rock, but near every stone, from whence it is

carried by the torrents during the rains to the lower parts of the country, and thus forms the particular mark by which these hills may be distinguished from all others. It is not generally attracted by the magnet when united to the mass, even when it occurs, as in the hornblende state, or greenstone, in the greatest abundance; but after it has been separated it is attracted as much as any iron filing. This may be owing to the incipient state of oxydation, or more likely to the developement of magnetism by the high temperature to which it has been exposed in the hot season, which also may have weakened the cohesion of the rock, and caused its disintegration in the mass. Hills of this description form the range of the Ghauts, as far at least as the Godavery; they predominate also among the smaller, and in single hills and rocks in the low country, so that they may be taken as the exclusive rock formation of this country. Fortunately this is not quite the case. They are easily recognised at a distance by their very rugged and abruptly pointed appearance, and great steepness of their tops. The ranges of this formation are also very interrupted, and generally consist of rows of single hills, although to the southward I have found them also connected at their bases, and in triple and quadruple ranges."

Dr. Heyne then gives an excellent topographic description of the hills which have rendered themselves known to Europeans for the malignity of the fever; and after that, of such as are constantly free from the hill-fever. The hills where the fever is totally unknown, Dr. Heyne describes as primitive trap, which consists of quartz, feldspar, and real hornblende. He then adds that the epidemic fever of 1808, stopped short at a range of hills of this latter composition, in the Coimbatore district—a remarkable fact. These two ranges of trap proceed with very little or no admixture of ironstone, through the whole Baramahal from Namcul to Darampory and Vellore; the rocks are sometimes compact hornblende and greenstone, or basalt, all belonging to the same formation; but here and there hills appear among them of iron granite, which stand in connexion with other ranges of that description in the province both east and west of that valley, which have the hill-fever as virulent as in other parts of the country, where whole ranges of these hills occur. A most remarkable instance illustrative of the above facts and of my deductions therefrom, I found at Tripataor, which lies in the above valley, close to a large table-land, the rock of which is sandstone. I asked there a respectable Native, whether any such disorders as fevers were frequent in the country, but received in answer, 'No, thank God; not within ten miles of this place; at Javadmalle, a hill fort, where no man can live two days without getting it;' a Peon was dispatched to bring two or three stones from the rock of the hill, and some sand that might be found on the road; and returned with pieces of a rock composed of

* That excellent man, Sir George Arthur, informed me that our troops suffer much at *Colaba*, Bombay, owing probably to its geology. There is no marsh.

red feldspar, quartz, and plenty of ferruginous hornblende, and the sand of the road consisted of magnetic sand and particles of feldspar. I must name now the Pulicat Hills, among which, as far as they extend to the southward (Chettour), the hill fever is totally unknown; I was most particular in my inquiries on this subject, in the beginning of this year, when among them. They consist entirely of flint slate, and are as bare in some places as they are woody in others, and as low as the granite hills. I came now to a sand hill, where I have lived myself for some years, the Cuddapah district. It is divided from Gurrumcondah on the south, and from iron granite and the hill fever, by a range of flinty slate. The same bends there to the northward, where the ranges thicken as they advance, and leave narrow valleys as far as Cummuur; and further up the river Kishna, the whole or most of these hills belong to the clay-slate formation: some are calcareous, all are, however, free of the hill fever. Other fevers may occasionally be seen, such as simple intermittents and bilious remittents, but they do not, like the hill fever, run into a typhus, and the cautious may easily guard against, and get rid of them. This is the largest extent of inland country which I know to be free of the hill fever, namely, from Cuddapah to Kishna, near Chintapilly, a place that has been at all times dreaded for its fevers. There the iron granite hills prevail again. To the westward of Cuddapah, the healthiness of the country extends to Gangecottah hills, which belong to the flaetz trap formation, consisting of sandstone, limestone, jasper, and hornstone pebbles cemented together, and which are perfectly free of magnetic iron-stone.

Bababudden is another range of hills, remarkably free of hill fevers, although it lies between places of notoriety for such, as Seringapatam to south-west, Chittlidroog to the north-west, and Naggry to the west, an unwholesome country amongst the Ghauts. It belongs to the clay-slate formation, and active magnets are found in large depositions on them. It rains on them for six months in the year continually, when plants keep fresh and alive in the open air for many days after they have been taken out of the ground, or broken off the stem; in fact, my observation, viz.: that the hill fever on this coasts exists exclusively among the hills of the granite formation, or where iron stone is found in large quantities, will be confirmed the more it is brought to the test.

Dr. Gilchrist, inspector general of hospitals, informs me that he fully concurs in the foregoing reasoning, and that it explains the cause of disease in several places where marsh miasm is unknown.

Mr. Davidson, in his recent work of "Trade and Travels in the East," justly says, with reference to Victoria, "A more awkward place on which to erect a town could not have been fixed upon; and its northern aspect adds, I suspect, to the unhealthiness of the place, as it exposes the town to the cold winds of winter, and completely shuts out the southerly breezes of summer, which are so much wanted to refresh the worn-out colonist."

There is no extent of marsh on the island capable of generating miasm, but the heavy rains are annually washing large portions of the mountains through deep ravines into the bay, and thus continually exposing a fresh rotten surface to the sun's rays, and preserving a focus of disease, which will ultimately become endemic. Vast quantities of the silt from the hills are being deposited along the shores of the harbour. Owing to this circumstance, and to the rapid receding of the tides from the coast, the bay is becoming shoaler every day. The average depth is only from four to five fathoms, except in the stream, where it is six to seven fathoms. In no great interval of time, the harbour of Hong Kong will be too shoal in many places for large vessels.

CLIMATE.—It is difficult to convey by thermometrical registers, an accurate idea of the climate of any place. The range of the thermometer will not indicate the pressure of the atmosphere; the barometer in or near the tropics is of little utility as an index; the hygrometer imperfectly shews the quantity of rain which is in solution; while the height of the surrounding land,—its configuration,—the nature of the soil,—the extent and quantity of the vegetation,—the exposure to the sea,—and the prevailing winds, all influence what is comprised under the word "Climate." In some respects the whole coast of China partakes of the climatic characteristics of the opposite coast of the American continent, particularly as regards the extremes of temperature and its depressing influence on mental or bodily exertion.

For six months in the year, April to September, the heat varies from 80° to 90° F.; but occasionally during the other six months, the heat is also very great, the thermometer having been known to stand at 80° F. on Christmas Day. The island being on the verge of the tropics, is subject to the extremes of the torrid and temperate zones; even on the same day the range of mercury in the thermometer is very great, and the vicissitudes are exceedingly trying to the European constitution.

But neither the range from heat to cold, nor the quantity of moisture in the atmosphere, will adequately convey an idea of the effects which this climate produces on the human frame. The rainy season causes great damage.

The "Hong Kong Register" of 13th May, 1845, thus describes the effect of one of the usual heavy rain-falls, which took place 7th May, 1845, and lasted only a few hours:—"The damage was very great, both to the recently-formed roads, and to many buildings in the course of erection; and had the violence of the rain continued an hour or two longer, many houses must have been undermined and destroyed. As it was, much individual inconvenience has been sustained. About 5 o'oclock, the whole of the Queen's-road, from the entrance to the large bazaar to the market-place, was completely flooded, to the depth of from two to four feet. All the streets leading upwards to the hill served as feeders to this lake. In Peel-street, particularly, the torrent rushed along, bearing

everything before it, and the street still resembles a dried-up watercourse, covered with stones and wrecks of buildings. The passages from the Queen's-road to the sea were all full. The one leading through Chunam's Hong, for hours presented the appearance of a rapid river, and many of the houses on each side were only saved from the flood by mud walls hastily raised. About 6 o'clock the rain moderated, but for some time after the road was quite impassable. A Coolie, attempting to ford the stream rushing down D'Aguilar-street, was borne off his feet, but saved himself by coming against the frame of a mat-shed. The drain lately formed could not nearly receive the supply of water, which committed great devastation, flooding a new house in its vicinity to the depth of nearly three feet, and carrying away some new walls. All the open drains in the upper streets have suffered; many are entirely destroyed, leaving scarcely a trace of the street. A stream from a distant watercourse flowed along the road above the bungalow occupied by the Attorney-general, and descending with great fury upon the roof of one of his out-offices, carried away a great part of it. In many places the Queen's-road has been covered with soil, sand, &c., to the depth of more than two feet, and nearly all the cross-drains are choked up. The bridge at the Commissariat has been carried away, and that in the Wong-nai-chung has also disappeared. Several lives were lost by the fall of a house in which some Chinese resided; and it is said the stream at Pokfowlum burst upon a mat hut, in which were a number of Coolies employed upon the new road; three saved themselves in a tree, but many more are missing, and supposed to be carried out to sea."

Quantity of Rain falling in Hong Kong.

Months.	Days of rain.	Inches.	Months.	Days of rain.	Inches.
July .. 1845	17	7,565	February 1846	5	705
August ,,	20	14,000	March ,,	18	7,925
September ,,	19	7,000	April ,,	8	3,700
October ,,	12	13,200	May ,,	14	12,925
November ,,	4	1,600	June ,, *	17	*21,680
December ,,	4	65	July ,,	19	11,850
January 1846	2	25	August ,,	23	15,700

Thus, in one year there, fell 118 inches, i.e. nearly *ten feet* in depth of rain, during 182 days, *or* half the entire year!

During April and part of May, when the sun is approaching rapidly from the equator, there is a dry burning heat, with a cloudless sky; but towards the end of May, and throughout June, July, August, September, and part of October, the rain descends in torrents, with a force and continuance such as I have never seen in

India, Africa, Australasia, or any other part of the world; (in the month of June, twenty-one inches fell.) The clouds pour down one vast sheet of water, washing away hills and rocks, furrowing the island with deep ravines, and saturating the soft, porous, putrescent strata, to the extent of many feet, with daily renewed moisture. In the intervals of rain, a nearly vertical sun acts with an intense evaporating power, and a noxious steam or vapour rises from the fetid soil, yielding a gas of a most sickly and deleterious nature, exactly such as I experienced on the coast of Africa in 1824, when I was seized with an "earth fever" while in His Majesty's service, from the effects of which I with great difficulty recovered, but of which most of my brother officers perished. The morbific gas does not arise from vegetable or animal decomposition. There is none on the island of any extent, but decomposed MINERAL substances yield an aeriform poison, under some circumstances of a more deadly description, than either of the other kingdoms of nature. This gas does not rise more than a few feet from the earth; it slowly mingles with the surrounding atmosphere, and when not causing immediate illness, produces a depressing effect on mind and body, which undermines and destroys the strongest constitutions.

Military and naval men who have served in Africa and India, feel the effects of the sun in Hong Kong, in a manner never before experienced. Even at Macao, only forty miles west of Hong Kong, Europeans may walk about the whole day in the month of July, when to do so at Hong Kong, would be attended with almost certain death. Neither the Indian Sepoys, Malays, or Chinese, can endure the climate so well as Europeans; whose stamina they do not possess. The Chinese deem it a dangerous experiment to prolong their abode in the island, beyond a certain time; they have ever viewed Hong Kong as injurious to health, and fatal to life. The Europeans who survive a brief residence in this climate, generally get a lassitude of frame, and an irritability of fibre, which destroys the spring of existence. A malign influence operates on the system in a most distressing manner, which is not removed by a return to Europe; on the contrary, the sufferers frequently die in England shortly after their arrival there.

DISEASES AND MORTALITY.—The prevailing disease of Hong Kong is a fever, combining the character of the African and West Indian fevers. It was at first supposed to be epidemic, but it has now become endemic, and may be assumed to be the fixed malady of the island. Diarrhœa and dysentery, form the next most immediately fatal class of diseases, but intermittent fever or ague, destroys health gradually. Last year, the strength per annum of the European and Native troops, was 1526, and the number who passed through the hospital in the year, amounted to 7893: thus, on an average EACH MAN *went through the hospital more than five times in the year!*

EUROPEAN AND NATIVE TROOPS.

Abstract, showing the Admissions and Deaths at the different Stations of the Force in China, for the year 1843.

Stations.	Strength per annum.	Remained, 31st December, 1842.	Admissions per annum.									Total sick per annum.	Deaths per annum.									Total deaths per annum.	Discharged per annum.	Transferred per annum.	On sick leave per annum.	Received 31st December, 1843.	Ratio per annum of sick to strength.	Ratio per annum of deaths to strength.
			Fevers.	Diarrhœa.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Hepatites.	Pulmonic affections.	Dropsical affections.	Rheumatism.	Other diseases.		Fevers.	Diarrhœa.	Dysentery.	Cholera.	Hepatites.	Pulmonic affections.	Dropsical affections.	Rheumatism.	Other diseases.							
Hong Kong.	1526	364	4009	162	497	4	32	180	51	212	1722	7893	155	80	137	..	5	13	19	4	27	440	6969	32	72	380	51	1 in 3½ nearly
Chusan . .	1980	201	2044	373	43	10	42	169	9	144	1366	4401	11	22	2	3	3	8	2	..	16	67	4155	..	36	133	222	1 in 2½
Kolungso. .	993	101	2201	37	15	62	16	37	3	38	369	2879	34	4	4	18	..	2	2	..	16	80	2699	6	..	94	29	1 in 12¾
Total. .	4499	666	8314	1172	555	76	90	386	63	394	3457	15173	200	100	143	21	8	23	23	4	59	587	13833	38	108	607	342	18 7⅔

Of the diseases with which they were afflicted, 4,059 were fevers, 762 diarrhœas, 497 dysenteries, and 180 were pulmonic complaints. The total number of deaths, out of 1,526 men, was, 440 or 1 in 3½. The fatal fever cases were, 155; ditto diarrhœa, 80; ditto, dysentery, 137. The destruction of life since our occupation of Hong Kong, has been enormous. Last year, the deaths among the troops in the island, amounted to one in 3½; at Chusan, to one in 29½; and at Koo-lung-soo, to one in 12½.

Her Majesty's 98th regiment lost at Hong Kong, in twenty-one months, 257 men, by death; but in this and other regiments, it is not merely the deaths which indicate disease and pernicious climate, it is the great number of men invalided and constantly unfit for duty. One half the men of a company are frequently unable to attend parade; out of 100 men, there are sometimes not more than fifteen or sixteen men fit for active duty. The Royal Artillery, the finest military corps in the world, out of 135 men and officers, lost in two years, fifty-one by death (of whom thirty-five died at Hong Kong during the last six months of 1843), and forty-five by invaliding. That Hong Kong was the cause of their death, will be seen from the fact that Colonel Knowles' detachment of Royal Artillery, went through the whole of the war, at Canton, and in the Yangtzekang river; the detachment was out here three years; *it never landed at Hong Kong*; one man was killed, another died of dropsy, but the whole of the remainder of the detachment returned to England, except the commanding officer,—Lieutenant Colonel Knowles, who landed at Hong Kong and died of fever. The officers of the Royal Artillery died in the same proportion as the men; out of nine officers who came out with the original detachments, but one escaped disease or death. Last year there were severe losses in the ships of war. Her Majesty's ship "Agincourt" lost, during the sickly season of 1843, sixty men, of whom twenty were marines, and forty men were invalided home, of whom few would recover. Since leaving England, in May 1842, the "Agincourt" has been obliged to enter 160 seamen from merchant-ships. The cause assigned for the severe illness of the marines and seamen of last year, was owing to their being obliged to land guards to protect stores at West Point. This year the "Agincourt" sends no men on shore, or on night duty, and out of 600 men there are only twenty three, including slight hurts, on the sick list. A fact which tests the insalubrity of the shore.

The deaths in the naval force at Hong Kong and Whampoa, for the six sickly months, ending October, 1843, were *four-and-a-half* per cent; while for the same period on shore, the deaths among the troops averaged *twenty-four per cent;* and even among the European civilians, the estimate was *ten* per cent. In May, 1843, the left wing of Her Majesty's 55th regiment, had fifteen officers and 491 men in Hong Kong; from thence to November, two offi-

cers and 218 men died, and the lives of the remainder were only saved by the prompt, judicious, and humane conduct of General D'Aguilar, in immediately embarking the men for England.

The mortality as yet (July 17) during the present year has not been so great, but the sickness is equally destructive of the efficiency of the troops. Chuck-chew, on the south side of Hong Kong, it was hoped would be a healthy station. On 30th June, 1844, out of 400 men of Her Majesty's 98th at Chuck-chew there were 109 in hospital: out of 80 Lascars at the same station there were 30 in hospital.

During the year 1845, Chuck-chew—which is almost entirely composed of rotten granite—proved as unhealthy as Victoria. By the last accounts Her Majesty's 18th were dying there rapidly; but every effort is made to suppress such information by those who wish to maintain the delusion at home. The overland "Friend of China" of the 31st December, 1845, states, that the mortality of the 18th Royal Irish, from the 1st March to December, 1845, at Chuck-chew, has been "nearly twenty-three per cent. The whole of the Europeans have now been removed from this wretched and useless spot, and placed on board the ship 'Sir R. Sale,' in the harbour of Hong Kong, on the Chinese shore; but," adds the journal, "there has been no improvement from the change, and it is probable that they will sail for England." This very regiment did not lose three per cent. per annum last year at Chusan; now they are almost entirely unfit for immediate active service.

It was supposed that Saiwan, on the south east side of Hong Kong, would afford a healthy station for the troops. Government expended about 30,000 dollars in preparing and building a fine set of barracks of two stories with every view to comfort and health. The officers of the Royal Engineers having reported the barracks habitable, the general commanding sent a medical board to examine the building and station. The board reported that the station at Saiwan appeared healthy, that there was no apparent cause for disease, and that it was eligible for troops. The general resolved to begin with a small detachment, and twenty Europeans were sent to Saiwan: no sentry was to be mounted during the day, and but one at night. In five weeks, five of the soldiers were dead; three more were in a dangerous state, and four were convalescent: one European woman and child were also dangerously ill.

The remaining men were withdrawn; and a small detachment of native troops are now (July 17th, 1844) being sent thither, in order to ascertain whether the climate will suit them. On the 17th July, 1844, only four men out of the twenty Europeans who had been to Saiwan, were reported fit for duty.

The returns made to the army and navy medical board, will furnish full information on the sufferings of the soldiers and sailors in Her Majesty's service in this colony.

Return of a Detachment of the 4th Regiment Madras Native Infantry, that landed at Hong Kong on the 29th April, and 9th May, 1840.

VICTORIA. — HONG KONG.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Assistant Surgeons.	Native Officers.	Serjeants.	Havildars.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Bheesties.	Regimental Lascars.	Artificers.	Peons.	Apothecary.	Second Dresser.	Toty.	Remarks.
1st June, 1844—																Two privates died in May. The 4th Regiment landed in rather a sickly state, but this detachment was *selected* as healthy men. Very sick cases were sent to India, and all weakly men to Amoy, with the head quarters of the regiment. The total of sick 60.
Present for Duty .	3	8	1	8	..	30	8	450	13	8	1	1	..	1	1	
Sick	..	..	1	1	1	3	..	53	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Total	3	8	2	9	1	33	8	503	13	8	1	1	1	1	1	
1st July, 1844—																Eight privates, two Bheesties, one Lascar, and one follower died in June. In addition to the number of sick, there is a convalescent list of above 30 men. Total 160 sick, and sick increasing.
Present for Duty .	2	7	1	8	..	26	8	354	9	4	1	1	..	..	1	
Sick	1	1	1	1	1	7	..	141	2	3	..	..	1	1	..	
Total	3	8	2	9	1	33	8	495	11	7	1	1	1	1	1	

Mr. Keith Stewart Mackensie, Military Secretary to the Commander-in-chief, says in his 'Narrative of the Second Campaign in China,' published in London, April, 1842, that when he was at Hong Kong, "there were as many as 1,100 men in hospital; and in the 27th Madras regiment of 560 men, only fifty were fit for duty. Many men and officers were obliged to be invalided.'"

The Indian troops bear the insalubrity of the climate worse than the Europeans. In the cantonments at the west end of Victoria, the 39th Madras Native Infantry, and 37th Madras Native Infantry, lost nearly half their men in 1842. In May, 1844, a wing of the 4th regiment Madras Native Infantry landed at Hong Kong 450 men in perfect health, and 53 sick, after a long voyage. There have been already many deaths in the cantonment at the *east* end of Victoria, and in June, 1844, there were 160 men sick, and the list was daily increasing. From 15th April to 2nd July, 1844, there died at Hong Kong out of the small force here, 52 European and 42 Native soldiers.

The "Friend of China" of 27th February, 1846, says, "the returns of death and invalids for the past year must be very large. We hear that Her Majesty's 18th Regiment have lost about *two hundred men.* The 42nd Madras Native Infantry have also suffered severely." The 18th Royal Irish arrived from Chusan in perfect health, now the regiment is almost cut up.

General D'Aguilar reported to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, that the maintenance of an European garrison at Hong Kong would cost the crown *one* regiment every three years. Estimating each soldier as having cost government £100, this would be a severe economical loss, and worthy the consideration of those who will not reflect on the humanity of the subject. To keep 700 effective fire-locks in Hong Kong it is necessary to maintain 1400 men! Hong Kong is not less fatal to the Chinese, of whom there are on an average about 600 sick and dying monthly. Dr. Gutzlaff says of "one hundred coolies with whom I was acquainted, there died between 20th May, and 15th June, 1844, ten men; and thirty left the place diseased." I understand that the whole of these 100 strong men from the north east coast, were obliged to leave the colony from sickness. There is no large town or extensive population on the mainland of China adjacent to Hong Kong, which indicates the native opinion of this part of China.

Dr. Gutzlaff says, "many Chinese have fallen victims in Hong Kong to a malignant fever, which not only deranges the whole system, but hastens the death of the patient." He adds, "*there exists amongst the doctors not one dissentient voice about the fatal tendency of diseases contracted here.*"—Nor is it during only one period of the year that the island is unhealthy. In the cold season there are agues, low continued fever, diarrhœa, pulmonary complaints, dropsy, rheumatism, and various other diseases arising

from general debility of the system and the poisoned atmosphere. On 25th August, 1843, the surveyor general of the colony reported to government that "the number of interments had been so great (in the European graveyard) that the inclosure was almost quite full; and the hill behind so rocky that it was impossible to dig into it, therefore, ere long it would be necessary to provide another place." The surveyor general further stated it would be a difficult thing to select another graveyard, on account of the rocky and uneven nature of the island.

During the year 1844, from May to December, the civil service of the government of Hong Kong shows the following details: Governor Davis ill in August and went to Chusan; colonial treasurer ill in July, went on sick leave to Chusan; colonial secretary very ill, went on sick leave to Macao; surveyor-general very ill, went on sick leave to Europe; officiating surveyor-general ill, went on sick leave to Macao; colonial engineer twice ill, went on sick leave to Macao; auditor-general very ill, went on sick leave to Macao; chief justice very ill, given over, slowly convalescing (his eldest daughter died, his son obliged to go to England); colonial chaplain very ill, went to Manilla; colonial surgeon ill, and resigned; of twelve European ladies, three died, or 25 per cent. Two chief clerks in the treasury dead: most of the clerks ill in succession. By my notes I find that, in March, 1845, the harbour-master and marine magistrate went on sick leave to England, his successor proceeded on sick leave to Macao (since to England); and the two European clerks in his office are very ill. The governor, colonial secretary, chief magistrate, and treasurer, are unwell, and occasionally unable to attend office.

In 1846, the colonial secretary, the Honourable F. W. A. Bruce, left Hong Kong on eighteen months' sick leave; so also the attorney-general. The colonial surgeon died; and other officials were very ill.

Captain White, of the "Omega," enumerated to me the following, among his own acquaintance, in a brief period:—Captain McCarthy, æt. 36, never previously ill, sailor, captain of ship; Captain Morgan, captain of ship; Mr. Henry Pybus, æt. 32, strong healthy man; Messrs. Elsworthy, Dyer, and Scott, æt. about 24, healthy men; Mr. Mercer, merchant; Mr. Langer, architect; two Mr. Hights, brothers, one captain of ship, and the other merchant, both young men; Mr. Cropper, merchant; Mr. Stevenson, builder, had been five years resident in Sierra Leone, and three years in New Orleans; Mr. McEwan, general dealer; Mr. Disandt, æt. 37, long resident in India. Fully one-third of those he knew in Hong Kong, intimately, during the first eighteen months, died in Hong Kong.

Let it be not said that the dreadful mortality and sickness of Hong Kong is the result of the newness of the colony, and that all young settlements suffer proportionably. The assertion, if

made, is at variance with fact: new colonies, even in the Tropics, have not been originally unhealthy. When the West India Islands were first colonized, they were perfectly healthy, as is proved by the large European population who resorted thither, and remained there many years. Calcutta and Bombay are reported to have been formerly much healthier than they are at present. The Australian colonies were perfectly healthy when founded; so also the Mauritius and St. Helena. I cannot name a single colony that was originally unhealthy, and that subsequently became salubrious. Soldiers, sailors, and civilians; Europeans and natives; women as well as men, residing in every part of Hong Kong, have fallen victims to the climate, and at all seasons of the year.

An extensive study of the subject, and no inconsiderable experience in different climates, induces me to concur in the opinion of Dr. Thompson, the respected head of the medical department of Hong Kong, that the island never will be healthy. Its geological character; the immense quantity of rain; and the circumvallation of hills surrounding the town and island, render it a hot-bed of disease, which may be more mitigated one year than another, but which will ever and anon recur with increased violence. No drainage can obviate this destructive miasm; independent of new roads or buildings, the rain will every year keep the surface continually saturated with moisture, and also uncover large portions of the hills, washing the putrifying substance down the deep ravines, towards the sea, thus generating a fruitful crop of diseases.

We shall have to consider, in a subsequent part of this report, whether the objects sought, or to be obtained, by the possession of Hong Kong, are worth the dreadful sacrifice of life which the maintenance of the present establishments entails.

Population and progress.—Hong Kong was "ceded to the British Crown under the seal of the Imperial Minister and High Commissioner, Keshen," in January, 1841—see Captain Elliot's proclamation, dated Hong Kong, 29th January, 1841, promising "full security and protection to all British subjects and foreigners residing in or resorting to the island, so long as they shall continue to conform to the authority of Her Majesty's government hereby duly constituted and proclaimed in and over Hong Kong," &c. By the same proclamation natives of China were invited to settle in the island, by promising them that they should be "governed according to the laws and customs of China—every description of torture excepted." And, by another proclamation dated Hong Kong, Jan. 1841, issued by Sir Gordon Bremer, commander-in-chief, and Captain Elliot, Her Majesty's plenipotentiary, it is declared, that "the island of Hong Kong has now become a part of the dominions of the Queen of England, by clear public agreement between the high officers of the Celestial and British

courts; and the Chinese are hereby promised protection in Her Majesty's gracious name against all enemies whatever; and they are further secured in the free exercise of their religious rites, ceremonies, and social customs, and in the enjoyment of their lawful private property and interests: Chinese ships, and merchants resorting to the port of Hong Kong for the purposes of trade, are exempt, in the name of the Queen of England, from charge or duty of any kind to the British government." The remainder of the proclamation consists of further inducements for the Chinese to settle in and trade with Hong Kong.

A form of government was organized: a chief magistrate and a harbour master, &c., were appointed; fifty lots of land were sold in June, 1841, to Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, and Co.; Dent and Co.; MacVicar and Co.; Fox, Rawson, and Co.; Turner and Co.; Lindsey and Co., and various other persons; the annual rental of which amounted to £3,224. Each lot was required to have a building erected within six months, of the appraised value of 1,000 dollars; and a deposit of 500 dollars was required to be lodged with the treasurer as a security for the performance of this engagement. Building commenced with great spirit: the government spent very large sums of money on the island, and the harbour was filled with ships of war and transports. The island has now had a fair trial of more than three-and-a-half (at present *six*) years, we shall examine what progress it has made in civilized population.

On taking possession of Hong Kong, it was found to contain about 7,500 inhabitants scattered over twenty fishing hamlets and villages. The requirements of the fleet and troops, the demands for labourers to make roads and houses, and the servants of Europeans, increased the number of inhabitants, and in March, 1842, they were numbered at 12,361. In April, 1844, the number of Chinese on the island is computed at 19,000—of whom not more than 1,000 are women and children. In the census are included ninety-seven women slaves and females attendant on thirty-one brothels, eight gambling houses, and twenty opium shops. It is literally true that after three years and a half (*six*) uninterrupted settlement, *there is not one respectable Chinese inhabitant on the island.* The merchants of China, in a memorial to Lord Stanley, of 13th August, 1845, say: "there are no Chinese merchants, nor even shopkeepers, with the smallest pretension to property."

One man of reputed wealth, named Chinam, who had been engaged in the opium trade, came to Hong Kong, built a good house and freighted a ship. He soon returned to Canton, and died there of a fever and cold contracted at Hong Kong. It was understood, however, that had he lived he would have been prohibited returning to Hong Kong, as it is the policy of the mandarins on the adjacent coast to prevent all respectable Chinese from settling at Hong Kong, and, in consequence of the hold which they possess on their families and relatives, this can be done most

effectually; at the same time, I believe, that they encourage and promote the deportation of every thief, pirate, and idle or worthless vagabond from the mainland to Hong Kong.

The Rev. Dr. Gutzlaff, who has been engaged in making a census of the population in Hong Kong, referring to the fishermen, who formed the greater part of the population of the island on our arrival, says: "they are a roving set of beings, floating on the wide face of the ocean with their families, and committing depredations whenever it can be done with impunity. The stone-cutters have been working here for many years before our arrival; the majority of these men are unprincipled; they cannot be considered as domesticated, and are in the habit of going and coming according to the state of trade. The most numerous class who have since our arrival fixed themselves on the island, are from Whampoa; many of them *are of the worst character, and are ready to commit any atrocity.* The capital of the shopkeepers is very small; the most of them live from hand to mouth, and lead a life of expedients, without principle and self-control.

"It is very natural that depraved, idle, and bad characters from the adjacent main and islands should flock to the colony where some money can be made."

Dr. Gutzlaff, whose prepossessions are strongly in favour of the Chinese, concludes this portion of the memorandum with which he has favoured me, as follows: "*The moral standard of the people congregated in this place (Hong Kong) is of the lowest description.*" This observation is fully borne out by the numerous murders, piracies, burglaries, and robberies of every description, which have taken place during the last three (*six*) years, and with almost perfect impunity; for the Chinese are formed into secret societies for mutual protection, and no man dare inform against another.

A writer in the London "Times" of 17th December, 1844, speaking of his experience at Hong Kong, says, "The community is migratory, property most insecure, and life often in danger, from the bands of piratical robbers that infest this and the neighbouring islands. The place has nothing to recommend it, if we except its excellent harbour. The site of the new town of Victoria is most objectionable, there being scarcely level ground enough for the requisite buildings; and the high hills which overhang the locality shut out the southerly winds, and render the place exceedingly hot, close, and unhealthy. Many of the worst description of Chinese resort there, and I have seen during one evening at Victoria, more open scenes of vice and debauchery than I had observed during my three years' stay in the north of China. So much for the boasted march of civilization." Recently, the police magistrate at Victoria publicly warned the inhabitants not to go outside the precincts of the town without fire-arms. And as regards the waters around Hong Kong, they are in possession of

the pirates, unless a well-armed vessel with Europeans gives convoy to any coasting craft.

It must not be inferred, however, from the various trades carried ried on at Hong Kong by the Chinese, that there is an honest, peaceful population.

At this moment, (July, 1844), the European inhabitants are obliged to sleep with loaded pistols under their pillows; frequently to turn out of their beds at midnight to protect their lives and property from gangs of armed robbers, who are ready to sacrifice a few of their number if they can obtain a large plunder.

The Hong Kong newspapers teem with descriptions of robberies almost nightly. To this is now added incendiarism. The following extract from the "Hong Kong register," is a fair specimen of the daring character of the attacks:—

"About half-past one this (Monday) morning a room in the hospital was broken into, and money and goods to a considerable value carried away. The thieves in this, as in most of the robberies that have occurred, must have been well acquainted with the premises. Mr. Cowan, the assistant, was awakened by the crash of the venetians being wrenched off: after which fire-balls were thrown in to illuminate the room, which was immediately filled with robbers, and stripped of everything portable, after which they made off, without disturbing the adjoining apartments. On making his escape, Mr. Cowan endeavoured in vain to attract the attention of the sentinel stationed at the foot of the hill; and failling in this, gave the alarm at Dr. Anderson's; but so expeditious were the parties, that by this time all trace of them was lost. The watchman at Dr. Hobson's, saw about fifty take to a boat on the small piece of beach lying between the two hills.

"The almost nightly occurrence of such events, calls loudly for a more efficient system of police. One of the first requisites of a Government is to afford protection to the life and property of the subjects. No lengthened dissertation is required to show how completely, in this latter respect, we are here left unprotected. We should like to know how many Europeans on the island, sleep every night without loaded fire-arms either under their pillow or within their immediate reach—and the answer, if obtained, would prove sufficiently the degree of confidence placed in our policemen."

The "*China Mail*," dated Hong Kong, 27th August, 1846, a paper which has hitherto supported the local government, and whose proprietor and editor invested, in 1844, some property in the island, makes the following admission:

"It is, and will continue, a subject of wonder, why, where so wide a choice was open, our negotiators should have selected such a *sterile and wild unlovely land as Hong Kong*.

"The number of lawless ruffians has lately been on the increase, and scarcely a week passes unmarked by some instances of murder, stabbing, and other aggravated assaults, chiefly committed by the Chinese."

Since this was printed, the insecurity has increased, and persons are carried off by force from the island in open day: while the pirates, who congregate like hungry wolves in the outer waters, are ready to seize on any unarmed or even half-armed vessel, that quits the protection of our guns. Every mail that arrives from China, confirms the accuracy of these statements.

This state of things was long ago predicted. In the "Canton Register," of 23rd February, 1841, it was stated: "Hong Kong will be the resort and rendezvous of all the Chinese smugglers; opium smoking shops and gambling houses will soon spread; to those haunts will flock all the discontented and bad spirits of the empire; the island will be surrounded by "shameens," (name of a dissolute place at Canton), and become a gehenna of the waters." Three (*six*) years have completely fulfilled this prediction, and neither time nor circumstances will now ever alter the character of the place. No Chinese of the humbler class will ever bring their wives and children to the colony. He must be sanguinely visionary who expects that Hong Kong will ever contain a numerous and respectable Chinese population. And as regards the present inhabitants, if a migratory race who are constantly changing, deserve that epithet, their diminution by one half would be satisfactory, for then a control by registration might be exercised, and life and property be rendered in some degree secure."

The daring character of the population, and its worthlessness for all useful civil purposes in the formation of a colony, will be seen in the following incident:—

On the 27th September, 1843, the Honourable Major Caine, the chief magistrate, issued a proclamation for putting down some mat-sheds, which harboured a gang of ruffians, who were nightly engaged in plundering the town. In the beginning of October, 1843, the Chinese robbers posted a counter proclamation on the gate of number one, market place, in the chief thoroughfare, declaring that if they left the island themselves, they would "compel others to do so, taking with them their merchandise and property: and warning people to be cautious how they ventured out after dark, lest they meet with some unexpected harm." At the same time, the government coal depôts were set on fire; the mat-barracks of 41st regiment, and the market place, number one, were attempted to be burned; and at noon, a number of Chinamen armed with knives, entered the market, threatened all around, wounded an European policeman, and then walked away unmolested. The number of prisoners in the jail of Hong Kong, averaged, during 1843-44, from sixty to ninety a month; nearly

every prisoner was Chinese. and the crimes with which they were charged, were invariably piracy, murder, burglary, robbery, &c. There has been no diminution of crime; the number of prisoners in the jail has increased; and the nightly robberies are nearly as frequent as they were three years ago. The shopkeepers do not remain more than a few months on the island, when another set takes their place. There is, in fact, a continual shifting of a Bedouin sort of population, whose migratory, predatory, gambling, and dissolute habits, utterly unfit for them for continuous industry, and render them not only useless, but highly injurious subjects in the attempt to form a new colony.

There cannot be said to be any other coloured race in the colony, a few Lascars seek employment in ships. The European inhabitants, independent of those in the employ of government, consist of the members of about twelve mercantile houses, and their clerks, together with several European shopkeepers. A few persons have arrived here from New South Wales, to try and better their fortune, many of whom would be glad to return thither.

The principal mercantile firms are those engaged in the opium trade, and who have removed thither from Macao, as a safer position for an opium depôt, and which they frankly admit is the only trade Hong Kong will ever possess. The opium belonging to the two principal firms is not however lodged on shore, it is kept in "receiving ships;" the "*Hormanjee Romanjee*" belonging to Jardine, Matheson, & Co.; and the "*John Barry*" belonging to Dent & Co. Even the money in use by those firms is not entrusted on shore, but is kept in the "receiving ships." These firms and the three or four others partially engaged in the opium trade, carry on the business in Hong Hong; the tea trade is carried on distinctly at Canton, by members of the firms resident there. Excepting the six firms engaged in the opium trade, the other six houses are small, and are principally agents for manufacturers, &c., in Great Britain. The expense of establishments, the high rate of interest of money, and the want of trade, will it is said probably ere long compel the removal or breaking up of several of the small houses. There is scarcely a firm in the island, but would I understand be glad to get back half the money they have expended in the colony, and retire from the place. [Since this was written in July 1844, many of the mercantile firms have quitted Hong Kong—and others are preparing to follow their example.]

The "*Friend of China*" of 11th July, 1846, states, "*a few facts for the consideration of his Excellency Governor Davis*:—

"Marine lot No. 64 was offered for sale at Mr. Franklyn's rooms yesterday. This lot has 200 feet water frontage, with a sea wall and other improvements, which cost 3,000 dollars—it adjoins some of the principal mercantile establishments, and for mer-

cantile premises is a most eligible site. There was not a single bid, and the lot and improvements will probably be allowed to lapse to the crown. Less than a year ago Mr. Franklyn sold a less valuable lot for 3,080 dollars; and two years age 6,000 dollars would have been given for lot 64, which now cannot find a bidder.

"There are upwards of twenty unoccupied houses in Hong Kong, either of which two years ago would have commanded an annual rent of one thousand dollars.

"*There is not a single Chinese merchant resident in Hong Kong. Of British firms eight have abandoned the colony since the arrival of his Excellency.*

"The commerce which existed when his Excellency arrived, has disappeared—parties who purchased, and improved lots, are abandoning them—the land rent is diminishing, and upwards of 200 Ladrones are known to be resident on the island."

A sort of hallucination seems to have seized those who built houses here. They thought that Hong Kong would "rapidly outrival Singapore," and become the Tyre or Carthage of the "eastern hemisphere." Three (*six*) years' residence, and the experience thence derived, have materially sobered some of the views entertained. Unfortunately the government of the colony fostered the delusion respecting the colony. The leading government-officers bought land, built houses or bazaars, which they rented out at high rates, and the public money was lavished in the most extraordinary manner, building up and pulling down temporary structures; making zig-zag bridle paths over hills and mountains, and forming "the Queen's road" of three to four miles long on which about 80,000 dollars have been expended, but which is not passable for half the year. The straggling settlement called Victoria, built along "the Queen's Road" was dignified with the name of "*City*," and it was declared on the highest authority that Hong Kong would contain a population "equal to that of Ancient Rome."

The surveyor general, in an official report to his relative and patron, Sir Henry Pottinger, of twenty-two pages, dated 6th July, 1843, proposed building an entirely new town or "*city*" in the Wooni-chung valley (which may be aptly called *the valley of death*) with a grand canal and many branch canals, &c. &c.

"Two ranges of terraces of houses, &c., courts of law and various other offices;" "acclimatizing barracks;" "additions to the present government house for the secretaries and personal staff of the governor, isolated from all other buildings;" a space of land to be reclaimed from the sea for a public landing place, with an esplanade, or public walk;" "*a magnificent promenade of four miles*" to be made on ground now covered by the sea, which was to be excluded by a sea wall "at a cost of thirty-five dollars per lineal yard, *exclusive of filling in*," &c.; a circular road over hills and ravines round the entire island, &c. &c. adapted for carriages

and for *moving troops with speed and facility to any part of the island, where they may happen to be required for the protection of the different villages!*" (these villages, be it remembered, containing nothing but a few hundreds of a thieving, piratical population) —I refer to the government archives for full details of these and other most ridiculous projects, involving a vast expenditure of public money, which none but the wildest theorists, or self-interested persons, could have projected or entertained.

On 17th December, 1843, the surveyor-general laid before Sir Henry Pottinger the elevation of a building for a government office, &c. "with a front of 360 feet in length by 50 feet in depth, *and which would probably cost* £30,000 *sterling.*" There seemed to be the greatest possible desire to spend a large part of the Chinese indemnity money on this wretched, barren, unhealthy, and useless rock, which the whole wealth, energy, and talent of England would never render habitable, or creditable as a colony to the British name.

In illustration of the mode in which the public money was proposed to be spent, I give the following, which is a portion of the estimate of public works in Hong Kong for 1844, and which Sir H. Pottinger transmitted to England for approval; if sanctioned, of course, the surveyor-general would be no loser by this large expenditure of cash among Chinese contractors.

	Dollars.
Completion of Queen's Roads from West Point, to the east side of Woongnichung valley	28,000
Ditto to Godowns of Jardine & Co.	15,000
New street formation in Victoria	35,000
Sewers in Victoria	100,000
Value of houses to be removed from upper bazaar and other places	25,000
Drainage of Woongnichung valley	7,000
Bridle path to Saiwan	3,000
New church	35,000
Government house, with suitable office, &c.	70,000
House for judge	24,000
Ditto for advocate general	20,000
Ditto for Queen's solicitor general	20,000
Ditto for colonial secretary	20,000
Ditto for chief magistrate	20,000
Ditto for treasurer	18,000
Ditto for land officer	18,000
Ditto for clerk of colonial council	16,000
Ditto for colonial surgeon	16,000
Ditto for the chaplain	16,000
Buildings for advocate general, Queen's solicitor, &c.	100,000
Prison, with house for jailer, Hong Kong	45,000
Carried forward	651,000

	Dollars.
Brought forward	651,000
Debtors' jail, Hong Kong	20,000
House of Correction, Hong Kong . . .	15,000
Two police stations north side of Island . .	10,000
Two smaller ditto	4,000
Police station at Chuckchoo	8,000
Ditto at Saiwan	3,000
Ditto at Pok-foolum	3,000
Keeping in repair Chuk-chooroad	1,500
	715,500
Contingencies of five per cent.	35,775
	751,275
Consulate at Canton	45,000
Total	796,275

Land office, 10th of February, 1844. A. F. Gordon,
Victoria. Land officer.

This is but a small portion of the contemplated expenditure; it does not include the formation of streets and roads in Hong Kong, which (on account of the mountainous nature of the island) would cost about £100,000 sterling. It does not include barracks, stores, forts, arsenals, dockyards, wharfs, &c., all projected, and which would cost several millions sterling before they would be completed!

By a Parliamentary Return (No. 264, of May 4, 1846), it appears that the total revenue raised in Hong Kong from January 29, 1841 (when British possession was taken by Captain Elliot), to September 30, 1845, amounted to £29,436; that is, for nearly five years at the rate of less than 6,000 a-year. Of the total sum of £29,436, the amount received as rent of land for building was £16,208, leaving only £13,228 from all other sources.

The mere civil colonial expenditure, as far as it can be gathered from the above imperfect return, amounted for the period quoted, to £161,634, thus showing a deficit for civil expenses alone, of £132,198. The military and naval expenditure, military works, charges, &c., for the same period at Hong Kong, has not been less than, on an average, £200,000 per annum. Thus this barren, useless island has cost England already more than a million and a quarter sterling to the present date; while the Americans carry on a trade with China equal to half the commerce of England with China, at a cost of about £1,000 a-year! A mercantile Consul at Canton, and the occasional presence of a ship of war at Canton, affords all the required aid of the United States' commerce with

China, while we are uselessly squandering life and treasure at Hong Kong. According to the ordnance estimates, ordered to be printed, February 16th, 1846, it would appear that Her Majesty's Ministers are still unacquainted with the real nature of Hong Kong, or they would not sanction the continuance of enormous expenditure on an utterly useless barren rock:—

	For 1845-46.	For 1846-47.
Ordnance establishments	£1,900	£6,604
Barrack ditto	2,522	1,861
Clerk of works, &c.	949	931
Labourers' wages	1,654	1,843
New works and barracks		113,000
		£124,239

What the past ordnance expenditure has been, it is difficult, if not impossible, to say; but it is very desirable that the vote for the above sum of £124,239, for only one branch of service, be suspended until an impartial inquiry be made. The officer commanding the troops at Hong Kong, and the officer in charge of the engineers, who are now causing and recommending this expenditure, both formerly declared that Hong Kong was valueless to England; and the respected heads of ordnance, artillery, and commissariat, have in vain protested against this waste of the public money: for this *meritorious conduct Colonel Chesney, of the Royal Artillery, and Mr. Pitt, of the Ordnance, have been disgraced and punished by General d'Aguilar!*

Some of the useless military expenditure is as follows:—

The General's House.	Dollars.
Original estimate	22,000
Two additional estimates	1,346
Two supplementary ditto	4,500
	27,846
Materials bought in addition to the estimates,—timber, lead, marble, glass, bricks, and lime	10,000
	37,846
Retaining wall, bridge, and road	10,000
Coach-house, stables, cook-house, and out-offices, covered way to ditto	8,000
Paid on the spot	55,846
Fixtures and fittings demanded from England £3,000	15,000
	70,846

Besides laying out ground, planting grass plots, and other expenses still going on.

70,000 dollars, at twelve per cent. per annum, only 8,520 dollars per annum of rent, paid to accommodate Major-general D'Aguilar, equal to about £1,836 sterling per annum.

Officers' Quarters.	Dollars.
Original estimate	61,680
In addition, materials	4,000
Ditto, lead	300
Supplementary estimate £3,400	17,000
Further sum for material—timber, bricks, tiles, lime, glass, &c. &c.	9,800
	92,780
To which must be added the expenses of the mess-room, not known as yet	
Also the cook-house, stables, privies, drains, bath rooms, formation of grounds, &c. &c.	
Fixtures from England for both items	18,000
Total Dollars	110,780

The quarters accommodate twenty-two officers, being 5,000 dollars for each officer, who has for his personal accommodation a single ill-ventilated room, twenty feet by eighteen. For this sum a good six room house can be built, suitable to officers, with verandahs, and every comfort which the climate renders essential; but of course without a massive *entablature* of granite *Ionic* columns and capitals, the volutes elaborately carved in the *same material.* At twelve per cent. each officer's little room costs 600 dollars per annum, or fifty dollars per month, for which a comfortable house might be obtained.

I am ready to prove that the conduct of General D'Aguilar, and particularly of Major Aldrich, of the Engineers, deserves the strongest censure, for their waste of the public money, at Hong Kong.

	Dollars.
Hospital with two wings, original estimate	90,000
Two wings of barracks in the rear of the officers' quarters	35,000
Add for drains, hillock, &c.	26,000
Add sea wall to hospital	13,000
Materials purchased	23,000
	187,000

Exclusive of out-buildings of every description, fixtures of all kinds demanded from England, and a variety of expenses inserted in 1847 estimate.

Colonel Chesney, of the Bengal artillery, an officer of forty years distinguished service, of high intellectual attainments, and truly Christian principles, saw the inutility of Hong Kong, and endeavoured to check the wasteful expenditure of the public money, as is the bounden duty of a servant of the crown—whether civil or military. For thus acting, Colonel Chesney has been shamefully persecuted by those who are interested personally and pecuniarily in maintaining the delusion. It is to be hoped that justice is not dead in England, and that Colonel Chesney, on his return home, will obtain it at the hands of the Commander-in-chief, and the Master-general of the ordnance.

It is unnecessary to pursue this branch of the subject farther; sufficient has been said to shew the absurd and ruinous projects which were entertained, and the utter failure of the colony in regard to the nature and extent of its population.

The merchants and British residents in Hong Kong, in a memorial to Lord Stanley, dated 13th August, 1845, (after I had quitted the island), fully verify this observation: they say, "there is at this moment, after four years occupation of the island, scarcely one foreign resident, except government officers, and those British merchants and traders who commenced building before the enforcement of the leases; there are no Chinese merchants, or even shopkeepers, with any pretension to property."

COMMERCE.—There is no trade of any noticeable extent in Hong Kong; vessels occasionally touch here on their way to Canton, or on their return from thence, when laden and about to proceed to Europe for orders. Vessels also proceeding to or coming from the ports to the northward, sometimes touch here for instructions from the owners or consignees, but very few "break bulk" at Hong Kong. A large British fleet of merchant-men yearly load at Canton with tea; not one of these vessels touch at Hong Kong, they are perfectly independent of the island and of its harbour. The place is indeed shunned by the tea ships. There is a considerable business done in opium, Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, and Co., have a large opium "receiving ship," the "Homanjee Bomanjee," moored the whole year round in this harbour; Messrs. Dent and Co., have also a large vessel, the "John Barry," for a similar purpose. These receiving ships contain the opium brought from India, whence it is transhipped to smaller vessels, and sent up the coast. Messrs. McVicar, Burn, and Co., and a few smaller houses, also deal to the extent of their means in the opium trade, which requires a large ready money capital. The smaller houses who have no vessels of their own, consign opium to agents at the consular ports, but it is kept on board the receiving ships moored off or near those ports, until the agents sell the opium to some Chinese broker, at Shang-

hai for instance, who then receives an order for the delivery of the opium, from the "receiving ship" at Woosung.

There are no native junks trading here from the coast of China; there are none belonging to the port, and a few fishing, stone, provision, and passage boats, many of which form a safe asylum for Ladrones and vagabonds of every description, constitute the native craft of Hong Kong. Even if the natural impediments did not exist to the establishment of a native coasting trade, the articles 13, 14, and 16, in the supplementary treaty, would effectually prevent any Chinese junks, resorting to Hong Kong; not only are the junks prevented proceeding thither from any places but the five consular ports, but they must also obtain special passports for a voyage to Hong Kong, and when arrived there, the British government are to act the part of spies for the Chinese government, and to report every vessel, the name of her proprietor, the nature of her cargo, &c., to the authorities at Canton. It is now well understood what was the object of these clauses; no passes will be readily granted, and junks that might proceed to Hong Kong, would probably be punished by the Chinese authorities, who are exceedingly jealous that any thing should occur for the advantage of Hong Kong. These and other circumstances together with the fear of pirates, the want of a Chinese commercial community, the dearness of provisions, and the absence or high price of any trading commodities, will be sufficient to prevent any coasting trade at Hong Kong.

Dr. Gutzlaff, whose knowledge of the Chinese character and proceedings is certainly unsurpassed, says, "so long as the trade is maintained in the respective ports on an excellent footing, no vessels will visit this colony to buy articles at the same price which they can more easily get nearer to them, nor will they bring goods to Hong Kong for which there is an advantageous market in their own neighbourhood. When ships find it more profitable to proceed direct to the northern ports, the chances of Hong Kong becoming an emporium are very trifling. Whatever native or foreign trade will be carried on here, must be brought to the colony by adventitious circumstances, and will last or cease according to accident; for notwithstanding the excellent harbour, Hong Kong has nothing in its position or relationship to the other ports to concentrate commerce."

Since August 1841, proclamations and regulations have been issued respecting commerce and shipping, for their encouragement and protection. No duties of any kind whatever have been levied, no inquiries have been made as to the cargoes of vessels; ships might enter and depart at pleasure; but all in vain, commerce cannot be created where no materials for it exist.

A table of the shipping which entered the harbour of Hong Kong for three years, shews that it consisted principally of transports conveying troops, and vessels calling for orders or seek-

ing freight. Ample trial has been given to the place without any satisfactory result. Nearly four (six) years residence on or occupation of the Island, and an immense expenditure, has failed to produce any commercial operation. Every month the shipping entering the harbour are diminishing in number, and the imposition of a tonnage duty, would it is said, cause a still further decrease.

Since this was written the Colonial Journals contain the following statements :—

" We have no native merchants settled in the colony; neither is produce imported, nor goods exported, to any of the five ports, except it be on British account; and all mercantile transactions are concluded at those ports, whilst the harbour of Hong Kong is completely deserted. Not an anchor of a junk is dropped in the bay of Hong Kong; they flee from it as man would from a pestilence. * * * * * Hong Kong, a free port, is deprived of all trade further than the transhipment of goods, and a supply of articles for local consumption, the commissions upon which would barely pay the expenses of a first class mercantile establishment.—(Extract from editorial article in the ' Friend of China, and Hong Kong Gazette,' No. 185, for November 1844.)

" The respectable Parsee firm whose extensive premises near Messrs. Dent and Co., are now nearly finished, have determined not to remove to Hong Kong; others, who contemplated settling here, have changed their minds and remain at Macao. Three English firms, within three months, have abandoned the island, confining their operations to Canton; and of the several new firms established within the past six months, none of them has even an office in Hong Kong. * * * There is now positively less actual trade than we had two years ago, and the little that exists is decreasing."—(" Friend of China," editorial article, Hong Kong, 18th June, 1845.)

" It is much to be feared that unless very different measures are speedily adopted, this colony, as a place of commerce, will be utterly ruined."—(Ibid.)

On 17th January, 1846, the same journal announces, that " since the first of the month, two firms have given up their establishments in the colony, other two of old standing have also determined to leave the island, and others are about to follow the example."

" Friend of China," edited 15th May, 1845, says, " when Hong Kong was ceded to Her Majesty, most of the British merchants resident in China, were induced to build houses and stores on the island, in the reasonable expectation that a large junk trade would immediately spring up, similar to that the Chinese carry on with the comparatively distant ports of Batavia and Singapore. They have been disappointed, however, and their expensive establish-

ments are only valuable as points, from whence they correspond with their constituents."

"Not a native vessel nor a native merchant can come to Hong Kong. We see junks passing through the harbour on their passage to and from Macao; we also know that large fleets of them visit the Indian islands for articles of traffic, which they could better obtain here without the danger and delay of a long voyage, but *here* they do not come. The much lauded treaty made by Sir Henry Pottinger, completely checks the slightest approach to that description of commerce, which might almost have been calculated on. The Chinese evidently will not grant permits to their traders wishing to visit us, and without such permits we have agreed to seize inoffensive men and deliver them over to torture and death. It was this malignant clause of the treaty which deeply injured the colony, and disappointed those who vested largely in the hopes that Hong Kong would be a place of commercial importance." ("Friend of China," Hong Kong, 15th May, 1845.")

The following opinions shew the value of the settlement in the estimation of even the merchants who unfortunately settled at Hong Kong:—

"We hesitate not to assert, that with the exception of two or three houses, who have a large coasting trade (this refers to the opium trade), nearly every merchant in the place would cheerfully dispose of his property at cost price, and abandon this island; and even the exceptions we have made, could manage their business equally well at Macao." ("Friend of China," Hong Kong, 26th July, 1845.)

An official gentleman of rank, in a letter dated Hong Kong, 25th July, 1846, says, "no change is more apparent than the tone of the merchants. No one whom I have met or heard of has the slightest hope of maintaining this as a place of commerce; the game is now to lay out nothing, and lose as little as possible of what they have expended. The military reductions, and the constant departures, will complete the downfall of Hong Hong."

The London "*Times*" of July, 1846, says, "the prospects of Hong Kong as a commercial colony are not good; account for it as we will,—disguise as we may, the truth is becoming more plain and undeniable every day; it might perhaps be well dispensed with for any value it is of now to our commerce."

"There is at this moment, after four years occupation of the island, scarcely one foreign resident except government officers, and those British merchants who commenced building *before* the enforcement of the leases; there are no Chinese merchants *or even shop-keepers with any pretence to property; there is neither an import or export trade of any kind;* and as will be seen by the public papers, even now when many private dwellings are temporarily occupied by the civil and military officers of government, pending the completion of the public buildings, several houses have been

untenanted for months past, and the *value of all property is daily on the decrease.*

" The island of Hong Kong has no natural productions, and is even *dependent for its daily supply of food on the mainland.*

" Hong Kong cannot be expected under any circumstances to possess an extensive trade, or to afford any considerable revenue towards the payment of its expenses.

[Memorial to Lord Stanley, of Jardine, Matheson and Co., Dent and Co., and other British merchants, &c., who have residences in Hong Kong, dated, " Victoria, 13th August, 1845."]

" The Americans and all other foreigners remain in Canton, and Macao, notwithstanding *all the boasted advantages of Hong Kong as a free port.* [Letter of above parties in reply to Governor Davis' letter of 25th August, 1845, and dated, " Victoria, 29th August, 1845."]

" Although Hong Kong has been nearly four years in existence, the *commencement of new houses of any magnitude, can no where be seen,* a state of matters, we believe without a parallel in the history of the British colonies. *(Ibid.)*

" While the place continues the seat of government, and the head-quarters of steam communication, many English mercantile houses may find it necessary to keep up establishments here, and a small Chinese population will remain with them; but when the present government and other buildings, (long since commenced,) are finished, a large portion of the present inhabitants must emigrate from a place where *from the absence of trade* they can have no occupation. *(Ibid.)*

" The reported increase of tonnage, shews nothing more than the number of ships that have anchored in Hong Kong bay on their way to other ports. All, or nearly all, the cotton ships from India, have stopped a few hours in Hong Kong, before proceeding to Canton, *but not a single bale of their cargoes has been landed or sold here; and the same remark may generally apply to the ships from England:* but it would be as erroneous to infer from the number of inward vessels, that there is an increase of trade, or indeed *any trade at all,* as to suppose because all the English tea-laden ships from Canton call here for their despatches, that Hong Kong is the centre of the tea-trade. *(Ibid.)*

" With regard to the report of Dr. Gutzlaff ' that 120,000 pieces of cotton goods have been taken away by thirteen junks this year.' We submit that *some doubt* may be entertained of the authenticity of mercantile statements, which appear to have *eluded the observation of the whole mercantile community.* We are quite satisfied Dr. Gutzlaff must have been convinced that such a trade really existed, but as we cannot find that his information has been derived from any of the British merchants, we are apprehensive that he has relied on the report of the Chinese junk people, a class by no means remarkable for strict adherence to correctness in questions of statistical detail. Supposing however the reports to

be correct, it by no means follows that such deliveries of cotton cloth can be deemed part of the trade of Hong Kong, for nothing is of more common occurrence than for the junk owners to purchase goods in Canton, deliverable *outside* the port at *Macao*, Hong Kong or *elsewhere; and if this place did not exist,* the business would be carried on at other convenient anchorages. Giving however the fullest measure of credit both to Dr. Gutzlaff's informants, and the inference that His Excellency the governor in council appears to deduce from the report, we venture to remark, that if after four years occupation of the colony, the *only trade which can be found to exist after apparently the most diligent enquiry,* is an export of 120,000 pieces of cloth, in a place possessing all the advantages of a free port, so pointedly enumerated in your letter now under reply, there is scarcely yet sufficient business transacted or likely soon to be transacted in the colony, to justify heavy taxation. *(Ibid.)*

"Assuming (what, as above stated, we do not think it would be correct to admit) that the 120,000 pieces of cotton cloths belong to the trade of this place, the following statement taken from official returns, will shew the position of the question more accurately. *Canton* imports for the year 1844, £3,883,828; *Shanghai* imports for *only* half a year ending June 1845, £442,757; *Hong Kong* for whole year ending 30th June, 1845, say 120,000 pieces of cotton cloths at 10*s.* each £60,000. [Letter from British merchants at Hong Kong to Official Secretary Caine, "Victoria, 29th August, 1845."

There does not appear the slightest probability, that under any circumstance Hong Kong will ever become a place of trade. The overland "Friend of China," of 27th February, 1846, adverts to the "retrograding and ruin of the colony," to the "merchants and others who were led to invest money in building, by hopes that have never been realized," and that it is not a matter of astonishment, that Europeans and Chinese are alike desirous to realize, and abandon the island. The island produces nothing whatever; its geographical position as regard the Chinese coast generally, or Canton in particular, is bad. For the trade of the coast of China it is too far to the southward of a territory which extends upwards of 2,000 miles, and if it were practicable to remove the foreign trade of Canton, the removal would be either to some of the open ports to the northward, in the neighbourhood of the tea districts, or to some island or place in the Canton river. Among other delusions that have been promulgated, is the allegation that Hong Kong is a protection to the British commerce at Canton, and especially to the tea trade. With reference to the latter it should be remembered, that the Chinese are as eager to sell us tea, as we are to buy it; that the cessation of the trade would be a greater injury to them than to the British nation; that there was no difficulty in procuring tea during the war; that nothing would pre-

vent the Chinese supplying our annual demand for tea, and of course receiving in return English manufactures.

The tea trade is in fact as independent of Hong Kong as it would be of our occupation of the Sandwich Islands. Canton, however, has no intrinsic advantages to make it the seat of foreign commerce: so long as the Emperor restricted all foreigners to the most distant southerly port in the empire, tea, silk, or any other exportable produce was obliged to be conveyed thither, however distant the place of production or manufacture; but the case is now totally different; when the northern ports in the immediate vicinity of the tea and silk provinces are equally with Canton open to British commerce. Several vessels have already laden with tea for England, in the northern ports: this may be increased, and the trade of Canton would then be proportionally diminished, thus rendering Hong Kong (admitting for for the sake of argument its reputed value as a protection to the trade of Canton), every year less and less useful to British interests in China. It is for the advantage of England that our trade with China be carried on with the northern ports. In the central districts of China along the Yangtzekang, and other great rivers and canals, the people are more civilized, more wealthy, and (now that they are becoming acquainted with the English), more disposed to friendly and commercial intercourse. By purchasing tea and silk near the place of production, the charges of land carriage, fees, &c. will be reduced, and the cost price thus lessened by one-third to the British consumer. On the other hand, the Chinese will be able to purchase at a cheap rate British manufactures, when they are brought by our vessels to their doors. These, and other considerations, render it a matter of national importance that our trade with China be diffused over several ports, instead of being confined to Canton; and indicates that it is not desirable Hong Kong be maintained (even if the assertion be true) as a protection to the trade of Canton.

Dr. Gutzlaff in November, 1844, wrote the following opinion on Hong Kong, which Governor Davis forwarded to Lord Aberdeen:—

"Hong Kong, with its fine harbour, has not yet proved a place of trade on anticipations founded at the opening of the port, on the previous flourishing condition of the floating colonies at Lintin, Kamsingmoon, and Kapsingmoon.

"The whole state of things is now, however, materially and radically changed. The violent prohibitions against opium have ceased to be carried into effect, and the smuggling vessels are now everywhere scattered on the coast. Every raw and manufactured article may be bought nearly as cheap as at Hong Kong, at any of the four emporiums. What should, therefore, induce the Chinese to fetch them from a distant mart.

"The Chinchew race of mariners and merchants, have not yet made

this island their abode, and unless they commence in earnest, the motley group now inhabiting our shores will never rise beyond the sphere of pedlars.

In the same ratio as the northern trade expands, the limits of the southern will be more and more narrowed, and unless matters are replaced in their former state, which is perhaps *beyond the range of possibilities*, we cannot expect that Hong Kong will become a large emporium.

"Its only chance is that troubles might arise at Canton, and the commerce be carried on here for security's sake; local advantages that can *in the smallest degree compete with Chusan, Hong Kong does not possess.*

"If the climate continues as it has hitherto been, the sacrifice of human life will be enormous, and the public expenditure in the same proportion without any solid advantage."

There are now five ports open on the coast of China to all European, East Indian, and American vessels. There can be no reason why foreign vessels should discharge cargo at Hong Kong merely to change cargoes from one vessel to another; and as the Chinese government now allows a vessel to sell part of her cargo at one port, and then proceed to another, and will probably ere long form bonded warehouses at each port, there will be still less probability of any trade being established here. It is indeed a delusion or a deception, to talk of Hong Kong becoming a commercial emporium, and to liken it to Singapore. The circumstances and position of Hong Kong and Singapore present no resemblance whatever. Hong Kong is a barren rock, producing nothing; not leading to any place; surrounded by no trading or populous communities, with various commodities for barter; and disadvantageously situated, at the most impoverished part of a coast line of 2,000 miles; and which for half the year is only readily accessible in one direction.

Singapore is most advantageously placed at the southern point of the rich Malayan Peninsula, and at the entrance of the Straits of Malacca, which may be considered the high road between Eastern and Western Asia. It is surrounded by or lies contiguous to, the most fertile, wealthy and populous islands and countries in the world; Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Macassar, Penang, Siam, Cochin China, Tonquin, Birmah, &c. The harbour of Singapore is capacious, perfectly sheltered, easy of access from every point of the compass, and never experiencing a tempest. The climate is very salubrious. The island is of great beauty and fertility, with an undulating surface, and an area of 120,000 acres, all capable of tillage, and of which 20,000 acres are now under the luxuriant and profitable cultivation of sugar cane, nutmegs, pepper, rice, betelnut, gambier, cocoa-nuts, &c. The sugar made by Mr. Ballastier with a steam engine, or by Mr. Montgomerie by water and cattle mills, is equal in quality to the produce of the

West Indies. The nutmeg trees are already yielding abundantly; the black pepper produced during the past year, amounted to 38,000 peculs, (a pecul = 133 pounds), the gambier to 85,000 peculs, and there are 100,000 cocoa-nut trees in full bearing; live-stock, bread, water, and delicious fruit, and vegetables of every kind, and at moderate prices, are at all times ready for the shipping, which enjoys the advantage of a perfectly free port; eighty-six miles of excellent roads have been completed, and extensive communications are in progress; land is being sold in fee simple at a minimum and maximum price of five to ten rupees (ten to twenty shillings) per acre; fifty thousand industrious and skilful inhabitants are spreading cultivation in every direction, four companies of sepoys constitute the sole military force of the island, which has not even a fort for its defence; the revenue in 1842 amounted to 509,087 rupees; and the disbursements (including 165,955 rupees for troops, and 49,789 rupees for Bengal and Madras convicts) to 49,029 rupees, leaving a suplus of income to the extent of 15,083 rupees; and under the able management of the present Governor, Colonel Butterworth, it is one of the most valuable possessions of the British crown.

The remarkably eligible position of Singapore for a commercial emporium, led to its establishment as a British colony by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819, when there were but a few Malay fishermen on the island who disputed with the tiger for their occupancy. In 1821, the trade of the colony amounted to 1,000,000 pounds sterling: in 1824, to 3,000,000 pounds sterling; and last year, and indeed for several years the commerce of the island has averaged 5,600,000 pounds sterling per annum.

This trade is carried on with many countries; with Great Britain to the extent of 3,000,000 dollars; with Calcutta 2,800,000 dollars; with Java 1,500,000 dollars; with foreign Europe, North and South America, Madras, Bombay, Arabia, Ceylon, Penang, Malacca, Birmah, Siam, Cochin China; and Manilla with Hainan, Formosa, and the whole coast of China; with Sumatra, Borneo, Rhio, the Moluccas, Mauritius, Australasia, &c. Traders from all these places meet by common consent at a central mart close to the Equator, and exchange the productions of Asia for those of Europe and America. It is erroneously supposed that Singapore has been created by its trade with China—such is not the fact. The total import tonnage of Singapore in 1838-9, in square-rigged vessels, was 178,796 tons, of which that from China was 32,860. The native tonnage for the same year was 48,000 of which the Chinese vessels constitute 8,000 tons.

The "Straits produce" which the Chinese require, are brought to Singapore by Malay or other coasting craft who would not proceed to the northward; and the proprietors of the Chinese junks, with whom time is no object, and who go down the coast to the Eastern Archipelago with one monsoon, and return with

the other, prefer the speculation with their varied cargoes, and the visiting of their countrymen, at the different islands.

But sufficient has been stated to show that there is no analogy whatever between Hong Kong and Singapore; and that the geographical, territorial, and commercial advantages which have contributed to the prosperity of Singapore, are totally and entirely wanting, and can never be created at Hong Kong.

FINANCIAL POINT OF VIEW.—There is no apparent prospect of Hong Kong ever yielding any revenue adequate to more than a very small civil government. The limited size and rocky nature of the island; the absence of agriculture, manufactures, or commerce; and the fluctuating and predatory character of the population, forbid the hope of an income being raised to sustain a regular government establishment, on the scale now adopted, and which indeed is *far beyond* the present or prospective wants of the island community.

The idea that the Chinese government will sanction the introduction of opium into China at a moderate fixed duty, and that a large revenue may then be raised by warehousing the drug at Hong Kong, must, I think, be abandoned as illusory. The legal admission of opium into China by the Emperor, according to the best information I can obtain, is not at all probable. But even were the traffic in opium legalized, the traders have declared they would not pay any duty at Hong Kong. They can keep their large receiving-ships the whole year round in Hong Kong, or in any other harbour, or tranship the opium from the vessels which convey the drug from Bengal and Bombay to this place, on board the smaller vessels, which proceed along the coast to sell or deposit it at Whampoa, Namoa, Amoy, Chimmo, Chin-chu, Chusan, or Woosung, in the receiving-ships which lie in those bays or stations the whole year round.

I will not discuss the question of raising a revenue in Hong Kong from the introduction of opium for smoking in the island, either by farming out the drug, or otherwise. Independent of the morality or immorality of the question of government deriving an income from a vicious indulgence, so long as the Chinese government prohibits the introduction, and makes the use of opium a capital offence, it would not, to say the least, be seemly of us to encourage the use of this destructive and poisonous stimulant in Hong Kong.

The total revenue to be expected from this colony, cannot, in my opinion, exceed £12,000 per annum.

The *per contra* side shows an expenditure at this moment, for mere civil establishment, salaries, and wages, at the rate of £50,000 per annum, irrespective of the cost of any public works, roads, and buildings, which is estimated at £50,000 per annum for several years; independent, also, of the consular charges of £30,000 per annum, and of the army and navy. The whole

showing a yearly drain on the British exchequer of a quarter of a million pounds sterling.

The following is a general estimate of the expenditure for the various brances of the public service in China, from 1st July to 31st December, 1844, when this report was preparing.

Pay and allowances of European and Native troops; pay, allowances, and contingencies of the general staff, and of the other departments and establishments of the army; purchase of supplies; hire of transports and labour, and other miscellaneous military services	£90,023
Public works under the superintendence of the commanding royal engineer	27,830*
Royal Navy	20,260
Colonial { Establishments and ordinary contingencies .	23,724
Colonial { Special contingencies { half of the estimate / of the whole year. } }	13,250
Superintendent's and consular establishments, and contingencies	15,000
Payment to be made to Kinqua's creditors.	65,000
Total	£255,087

The sum marked down for the Royal Navy is only a small portion of the charge, and refers merely to some advances from the commissariat.

In order, if possible, to stop the waste of the public money, the following, among other letters, was subsequently addressed to C. E. Trevelyan, Esq., Assistant Secretary to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of H. M.'s Treasury.

H. M.'s Treasury, Hong Kong,
Sir, April 25, 1845.

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, a copy of a 'Minute on the British Position and Prospects in China,' which I laid before Governor Davis on the 9th instant, and which has been transmitted by his Excellency to the Earl of Aberdeen, per '*Denia*,' on the 22nd instant.

The British expenditure on the coast of China, will doubtless be materially influenced by a just exposition of our present posision and future prospects; and in this point of view I trust my labours may not be deemed unacceptable to their Lordships.

I may conscientiously add, that in writing this minute, but

* This item subsequently much increased.

one object pervaded my mind,—the welfare of my country, and the extension of her power and influence, on Christian principles, for the advantage of China.

It is impossible to survey this vast territory, teeming with millions of industrious, skilful, intelligent, but still semi-civilized people, without feeling a deep interest in their advancement, and an anxious desire that England should fulfil the important duties so mysteriously assigned for her performance.

The opinions stated in this minute, have been expressed in different parts of China by men of far-seeing minds, engaged in various pursuits.

There never has been a question presented to my understanding on which I have felt a stronger conviction than that the evacuation of Chusan in January next, without any change in our present negative policy, will be the prelude to great misfortune, which we shall in vain endeavour to retrieve.

I have not spoken to one disinterested person in China—no matter his rank, grade, or profession—on the contemplated evacuation of Chusan—who has not expressed alarm or regret at such a measure; and none more so than the Americans, whose consul at Canton, Mr. Forbes, stated to me that the American government were very apprehensive of the French getting possession of Chusan, as it would be a prelude to political intrigue and disturbance; that he, Mr. Forbes, understood the French intended to settle on Chusan soon after we gave up the island; that he was of opinion there were some secret negotiations going on between his excellency M. Lagréné (who ranks high as a jesuit) and Keying, who had offered the French the valuable and commanding island of Chuenpee, near the entrance of the Bogue, thus completely commanding the Canton river, but which M. Lagréné rejected, in the expectation of getting Chusan. M. Lagréné, indeed, remarked to me, in November last, that Chusan was the only island on the coast worthy the acceptance of the French government, and that the English would have no right to complain of the French occupying Chusan, as they might have retained that island, but that they preferred Hong Kong for a British colony.

Daily experience has more and more confirmed the opinions, and strengthened by corroboration the facts, contained in my report on Hong Kong.

It is still totally devoid of European or native commerce (excepting some smuggling trade in salt and alum). The harbour is almost deserted by shipping, there being only a few opium vessels in the bay; and the merchants who have built large houses are regretting their precipitancy. No drainage—no sanatory measures, can ever render Hong Kong even moderately salubrious.

It is not alone the military who die. Out of a very small European population the civil interments during the past year

were: in the Protestant burial-ground, sixty Europeans; in the Romanist cemetery, eighty ditto. The name, sex, age, and grade of the deceased are given in the cemetery registers. In the public offices it is difficult to obtain long consecutive labour from the clerks; and, as was aptly remarked by the head of the ordnance department here, 'a man is but half a man at Hong Kong.'

A strata of decomposed granite and disintegrating sandstone, porous to the depth of several hundred feet, imbibes and holds water like a sponge, until the fervid rays of a vertical sun raise this moisture like a steaming vapour, dense and noxious: this vapour, by reason of the peculiar formation of the mountain ridge, and exclusion from the south-west monsoon, is seldom dissipated until occasional gales of wind pervade every part of the island.

But deadly and debilitating as is the climate of Hong Kong, this *is the least of the evil. If any great or useful object, immediate or prospective, were depending on the maintenance of a large civil and military establishment in Hong Kong, there is no want of patriotic spirit to make the requisite sacrifice; but when it is considered that, in no one point of view—political, commercial, or social—is this island beneficial to England, the destruction of valuable life, and the waste of national resources, becomes a serious misfortune.*

Were Hong Kong a healthy island, its value to Great Britain would be in no wise enhanced, as its limited size, rugged and rocky surface, and unfavourable geographical position, renders it impossible ever to make the place a colony, a military post, or a commercial emporium.

In examining, therefore, our present position and future prospects in China, in a financial aspect, the above facts must be taken into consideration, when finally sanctioning a scale of civil, military, and naval expenditure on this coast, and will, it is to be hoped, be deemed worthy the mature deliberation of Her Majesty's government. I respectfully repeat my formerly-expressed opinion, that all Hong Kong requires for its efficient military protection and due civil administration, is:—a local corps of 500 Malays; 200 marines afloat in the '*Minden*,' 74 (of these, 50 to be marine artillery-men); a commandant and governor, at £2,000 per annum, with his military rank and pay; a recorder, at £1,800; colonial secretary and receiver-general of crown revenues, £1,000; assistant ditto and collector of crown revenues, £600; a land officer and surveyor, £600; assistant ditto, £300; a crown solicitor and officiating counsel for the crown (enjoying the benefits of registrar of the court), £600; a police magistrate and superintendent of police, £600; assistant ditto, £300;—thus showing a charge for salaries of about £9,000 per annum. To this must be added about £3,000 per annum for clerks, servants, and ordinary contingencies, making a total yearly expenditure of £12,000, which, in my

opinion, is the utmost amount of revenue it will be possible to collect for several years in Hong Kong, without utterly crushing this poor and struggling settlement.

The government servants, in addition to their salaries, ought to be allowed house quarters in the extensive structures now erecting by the ordnance for officers' quarters, hospitals, barracks, &c.; the governor to have the general's house that is being at present constructed.

Thus the civil expenditure of Hong Kong may be reduced from £50,000 a-year to about £12,000, with a perfectly sufficient civil administration, and the military from £130,000 or £150,000 a-year to £30,000, without the slightest disadvantage to the public service. In the consulates and superintendents of trade department, a considerable saving may be made by retaining only a vice-consul and interpreter (to act as assistant), at each of the ports of Amoy, Foochoo, and Ningpo; by abolishing the superintendent of trade department, and appointing the consul at Canton consul-general, with an efficient secretary; a saving would thus be effected on the consulates and superintendent or diplomatic department, of about £15,000 a-year.

If in January next Chusan be evacuated, and it be the determination of Her Majesty's government to await circumstances, and retain Hong Kong as the only British settlement in China, then the present civil and military expenditure on this coast is perfectly unnecessary. The establishment ought to be reduced to the above-mentioned extent, and the existing civil officers be removed to equivalent situations in other colonies.

By the early adoption of the proposed minor establishments, and leaving Hong Kong as free as possible from legislative ordinances (which frighten the Chinese, and render the Europeans discontented), the British government will give this island some chance of rising above its present depression, and thus ascertain whether, in the course of some years, it may have any trade. I have gathered the opinions of many of the leading merchants connected with the island, and they are unanimous in recommending the reduction of the government establishments, and the abstinence from excessive, superfluous, and constant legislation, for a small, intrinsically poor, and hard-struggling infant colony.

In suggesting this reduction, I beg to observe, that the views I am now expressing are in unison with the opinions expressed to his excellency the governor of this colony, in my report on Hong Kong,—a report which has never yet been refuted or proved incorrect, and in which I have endeavoured honestly and faithfully to fulfil my duty as a servant of the crown, irrespective of my personal interests.

I have, &c.,

R. M. MARTIN,

Treasurer.

To proceed with my Report on Hong, it may be necessary to remove an erroneous assertion, that the heavy yearly charge of Hong Kong is only a portion of the revenue that England derives from the China trade.

The revenue which is obtained from tea, is paid by the people of England, who buy and consume the tea. It might as well be said that the West Indies furnished the revenue derived by the British exchequer, from the coffee and sugar consumed in the United Kingdom. The incidence of taxation is on the last purchaser of the taxed article. The tea merchant of London adds to the invoice cost of the tea bought at Canton, the freight to England, the insurance, interest of money, warehousing, customs duty levied in England, and the fair profits of trade on every chest of tea he may sell to the grocer; who then regulates the price at which he can afford to sell a pound of tea to his customer; who finally pays the whole charges, taxes, and profits to the several parties—before he drinks his tea.

The revenue derived from the China trade is paid by the people of England; the merchant who carries on the trade does not pay a shilling of it. It will be for Her Majesty's Ministers to decide whether, on a review of the whole case, there be any justification for spending half a million sterling annually on this coast.

As a general principle, colonies that will not pay at least the expense of their civil government are not worth maintaining. There does not appear any reason why Hong Kong should be an exception to this rule. There is not, as has been fancifully supposed, any analogy whatever between Hong Kong and Gibraltar. Hong Kong commands nothing: a glance at the chart will show that the navigation of the China seas is perfectly independent of Hong Kong; even the entrance of the Canton river is not controlled by Hong Kong. It is not possible by any outlay of money to make the island a fortress; and it is commanded by the opposite shore of the mainland. But supposing several millions sterling were spent in fortifying Hong Kong, and half a million annually expended for its garrison, the *cui bono* would constantly recur: from a Chinese enemy the island has nothing to apprehend even at present; no European or American state would think of capturing Hong Kong, for it would be valueless to them; and if mere glory were sought by the acquisition, they must be aware the fame would be of short continuance, as troops and ships from India, from Australia, and from all our stations eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, would soon recapture the place or starve out the garrison.

But Gibraltar is differently circumstanced; it effectually commands the narrow entrance to the Mediterranean, and, together with the fortresses and havens of Malta and Corfu, gives England a preponderating power in that great European sea, which is becoming daily of more and more value in her intercourse with the

Anglo-Eastern Empire. Moreover, Gibraltar is a valuable commercial entrepôt: at one period £1,000,000 sterling of cotton goods were exported through Gibraltar into Spain.

As a fortress, Gibraltar is perfect; it is impregnable. The revenue of Gibraltar is fully adequate to its civil government, and averages upwards of £30,000 per annum. The military expenses incurred by garrisoning Gibraltar, save the constant maintenance of a large fleet in the Mediterranean, preserve the balance of power, and materially help to keep the peace of Europe.

The remarks applicable to Gibraltar, are also applicable to Malta and the Ionian Islands, both of which stations not only pay their whole civil expenditure without one shilling charge on the British exchequer, but also contribute a considerable sum annually towards military defences and protection. Both of these places are also entrepôts of a large trade.

Every colony of the British empire pays for its own civil government, except small sums which are voted annually in part aid for the Bahamas, Bermuda, the Falkland Islands, St. Helena, and Heligoland, but all these places are intrinsically valuable. The Bahamas, for the geographical position of their harbours; Bermuda, as a strong fortress and dock-yard in the Western Atlantic; the Falkland Islands, for their important position and fisheries in the great Southern Ocean near Cape Horn; St. Helena, as a strong fortress and recruiting station for our numerous ships, doubling the Cape of Good Hope in their voyages to and from India, China, and Australasia (and in the event of war, the possession of St. Helena would be of great value to our merchants, and save us a large fleet in the Atlantic); Heligoland during the late European war was a large commercial depôt for the Elbe and the northern parts of Europe. Its expense is only about £500 a-year.

Numerous as are the colonies of the British empire, they are each of some utility to England; for their territorial extent as emigration fields, to provide employment for a surplus population; for their production of sugar, coffee, corn, cotton, silk, indigo, timber, oil, wood, &c.; as maritime positions or military posts; as trading emporiums or fishing-stations.

I have in vain sought for one valuable quality in Hong Kong. There are other good harbours around, and for 200 years we have not found the want of such. *I can see no justification for the British Governmext spending one shilling on Hong Kong.**

* This was previously stated in detail, accompanied by statements to Governor Davis, and in the following letter to the Lords of the Treasury:—

Her Majesty's Treasury, Hong Kong, June 19, 1844.

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, copies of the correspondence which I have addressed to the Governor of Hong Kong, on the financial condition of this colony.

In my letter of the 17th June, I have expressed to his Excellency my respectful opinion that *no further avoidable expense should be incurred here, without further and most mature consideration. Every shilling of public money spent here is a most useless*

Religious and Social Influence.—The benefits derivable from our laws, institutions, and religion, can never be conferred on the Chinese by the colonization of Hong Kong.

We are here, in fact, almost as much isolated from China, its people, and supreme Government, as if we were located in the Eastern Archipelago. By the adroit policy adopted by the Chinese authorities, a "cordon sanitaire," if I may so express it, has been drawn round Hong Kong; no Chinaman is permitted to come here willingly, except he be a thief, a pirate, or a spy; no respectable Chinese with their families locate themselves in Hong Kong—if they did, their relations still remaining on the mainland, would probably be squeezed, imprisoned, tortured, and considered as traitors to the Celestial Empire. Hong Kong is viewed by the Chinese as a spot where adventurers and reckless characters may make something out of the English; and where burglars and robbers may resort with impunity, and live upon the profits of their villany.

I am strongly of opinion, from circumstances that have come to my knowledge, that the mandarins view with indulgence all vagabonds who propose to quit their own country and proceed to Hong Kong; that, in fact, direct encouragement is afforded them to do so. It is therefore the height of improbability, to suppose that the possession of Hong Kong will ever enable us to disseminate our religion, language, and institutions in the Chinese Empire. For

expenditure of the resources of the British exchequer. I would most respectfully, but most earnestly, implore their lordships to pause before they sanction any outlay for fortifications, roads, &c.

Hong Kong is not only valueless on political, commercial, or financial grounds, but it is positively injurious to our interests in China, by keeping up a constant state of excitement, with a large military and naval establishment, within cannon shot of the mainland.

In the event of an European war, Hong Kong must fall before any strong invading force, unless one million sterling be spent in fortifying the island, and half a million sterling be annually devoted to maintaining a garrison and protective force. But if Hong Kong be left as a free port, open to all nations, with a superintendent and a couple of clerks, the traders established here will provide, out of their own resources, for the police of the settlement, and the protection of life and property.

Instead, therefore, of spending from £50,000 to £70,000 a-year for mere civil government, there need not be an expenditure of £5,000 a-year; and in the event of war, no nation would gain honor or profit by capturing a barren rock, which protects nothing, and which is not likely ever to have much property to defend, ashore or afloat. These opinions will, I am sure, be corroborated by the able high officers of the line, artillery, engineers, and commissariat. As a mere port of shelter, the island may retain the British flag, hoisted under a superintendent; but there is not the slightest advantage gained by maintaining a single soldier on the island. Even as matters now stand, I consider my department perfectly unnecessary; the whole of the colonial and consular payments may be passed through the commissariat, and my own salary and that of the clerks, &c., may be saved.

I should be unworthy the confidence reposed in me by Her Majesty's Government, did I not unreservedly communicate to their lordships the strong conviction of my mind, after long and anxious thought, aided by an extensive experience in other British colonies.

I have, &c.,

R. M. MARTIN, Treasurer.

two hundred years we have had extensive and profitable intercourse with Canton, without our missionaries and other good men ever producing the slightest effect on the people or government. The inhabitants of the southern districts are decidedly hostile to us, and are daily becoming more and more filled with a deadly animosity, which the possession of Hong Kong will not remove.

No converts are made by our missionaries on this island; but were such the case, no convert from Hong Kong would be favourably received by the respectable Chinese on the mainland. The Christian converts would be considered as coming from an island of thieves and pirates; they would be received with a suspicion which would check rather than advance the progress of Christianity. The missionaries with whom I have conversed, take this view of the subject.

They consider it hopeless to attempt the spread of Christian doctrines in China by means of converts from Hong Kong. Thus, in a religious aspect, Hong Kong is as valueless as it is on financial and on commercial grounds.

Were our colonial authority and establishment at some island or position to the northward, near the central regions of China, we should most probably obtain considerable moral influence over an intelligent and respectable class of Chinese, who would communicate their favourable ideas to other and distant parts of the empire; and by extending a knowledge of our language, pave the way for the introduction of Christianity. An English city at Chusan, for example, surrounded by an extensive agricultural population (the best disposed and most orderly in China, as well as elsewhere), and evincing all the benefits of the science and skill of Europe, would have a remarkable effect on the Chinese, whose inquisitiveness and imitative powers would soon induce them to copy those things which would conduce to their physical, and ultimately to their moral and religious improvement.

Political point of view.—Hong Kong was occupied by our troops and merchants in 1840-41, at a period when our trade was driven from Canton; when we were in hostility to the Chinese government; and when the Portuguese authorities at Macao had expressed their inability to permit, as usual, British residence and resort to that port. At this period, the views of Captain Elliot were solely directed towards Canton. Hong Kong was then deemed the most eligible spot for British occupation, on political and military grounds. And so it proved, as long as the operations were being directed against Canton, and we were excluded from China. But on our proceeding to the northward, occupying Chusan, and ultimately making peace and opening five ports (including Canton) for free commercial resort, English residence, and the establishment of a ship of war at each, the political and mercantile value of Hong Kong entirely ceased. The late war has shown us the vulnerable

point of China, namely, the Yangtzekang river, which is aptly denominated by the Chinese, the "Girdle of the Empire." In the event of any future hostilities, our force would be directed at once towards Nankin, and other places on the Yangtzekang river, and not against Canton. It is by interrupting the supplies of grain, and cutting off the trade of the great artery or grand canal, that we can, with the least expenditure of blood and treasure, terminate hostilities with China. To accomplish this most desirable result, Hong Kong is utterly valueless. Our position must be Chusan, from its contiguity to the scene of war, from its comparative salubrity, safe haven, and capability of supplying provisions, both from the resources of the island itself, and from the contiguous coast. A fleet of ships of war and transports may rendezvous at Chusan, and select, at will, the most fitting period of the year for offensive operations. No attack need be apprehended from the Chinese. Coal is abundant in the Yangtzekang for the use of steamers. Ships from Singapore and the southward, can now, by reason of a greater knowledge of the winds and currents, reach Chusan, even against the monsoon, in nearly the same time they would occupy in reaching Hong Kong. And, finally, the Chinese government, aware of our position, would be the less disposed to break the peace, and would cease to rely so much as they now do on the strength of the forts in the Canton river. The policy of the Chinese government is to keep foreigners at the extremity of the empire; but the sagacious reasons which dictate this policy, ought to render us the more anxious to operate in a counter direction. There are now seven fortifications, very strong, and apparently well provided with artillery, at the Bogue. With Chinese gunners these forts would prove, even at present, formidable to an invading force; but well manned by European or American artillerymen, the Bogue might be made almost as impregnable as the Dardanelles.

There are not, indeed, any fairly assignable grounds for the political or military occupancy of Hong Kong, even if there were no expenses attending that occupancy. The government of China is sufficiently civilized to respect the persons and property of British subjects at Canton before any declaration of war could take place, which, however, is an event of very remote probability for many years to come, *if we retain Chusan*; and as the Treaty with China provides for the stationing of a ship of war at Whampoa or Canton, a better security is thus provided for any British residents at Canton than Hong Kong could afford. The climate of Hong will not admit of the island being made a garrison for our troops; and in the event of another war with China, an invading army must proceed from India, unless we keep a small military and naval establishment at Chusan. But a very small effective force can be maintained here, unless at an enormous expense; and the impracticability of fortifying an island which is commanded by the hills around, and by any large battery erected on the opposite shore, is now generally ac-

knowledged, and is in further corroboration of the inutility of Hong Kong.

On a review of the whole question, and examining the island in all aspects—making even allowance for the newness of the settlement—and admitting, for argument sake, that, ultimately, there may be some trade at Hong Kong, it appears to me very advisable, if Hong Kong be retained as a British station or colony, that the civil establishment of the colony be cut down to a scale commensurate with the resources and wants of the island; and that the supernumerary officers be provided for in other colonies, as vacancies occur. That the European and Sepoy troops be removed, and a portion of the 1st Ceylon regiment (Malays) be kept at Hong Kong, in aid of the civil power. That a frigate or sloop of war be always stationed in the harbour, with an extra complement of marines, to be landed only in case of emergency. That the British and other respectable inhabitants who are householders, be formed into a municipal body, with power to assess themselves for the police, lighting, drainage, and street-making, &c., of Victoria; that the harbour be a free port, open to ships under every flag; and that encouragement be given for the resort to and settlement on the island of other European nations. If this be done, a few years will determine whether it be possible to create any trade, or induce any resort to Hong Kong. Large government establishments, and an immense outlay of the public money for the last three (now six) years, have produced no beneficial result; let the inhabitants, and those who choose to resort thither, have a voice in the management of the affairs of the colony. There can scarcely be less general trade—less prosperity—less security to life and property, than now exists, with a large garrison on shore and a fleet in the harbour.

If there were any one advantage, political, commercial, financial, or religious, present or prospective, derivable to England from the existing establishment at Hong Kong, there would be some justification for the expense now being incurred, and for the great annual sacrifice of life; but when such advantages do not exist, it is worse than folly to persist in a course begun in error, and which, if continued, must eventually end in national loss and general disappointment.

R. M. MARTIN,
China, July 24th, 1844. *Colonial Treasurer.*

[Every statement made in this Report has been since most fully and amply corroborated, and I am ready to prove its correctness by unimpeachable and disinterested testimony, but *all investigation has been denied, and my earnest entreaties for enquiry have been studiously refused, as if error were preferable to truth.*]

London, March, 1847. R. M. M.

The following memorandum on Hong Kong, in substantiation of the foregoing report, was given to Lord Stanley on my interview

with his Lordship, 28th November, 1845; but his Lordship and his successors have refused to grant an enquiry into the causes which compelled my resignation, in order that I might personally sustain my official reports to Governor Davis:—

1st. *Hong Kong can never be a Colony.*—By reason of its limited size, rocky, barren structure; incapability of producing any of the necessaries of life for the consumption of even one day; and, 'under any circumstances, it cannot be expected to afford any considerable revenue towards the payment of his own expenses.'*

2nd. *Hong Kong cannot be viewed as a Commercial emporium.*—By reason of its disadvantageous geographical position; from the far greater facilities for trade afforded by Canton, and by other ports and places in China; by the distance from any populous or productive territory; by the poverty and piratical character of the adjacent islanders and inhabitants; by '*the total absence of an import or export trade of any kind,*'* after nearly five (now *six*) years' British occupation, and a large governmental and private expenditure; and by the Americans, Parsees, 'Chinese merchants, or even shopkeepers with the smallest pretension to property,'* avoiding the island, which 'was never actually required by the British merchants, and which has become even less so since the opening of the five Chinese ports.'*

3rd. *Hong Kong is unsuited for a Fortress.*—By reason (*a*) of the impracticability of fortifying a continuous and irregular series of elevations and detached mountain peaks and ridges, each commanding another; (*b*) because different parts of the island facing the harbour and also outside the harbour, may be effectually commanded by cannon from the mainland, and from the high islands in and adjacent to the harbour, which islands belong to China, while only half the harbour belongs to England; (*c*) because the long, irregular, undulating sea-face of Hong Kong cannot be defended by any isolated or connected line of fortifications, and it is also commanded by adjacent islands not belonging to England.

4th. *Hong Kong is not required as a Military or Naval Station.*—Because (*a*) it commands nothing—not even the entrance to the Canton river; (*b*) it protects nothing—not even the tea trade and commerce of Canton, which is totally independent of Hong Kong, and infinitely better succoured or sustained by the stationing of a frigate or steamer at Whampoa, than by any army that could be maintained at Hong Kong,†—as exemplified by the Americans,

* Merchants' memorial to Lord Stanley, dated China, 13th August, 1845.

† Since the Treaty of Nankin there have been repeated riots at Canton, endangering the lives and property of all the Foreign Residents at Canton, without our occupation of Hong Kong being the slightest preventive of such proceedings. A single ship of war off Canton has always been the best security. This was again manifested on the 15th of January, 1846, when there was another disturbance at Canton, and the lives of the English threatened by the Cantonese,; and in July, 1846, the European residents were obliged, in self-defence, to arm and shoot several Chinese. No assistance reached them from Hong Kong for several days.

who carry on a traffic equal to half the trade of England, with merely the occasional presence of a ship of war in the Canton river; (*c*) because Hong Kong is too far distant from the scene of any future belligerent operations (should they arise), which must be carried on at the Yangtzekang and Peiho rivers; (*d*) because any war with China ought to be maritime not territorial—to be waged by steamers and frigates, and not by occupying distant and scattered towns and cities by our soldiery; and, (*e*) because Whampoa or the Canton river is a better position in every aspect for the resort of our mercantile or military shipping in the South of China, than Hong Kong can ever be, whether healthy or otherwise.

5th. *Hong Kong is politically injurious.*—By its too close proximity to the mainland at the southern extremity of the Chinese Empire.

By the contempt in which we are held for establishing ourselves in such a position, and by the constant espionage kept on our proceedings.

6th. *Hong Kong is ineffective for the dissemination of Christian civilization.*—By the dissolute, marauding, unsettled character of the inhabitants; by its distance from the millions of intelligent, peaceful, and semi-civilized people in the northern and central regions of China; and by the impossibility of disseminating Christianity from Hong Kong, as exemplified by the Americans and other missionaries, who, after establishing themselves on the island, and building commodious chapels and dwellings, have now all, in despair, quitted Hong Kong.

7th. *Hong Kong is therefore useless to England.*—(1) It can never be a colony; (2) it is not a commercial emporium; (3) it cannot be a fortress; (4) it is not required as a military or naval station; (5) it is politically injurious; (6) and religiously ineffective.

Points founded on the foregoing, and submitted for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government on the Governmental Establishments of Hong Kong—expense and duties, &c., of each department, with economical remarks on reduction:—

1. ESTABLISHMENTS AND EXPENSE.—Governor of Hong Kong, with the title of Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, and Superintendent of Trade, salary per annum, £6,000; house-rent, &c., averaging, £700; private secretary's allowance, £300—£7,000. The Lieutenant-governor and commander of the troops has also nearly £4,000 a-year. Thus making a total of more than £10,000 a-year for this petty rock.

A barren, traffickless rock, with not 150 resident Englishmen,*

* There are about sixteen mercantile firms (most of them agents or correspondents of English houses), and their clerks: one English missionary, eight doctors, surgeons, and apothecaries, two attorneys, three proprietors of newspapers, six to eight English traders, four English auctioneers, two watchmakers, two bakers, about ten to twelve publicans, and a few in nondescript positions. Of the whole not 100, scarcely fifty, have any property at stake in Hong Kong. [Since this was written many of the merchants have quitted the place.]

exclusive of government servants, totally devoid of agriculture, manufactures or commerce, and with a fluctuating predatory Chinese population, does not require a civil government, at least on this scale. When the salary of £6,000 a-year was granted to the late Lord Napier, as Her Majesty's representative in China, it was expressly declared that this large sum was allowed in order that the hospitality and rank of Her Majesty's representative should be maintained. It is generally known in China, that the present governor is not spending the interest which he derives from the deposit of his salary in one of the large opium firms in Hong Kong.

A military or naval commandant (the latter preferably, as we must maintain a naval force in China) with £1,000 a-year in addition to the pay of his rank, would be sufficient for Hong Kong, even on its present scale of establishment.

The duties of Superintendent of Trade ought to be performed solely by a consul-general at Canton. It seems unnecessary accrediting a ministerial representative to a court where we are denied access; but if it be deemed necessary to retain a British plenipotentiary in China, his functions and rank ought to be kept distinct from those of trade superintendency (which the Chinese hold in low esteem), and from the petty office of governor of a place like Hong Kong. Most desirable is it that the representative of British Majesty in China, should be a man of expanded and generous mind, imbued with true Christian feelings, trained in European principles of politics, and known never to have been connected with commerce. With such a representative, Englishmen might obtain respect in China.

2. Legislative and Executive Councils.—The annual expense, about £1,000.

The application of the laws of England to Hong Kong, and the institution of a municipality for all local purposes, would remove the necessity of maintaining the form of these councils, which are far beyond the necessities of the place, and produce considerable discontent.

3. Colonial Secretary.—Salaries of Department per annum, £3,000; contingencies, ordinary and special, about £200; general department, wages, &c., about £300—£3,500.

The present duties of the Colonial Secretary might be performed by any ordinary clerk. They consist of answering yes or no to a few official letters on trifling subjects, issuing notices in the Colonial Gazette, and signing his name to a few papers.

If a Colonial Secretary be maintained, he might officiate (being a barrister) as crown lawyer, save the expense of an attorney-general, take charge of intestate estates, &c., sit ex-officio as conjoint magistrate in civil and criminal cases, issue licenses, and grant requisitions for paying quarterly or half-yearly into the commissariat all rents from crown lands, market dues, and fees. He would also

administer to a few intestate estates that occur, and he would submit to the home authorities the draft of any legislative enactments deemed specially necessary for Hong Kong.

4th. FINANCIAL TREASURER AND COLLECTOR OF REVENUE.—Annual expenses of establishment £2,300; cost of auditor and his office £1,400:—£3,700.

The whole of this sum of £3,700 to £4,000 per annum may be saved to the British exchequer, and without any detriment to Hong Kong.

A Commissary must be retained, and the pay of the colonial servants may be thence issued on the requisition and certificates of the commandant and colonial secretary, as was the case previous to my arrival in Hong Kong. The rent of crown lands, markets, &c., and the licenses, fees, &c., due to government, may be paid into the commissariat office, on the requisition of the colonial secretary. This was also done previous to my arrival. The disbursement of nearly £4,000 a-year from the taxes of England may thus be avoided. I feel bound to make this statement, however much it may operate against my personal interest.

5th. SURVEYOR-GENERAL.—Average salaries, wages and contingencies, from £4,000 to £5,000 a-year.

It is difficult to state the fixed annual disbursements of this department. There has been the most lavish expenditure on useless attempts to make roads, bridges, and drains, which a few hours rain on the precipitous hills have washed into the sea.

There are really no military communications to be maintained at Hong Kong, and if the inhabitants think roads can be made over and along steep mountains or through the sea (as had been done in Hong Kong,) let them assess themselves for the purpose. It would be advisable to abolish this department, for so long as any part is kept up, opportunities will be created to cause work and expense. Anything absolutely requisite, can be done by the military engineer it would be advisable to retain: the present able colonial civil engineer ought to be retained to look after the crown property, and to aid the municipality in the formation of their strects, roads, sewers, &c.

6th. SUPREME COURT.—Average expense of salaries, contingencies, special disbursements, amounting to £8,000 or £9,000.

This establishment is upon a scale quite unsuited to a position like Hong Kong. Governor Davis said he expected the fees and fines would defray the charges of the department; they will not exceed £500 or 600 a-year.

With a few exceptions the civil and criminal business of the court has consisted of petty cases, which would be decided by the smallest bench of magistrates, or in many instances by a single police magistrate, in England.

The formation of a bench of unpaid magistrates to act in ordinary criminal matters with the chief magistrate for chairman,

and as a 'Court of Requests' for sums under £100, with the colonial secretary (a barrister) as chairman, would be an ample minor judicature for Hong Kong.

The recorder at Singapore might have Hong Kong placed within his jurisdiction, and circuit made quarterly or half-yearly, as necessity arose, in the large monthly mail steam-packets.

The chief population at Singapore is Chinese. Our merchants in Canton have long been in the habit of settling their differences by arbitration.

7th. POLICE FORCE.—Police superintendent, and chief magistrate, £9,000 to £10,000.

The expense and management of this force ought to be transferred entirely to the inhabitants assessed to a police rate. A bench of unpaid magistrates, aided by the chief magistrate and colonial secretary, would of course aid in supervising the police. It is supposed there are 1,000,000 dollars invested in buildings liable to assessment. Many of these were constructed in the hope that Hong Kong would become a commercial emporium; and now that these ideas are proved to have been visionary, the value of this sunken property has been and will be considerably deteriorated; indeed, it is rumoured that some houses will be left uninhabited.

Estimating the assessable property so high as 800,000 dollars at 5 per cent., this would yield about £8,000 a-year, for which a large police may be maintained. Time, however, can alone determine whether any police will prevent burglary, robbery, and piracy in Hong Kong. Judging from past experience, the countless ladrones of China, having numerous and almost untraceable and inaccessible haunts on the surrounding islands and the main land, will ever render property insecure in Hong Kong; and now that incendiaries are at work, and they are organizing in bands with fire-arms, it is very probable life itself will be held in constant jeopardy and alarm.*

8th. HARBOUR-MASTER, AND MARINE MAGISTRATE.—Average expense, about £2,000 a-year. So long as there was a large fleet, with transports and other vessels, rendezvous in Hong Kong during the war, the duties of this department were onerous and well performed. But now, when very few ships resort to Hong Kong, and the majority merely "look in for orders," the maintenance of an establishment on this scale is unnecessary. The duties of marine magistrate ought, as in other colonies, to be performed by the usual police and magisterial authority. The present harbour-master and marine magistrate has worked hard for nearly four years, and would make a useful officer at the Cape of Good Hope or Australia. His assistant (Mr. Lena) is well acquainted with Hong Kong, Canton, and the neighbourhood, and if made harbour-master, with

* By late accounts to January 31st, 1846, piracies are becoming more frequent than ever, and people are carried off in open day from Hong Kong; persons cannot venture outside the streets of Victoria, without fire-arms for their protection.

an efficient boat's crew, the charges might be reduced one-third their present number.

9th. REGISTRAR-GENERAL.—Establishment about £1,500 per annum. This department is perfectly unnecessary. The registration of the Chinese inhabitants is a measure of police, and by that department it ought to be performed. The yearly census of the fixed inhabitants may be made in one week by the police superintendent; registration has not checked in the slightest the resort of all descriptions of lawless vagabonds, thieves, and pirates, from the contiguous mainland; neither has it tended to aid in the discovery of criminals or of stolen property, notwithstanding the large expenditure for police.

No fee is levied on registration. This £1,500 a-year department ought not to have been created.

10th. COLONIAL SURGEON.—Salary, £600, contingencies, ordinary and extraordinary, £200; averaging per annum, £800.

The diminution of the Government establishments would require the abolition of this office.

The present and late colonial surgeons at Hong Kong, dearly earned their salaries, visiting the numerous sick in a burning sun, and at all hours.

The former surgeon resigned from ill-health, being unable to sustain the requisite labour in such a climate; the present excellent man, (Dr. Dill), is also much deteriorated in health, and deserves removal to some healthy colony. [Since this was written he died of fever.]

11th. COLONIAL CHAPLAIN.—Salary, £700; Contingencies, 50;—£750. Peculiar circumstances rendered it imperatively necessary that if any Government were established by England in China, it should be founded and conducted on decided and manifest Christian principles, and that an example at least should be given by those placed in authority, to the nominal Christian as well to the professed heathen. Alas! from the very commencement of the Government at Hong Kong, religion in principle or in practice, in even its mere outward ordinary observances, has scarcely been a matter of subordinate or secondary consideration.

The English missionary, the American baptist, the Italian jesuit, the Indian moslem, the deistical Chinese, have each a substantial and characteristic stone structure, for the celebration of the religion they profess; but the Divine Service of the Church of England is still celebrated in a mat shed, the chaplain is grudgingly paid a stipend of which a considerable portion is expended by him in charity and education, a small allowance for house-rent has been recently stopped, (it was even suggested that he should provide and pay for a clerk), candles were denied for evening service, and, had it been possible, the pittance accorded for performing the rites of Christianity, would have been diminished or cancelled altogether.

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A sacred responsibility devolves on England in respect her to colonies; they will be either the instruments of her prosperity and pre-eminence, or of her ruin and downfall.

It is fearful to see how soon the best moral principles are obliterated, in a colony where the Governors and those in high authority and position in society pay little or no regard to religion, and how quickly a virtuous and rightly educated youth becomes dead to every Christian attribute. Inordinate pursuit of gain, isolation from domestic associations, and the demoralizing habits of what is termed 'colonial life,' sap, corrupt, and finally destroy many a gifted and guiltless mind.

Better for England to be deprived of every colony, and contracted to her own insular limits, than to neglect in the outposts of her empire those principles, and that Christian conduct, to which alone, under the special favour of Divine Providence, she owes her peace and happiness at home, her power and prosperity abroad, and her dominion throughout the world.

November, 1845.

CHAPTER VII.

CHUSAN—ITS GEOGRAPHY,—CLIMATE,—PRODUCTIONS,—COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES, MARITIME POSITION, POLITICAL IMPORTANCE, AND CAUSES OF REJECTION.

The following report on the beautiful and to us incalculably important island of Chusan—was transmitted from China to Her Majesty's Government by Governor Davis, and also by myself, with the following letter *to C. E. Trevelyan, Esq., Assistant Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury*:—

Her Majesty's Treasury, Hong Kong, September, 20, 1844.

Sir,

I recently did myself the honour of transmitting to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, a copy of a report on the island of Hong Kong, which I laid before Mr. Davis, the Governor, and which has been transmitted to Lord Stanley by his Excellency.

Having been ordered for the restoration of my health, to pro-

ceed to the north-east coast of China, I availed myself of the opportunity to visit the island of Chusan, and some of the adjacent places on the mainland.

Although suffering from extreme debility and a nearly fatal disease, I deemed it my duty, as a servant to the Crown, to collect all the information in my power, on Chusan, previous to our evacuation of the island in December, 1845.

Believing that this information would not be unacceptable to Her Majesty's Ministers, I have framed it into a report for the Governor of Hong Kong, with a respectful solicitation that his Excellency would have the goodness to forward the document to Lord Stanley.

As the future pecuniary drain on Her Majesty's Treasury in London, for Hong Kong, and the expenditure on our Consulate establishments in China, may probably be influenced by the course of proceedings adopted by Her Majesty's Government with regard to Chusan, I beg to forward herewith, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, a copy of my report on the island of Chusan, as laid before the Governor of Hong Kong.

With great respect, but with deep solicitude, I venture to entreat the early attention of their Lordships to this document, as, in my humble judgment, the retention or evacuation of the island of Chusan involves questions of great urgency, which are of considerable importance to British interests in China.

I have, &c.,
R. M. MARTIN, *Treasurer.*

N. B.—[The reader will judge for himself on the comparative advantages of Chusan, and of Hong Kong. The Duke of Wellington has (I hear) with the usual terseness characteristic of His Grace, emphatically characterized Chusan as "the key of China." Yet this "key"—was rejected, when it was as easy to have retained it as Hong Kong.] The following is a copy of the report made in August, 1844.

Chusan or Chowsan, so called in Chinese from its resemblance to a boat, is the chief insular settlement of an archipelago of lofty islands, varying in size and fertility, which extend upwards of sixty miles fron north to south, and about fifty miles from east to west,—distant from Kito Point on the mainland of China about seven miles, and about forty miles distant from Ningpo; *Tinghae,* the capital of Chusan, is in 30° 10′ north latitude, and 122° 14′ east latitude.

The length of the island is about twenty-three miles from east to west, and the breadth from north to south seven to eleven miles. The circumference is about 150 miles.

The two principal bays are those of Tinghae on the southern, and of Singkong on the western coast of Chusan. There are,

however, several other bays and harbours—Tinghae or Chusan bay or harbour, is land-locked, and has three good entrances, I beat into the harbour by Deer island entrance at night: one hundred sail of square-rigged vessels may anchor with ease in the inner harbour of Chusan, although the adjacent anchorages are equally safe (see maps accompanying). The rise and fall of tide is twelve feet six inches; and the average depth in harbour is four to ten fathoms.

There is a good position for docks and a dockyard, which are so much wanting in the China seas.

Singkong Bay or Strait is six miles in length, with an average breadth of 700 yards. There are two entrances of easy access, at the north and south extremities of the bay, which is well-sheltered, and affords excellent anchorage for ships of war, or for vessels of large burthen. Good water is plentiful. There is an admirable site for a large dockyard.

The highest elevation of the island is at its eastern extremity, where one peak rises to 1,100 feet above the sea: the average height of the hilly portion is from 500 to 700 feet.

Chusan consists of numerous ranges of hills, with broad intervening valleys, every range connected by spurs or buttresses of varied forms. Some of the valleys are eight to nine miles long, and present one continuous scene of rich cultivation.

The mountains and hills, wherever there is any soil on the surface, are terraced and cropped with different useful vegetables. Wheat, tea, grass cloth plant, sweet potatoes, cotton, tobacco, and rice may be found on the same side of a mountain, the water collected on the top being permitted to descend to the different terraces, until it is deposited in the rice-field at the bottom of the mountain. In some parts the mountains are planted with fir, while the Spanish chestnut, walnut, tallow and varnish trees adorn and enrich the lowlands. Canals some twenty feet wide are very numerous, and kept always flowing by means of locks and of the numerous streams of fine water which fall from the hills, sometimes in beautiful cascades. The canals are used to mark the boundaries of property, as well as for irrigation. One large canal southward and eastward of Tinghae, admits junks of considerable burthen a good way into the north valley, and adjacent to the gates of the city at the rise of the tide, which is twelve feet six inches, (see map). The whole island is intersected by substantial paved or flagged roads about five to seven feet broad, slightly elevated above the adjacent fields; but which at little expense might be widened to admit of wheeled carriages. At present everything is borne on the shoulders of men; but the unshod horse traverses the roads with celerity.

The towns and villages are scattered pretty equally over the whole island: in the valley of Tachin is a very large unwalled town, with a river running through it.

The whole island is admirably irrigated; the water which flows from the hills is very pure, and conduits might readily be constructed to bring abundance of water into Tinghae, instead of relying on the wells, which are said to be brackish and a cause of diarrhœa.

One third of the island is said by Lieutenant Sargent to be cultivated. Dr. Gingell, 2nd Madras Native Infantry, the Chinese interpreter, says "that 135,000 mows of land are under cultivation with grain. Reckoning the mow as equal to an English rood, this would give 33,750 acres producing rice. When we consider that two crops of rice and one of oil seed are obtained annually from the land, (the October rice crop growing up, while the August rice crop is being reaped); the amount of corn production must be considerable. As well as I could ascertain, I am led to conclude that the agricultural produce of the island is sufficient to feed all its inhabitants throughout the year. The quantity of garden vegetables grown is very great; the soil stimulated by the constant application of liquid manure, (of which large earthen jars are kept at the corner of every field and garden), increases the size, but diminishes the flavour of the different products which are grown in rapid succession, the earth being never allowed to lie fallow.

Mr. Bernard in his interesting work, "Narrative of the voyages and services of the Nemesis," which I saw after my report was forwarded to the governor, adverts to the hospitable, obliging, and civil disposition he experienced among the inhabitants of Chusan, and at vol. ii., p. 187, thus describes the island:

"Nothing can be more striking or picturesque than the views on every side as you approach Chusan. Much as you may have read of the careful cultivation and economical husbandry of the Chinese (not always so great as supposed), you are here particularly struck with the garden-like aspect of every spot of ground you see. The country is hilly on all sides, but every hill is cultivated with extreme care up to its very summit. It is divided into small ridges or beds, in which various productions are raised side by side, giving the greatest possible variety to the aspect of the country, and pointing out the vast labour and perseverance with which the tillage must be conducted, 'to subdue the stubborn soil.' It is almost entirely spade husbandry, and ought rather to be called horticulture. In the low valleys and little sheltered nooks, you trace villages and farm-houses of neat appearance, and every bend of the coast, every bit of low, swampy ground is embanked, and recovered from the sea by long thick stone walls, which are maintained with the utmost care. Behind these the ground is laid out in rice fields, irrigated with much ingenuity, and there is a general appearance of well-being and industry, which indicates a thriving and contended population.

"How different from the aspect of Hong Kong, and the other islands to the southward!"

If Mr. Bernard had visited some of the beautiful and rich valleys of the interior, he would have extended his truthful description of Chusan.

The constant garden cropping, the deep green of the large rice plains, and the cultivation climbing the hills, give great beauty to the scenery; and at early morn the singing of the birds in the groves; the murmuring rivulets through the valleys; and the fresh breeze from the mountains, enhance the charms of the landscape, and renovate the health of the debilitated resident of a tropical climate.

Were Chusan a British colony, its hills and vales would be adorned by charming villas, rich orchards, and luxuriant pasturages. An English town, with all the advantages of modern civilization, would become an example to the Chinese, and in the improvement of our own position, we should materially aid in the social advancement of the imitative nation contiguous to our shores.

Ting-hae city, in length from north to south, about 1,200 yards, and in breadth about 1,000, is surrounded by a stone wall of two miles and three quarters in length, nearly fifteen feet in height, thirteen feet in thickness, surmounted by a strong brick parapet, of four feet and a half high, and two feet thick, with small embrasures for matchlocks or arrows. The gateways, four in number, east, west, north, and south, are double, and placed in zig-zag, as in India. At intervals, around the walls, are strong square bastions, well placed. At the western side of the city, the wall ascends a steep mound, now called the "Cameronian Hill," (the 26th Regiment being encamped there after our first attack on the island). Part of this hill, is, therefore, included within the city bounds. A canal (see map) thirty-three feet wide, by three deep, runs parallel to the City Wall, about thirty yards distant, except at the "Cameronian Hill," and enters near the south gate; the level space at each side of the city walls, is covered with rice fields, almost continually under water, and of difficult passage to an invading force. The flat country around is a succession of rice fields, bordered with the lofty Barbadian millet, which rises ten feet in height.

The city of Tinghae is extensive, and like all Chinese towns, the streets are narrow, (about twelve to fourteen feet), irregular, and flagged with large slabs of different kinds of stone; almost every street has a covered drain, which communicates with a canal. For a Chinese city, it is kept extremely clean. The houses are generally of one story; but the tenements of the richer classes are very extensive, and form three sides of a square, with a lofty wall in front. Sometimes there are two or three inner courts. The shops

are numerous, and there is a minute division of employment. In many respects there is a resemblance to the tradesmen of Europe. Persons of the same trade frequently congregate in the same street or neighbourhood; the shops have a long and broad counter, effectually separating the purchasers from the shopmen, with a money till at one end; there are neatly labelled drawers, or commodious shelves, and back warehouses, for the ready disposition of the goods. A reel of twine hangs from the ceiling, close to wrapping paper cut of various sizes, ready for use. In front of the shop, or hanging partly on the outside, are varieties of such goods as may attract the notice of customers, with the prices affixed on labels, in some instances, in such characters as are only known to the shopmen. Everything is sold by weight. The artizans are extremely expert. Silversmiths in Tinghae, now make spoons, forks, goblets, branch candlesticks, and various other articles of domestic use. The tailors are excellent and cheap workmen, and to the English are known by their respective cognomens of Stultz, Nugee, &c. The supply of every article of provision, including meat, poultry, fish, vegetables, fruit, groceries, &c., is most abundant, and not one half the price of very inferior articles at Hong Kong, where indeed it is often impossible to get beef or mutton of any description. Let but an European want be known in Chusan, and it will be very extraordinary if it be not supplied by a Chinaman. An European or Indian soldier is stationed at each gate of the city, but no difficulty is interposed, and no tax levied on perfect freedom of ingress or egress to or from the city. Many of the European officers, including that distinguished officer, Brigadier Campbell, the commandant of Chusan, reside in various parts of the city, perfectly isolated from each other, and with as much confidence and security as if they were residing in an English town. A part of the Second Madras Native Infantry, are quartered in the city, and their "*place d'armes*" is a remarkable temple, filled with numerous human figures of full size, admirably carved in wood, painted, and representing the human countenance and form in every expression and attitude of passion and affection; of grief and joy, of sensibility and intelligence. I have seen nothing equal to the artistic skill and true taste exhibited in this temple, in any other part in China. The inhabitants do not seem to take umbrage at its occupation by our troops, who scrupulously preserve it from injury.

Her Majesty's 18th regiment are quartered outside the city, in some two-storied houses, which face the sea, close to an extensive bund or embankment, which was erected with marvellous rapidity, during the period which intervened between our first and second occupation of the island in 1840-1. This bund extends for nearly three miles along the sea front of Tinghae and Chusan harbour, and forms a fortified earth wall, pierced at short and regular intervals for cannon; and during our second attack on the island, about

150 pieces of artillery, of various calibre, (many of them, however, unserviceable), were placed in the embrasures. The bund now forms an excellent promenade for the garrison. The parade of the 18th regiment, is large, dry, level, and in the midst of the barracks, officers' quarters, and commissariat and naval stores. Contiguous to the parade, our government have built an excellent two-storied hospital, facing the sea, at an expense of about 10,000 dollars. The European artillery are quartered in comfortable barracks on Joss House Hill, (see map), where a few guns command the whole harbour, the city, and the surrounding plain.

Geology.—Chusan appears to have been upheaved by a submarine convulsion, or to have been left dry by the receding ocean. A porphyritic claystone, assuming in some places a columnar, and in others a laminated structure, appears to constitute the main portion of the island, occasionally a compact porphyritic stone of coarse conglomerate, capable of being split into large slabs, or formed into pillars, is found and quarried for various purposes. The soil in the valleys is a rich, dark, alluvial mould. There is no limestone on the island. *None of the rotten granite found at Hong Kong or Amoy*, and which yields such a deleterious gas, is perceivable *at Chusan*. About the centre of the island, and at a height of 700 feet, our surveyors found the compass to vibrate so much that it became useless. The same vibration was observed on the high land at the eastern extremity of Chusan.

Climate.—In this respect Chusan may be said to vie with the most favoured regions of the earth. It is the Montpelier of China. There are only three months in the year which can be called hot; June, July, and August. Fires are sometimes kept up till the middle of June, and woollen clothing is worn for nine months. The cold weather sets in about the middle or end of September; but the average duration of hot weather does not exceed three months. The remainder of the year is cold, bracing, or genial, according to the season.

Even during the hottest season, the thermometer in a good house, facing the harbour, ranges from 80° to 86° Fahrenheit,—very seldom approaching 90°, and frequently descending at night to 78°. The average about the month of August is about 83°, (see accompanying Meteorological Register for June, July, and August, 1844, kept at Lieutenant Skead's, the harbour master). In September the mercury descends to 74°, and in the early part of October, the cold weather season is established;—the thermometer stands at 49° to 59° at sunrise, towards the end of the month. In November the north wind is piercingly cold and bracing. In December the temperature is still further reduced; the ground is covered with hoar frost; ice of half an inch thick is general in the plains.

In January the thermometer falls to 20° F., there is a clear bra-

cing azure atmosphere; snow falls frequently, and remains on the East Peak, two feet deep for ten days.

February is like January. In March the vicissitudes are great, thermometer 27° at night; days hot; hills around snow-capped. April, easterly winds, sun breaking forth with increasing heat. May, ditto, but fires still necessary to the European.

The climate of Chusan is far more favourable to health than that of either Ningpo, Shanghai, or even of stations further north. The Roman Catholic missionaries say that they are unable to stand the climate and excessive heat of those cities, and that no European can remain there with impunity for a few successive years. Our troops suffered greatly up the Yangtzekang river in 1842:—thirteen men of the 98th regiment dropped dead from the heat of the sun. Fever and ague, dysentery, diarrhœa, and cholera, were rapidly destroying our soldiers and sailors off Nankin. The whole northern region of the Yangtzekang, of the Yellow River, and of the Peiho, is a flat marshy country, inundated as rice fields, or covered with water for a great part of the year, and subject to intense solar heat for about five months, without any mountain or sea breezes to temper the atmosphere. Chusan has a constant seabreeze at Tinghai during the summer months, from the S. W. monsoon; and the varied forms of its mountains and valleys produce a continued change of renovating airs. The thermometer rises at Shanghai to 107 F. in the shade; at Ningpo as high, and, at Chusan, at Lieutenant Skead's, the active and intelligent harbour master and marine magistrate, it rarely rises to 86 F.*

Invalids from Shanghai and Ningpo, as well as from Hong Kong, Canton, and Amoy, seek and find health at Chusan. It is of the utmost importance to us to have a healthy station on the coast of China, where our troops can be located and found always ready for active service; a regiment from Hong Kong could not endure the fatigue and exposure of one week in the Yangtszekang district; a regiment from Chusan would be found as effective for service as any regiment in the United Kingdom, and might be marched to Peking if necessary.

An ice-house is open at Chusan from 1st June to 1st September. The consumption in July is about 800 lbs. a-day, by the English subscribers of five rupees each. They pay also about one farthing a pound for the ice, which is collected in winter by a Chinaman from the canals around, and deposited in a mud-walled house with a high thatched roof; conduits carry off the melted ice outside the

* It is observed in the *Nautical Magazine* for 1843, p. 7, that the climate of the middle provinces of China is said to be delightful; that of Peking agrees even with strangers; epidemic diseases are very rare, and the ravages of the plague entirely unknown. But the province of *Canton* is one of the *most unhealthy* portions of the country, and such it probably is. The writer is quite correct. The Chinese officials view appointments to the Canton province, unless where emoluments are concerned, as a sort of honourable banishment—as we view Sierra Leone.

building. Dry straw is thickly strewed over the ice. The Chinese use ice extensively for preserving fish.

HEALTH OF THE TROOPS.—The state of the artillery stationed at Chusan, compared with the dreadful mortality of the artillery stationed at Hong Kong (see my report on Hong Kong), is very remarkable. There landed at Chusan of the Madras European artillery in November, 1842, after going through the whole campaign—one captain, one lieutenant, one bugler, three corporals, four bombardiers, and forty-nine gunners; total, sixty-two. To these must be added three more, who rejoined from Hong Kong in April, 1843, and six from Madras in November, 1843.

The deaths up to August, 1844, were only five, viz., four gunners and one bombardier. The mortality may be considered at less than two per cent. per annum. The men are in the most efficient order, and as ready for active service as if they had been stationed at Woolwich the last two years.

Four companies of H. M.'s 18th (Royal Irish) regiment have been stationed at Chusan since the conclusion of the war, after being engaged in all the campaigns, and they have not lost by death one per cent. per annum. That portion of the 18th which returned from Amoy was very sickly.

The admissions into the Chusan hospital for Europeans, from 1st January to 31st July, 1844, were 461 (including 104 syphilitic cases); of these but six died. Of sixty officers who have resided at Chusan for the last eighteen months, *not one has died.*

The contrast between the men of H. M.'s 18th regiment stationed at Hong Kong, Koolungsoo (Amoy), and Chusan, is very striking:—out of 500 men of the 18th regiment stationed at Koolungsoo* in 1843, there died seventy-five men and two officers; the remaining men were perfect skeletons and unable to shoulder a musket: out of the same strength, and in the same period of time, at Chusan, in 1844, the 18th regiment only lost *two men!*

During the year 1843, the mortality of the troops at Chusan was only one in 29½, or about *three per cent.;* at Koolungsoo, one in 12½, and at Hong Kong, one in 3½, or nearly thirty per cent. The invaliding was in the same proportion at these stations. The mortality of H. M.'s 98th regiment at Hong Kong, is on an average about *one man a day!*

The appearance of the troops on parade in Chusan is that of men in robust health; they have a colour in their cheeks, an elastic and firm step, and in performing their martial evolutions there is an alacrity and precision observable, as if the men took a pleasure in carrying a combined movement into operation; this is very differently seen in the evolutions of the troops at Hong Kong, where the men seem to stagger under the weight of their knapsacks,

* Koolungsoo is exactly the same geological formation as Hong Kong: we have left the bones of about a thousand gallant men at this wretched and useless island.

musket, and accoutrements.* The Indian troops "die like rotten sheep" at Hong Hong; but at Chusan their mortality is not two-and-a-half per cent. per annum, as shewn by the following return of a regiment which served in the Chinese campaign.

State of the 2nd Madras Native Infantry at Chusan in one year.

Months.	Strength of regiment.	Admitted into hospital.	Died.	Months.	Strength of regiment.	Admitted into hospital.	Died.
August, 1843 ..	867	53	none.	February	823	32	none.
September	867	33	3	March	821	35	2
October	834	73	2	April	818	30	5
November	865	56	3	May	813	35	1
December	833	39	2	June.....	681†	34	none.
January, 1844..	824	29	2	July	678†	40	1

Only twenty-one men died in one year—out of a strength of more than 800 men, which is only about *two-and-a-half per cent.!* In 1843, there was only *one* man invalided.—The men look very healthy and strong.

Numerical strength of officers 26—none died.

The prevailing diseases have been mild ague and diarrhœa. The regiment has been perfectly *effective* since it arrived in Chusan, in the latter end of 1842.

It is true that the troops suffered considerably from sickness on their first occupation of Chusan. But instead of the health which now prevails, there would be as much sickness in 1844 as there was in 1841, if the same system were adopted. Instead of the soldiers being located as at present, in good Chinese two-storied houses on the sea-shore, they were encamped in the wet plains and rice fields, and on the side of a hill to the westward of the city. Numerous posts and guards were established in the burning heat of August. Her Majesty's 26th regiment, or "Cameronians," were the principal sufferers. They were encamped on the hill to *leeward* of the city and all its filth. They had no camp followers, and were obliged to go more than a mile through the city to the commissariat for their food, which, when obtained, consisted of Calcutta cured meat *perfectly green with putridity;* and Calcutta made biscuit, crumbled into dust with maggots and weavils. It was impossible to eat such food; the dogs even rejected it. The men, worn with hunger and thirst, and harassed with numerous guards and constant alarms, drank profusely of the almost stagnant water in the canals that

* H. M.'s 98th regiment, which suffered so severely at Hong Kong last year, went to Chusan, where their mortality is now less than it would be in any part of England.

† Detachments sent to Koolungsoo, Amoy, to relieve H. M.'s 18th regiment, who were dying fast.

flow through the rice fields around the city, and every green thing or unripe fruit which could be obtained was eaten with avidity. Large quantities of the fiery spirit, termed "samshu," were easily procured; and it is not to be wondered that *dysentery* (*no fever appeared*) soon made dreadful ravages in the 26th regiment. The conduct of the commanding officer, and of those who had the charge of issuing provisions to the troops, was most reprehensible. There were at least thirty-five officers with the regiment, and only one died; a conclusive proof it was not the *climate* of Chusan which killed the private soldiers of the 26th: they would have died anywhere under similar circumstances.

Dr. M'Pherson, in his work "Two Years in China," at page 21, adverting to the health of our troops in Chusan in 1840, says, "it required no gifted soothsayer to prognosticate what the results would be, when men were placed in tents pitched on low, paddy fields, surrounded by stagnant water, putrid and stinking from quantities of dead animal and vegetable matter. Under a sun hotter than that ever experienced in India, the men on duty were buckled up to the throat in their full-dress coats; and in consequence of there being so few camp followers, fatigue parties of Europeans were daily detailed to carry provisions and stores from the ship to the tents, and to perform all menial employments; which experience has long taught us they cannot stand in a tropical climate.

"The poor men, working like slaves, began to sink under the exposure and fatigue. Bad provisions, low spirits, and despondency drove them to drink. This increased their liability to sickness, and in the month of November there were barely 500 effective men in the force. A sort of infatuation seemed to possess the minds of the authorities. Medical men, as is often the case, were put down as croakers; their recommendations were neither listened nor attended to. True, it was reported that the general was one day about to visit the hospitals, but when almost at the door of one, some pressing business called him away. Once, also, the Admiral and Captain Elliot were known to have walked through the hospital of Her Majesty's 26th regiment. There were at that time upwards of 400 poor, sick, fellows on mats stretched on the grounds. Many, alas! never to rise from it.

"This melancholy sight called forth expressions of pity and compassion. The surgeon was directed to spare no expense—to procure everything he considered necessary—to be unremitting in his exertions, and to make application to the admiral if aught was wanted. The surgeon recommended that a ship should be laid apart as an hospital ship, and that another should be given to take a portion of convalescents to sea for change of air. Unfortunately, however, there were no ships available at that time."

This mortality, caused by our neglect of the troops, was adroitly turned to advantage to prejudice the government and public against Chusan, and in favour of Hong Kong.

POPULATION, CHARACTER, &c.—The population of the island of Chusan is stated by the Rev. Dr. Gutzlaff to be at a maximum 270,000, exclusive of the islands. Lieutenant Sargent of Her Majesty's 18th regiment, was out four months with Captain D'Haviland, engaged in surveying the interior of the island, and pointed out to me one hundred thickly populated towns and villages as marked on his map, which are stated by Lieutenant Sargent to contain each from 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants. He considers the island thickly peopled, and it appeared so to me in my excursions. The density of population may be inferred from the circumstances of the females being equal to, if not exceeding the males in number, and from the great abundance of children everywhere observable.

There is now before me a census of the town or city of Tinghai, the capital of Chusan, made by the Rev. Dr. Gutzlaff in 1843; in which each house is numbered, the occupation of the proprietor stated, and the men and women, boys and girls, enumerated. According to this document, the inhabitants of Tinghai city are—men 9,842, women 7,870, boys 4,961, girls 3,477—total 26,150.

The number of houses is given at 4,556, which divided among 26,150 inhabitants, would give nearly *six* persons to each dwelling; a small average for China.

In robustness of form the men of Chusan, who are of an underset build, are quite equal to those of England, and they travel easily with a weight on their shoulders slung from either end of a bamboo, which the strongest London porter would find it difficult to raise from the ground. They are industrious, civil, inquisitive, ready to supply any of our wants, &c., imitating any thing we require to be made. The population is chiefly agricultural. There is much apparent comfort in the farm houses; abundance of pigs, poultry, and goats round every farm. The people are suitably clothed, lodged, well fed, and housed. There is no extreme poverty; no beggars, and few large estates; the proprietorship of land being very much subdivided. There is great honesty among all classes, who are in general peaceable, orderly, and well conducted. Captain Bamfield, the magistrate of the island, to whom great credit is due for the preservation of social order, informs me that there has not been a case of homicide in the island since the peace in 1842, and that he does not know of any other part of the world where there is so little crime in proportion to the population. Indeed, the petty offences that take place are committed by strangers to the island; by persons from the mainland.

The *police for the whole island does not cost* 100 *dollars a month, and the amount of property stolen and not recovered does not amount to* 150 *dollars a year. There is frequently a clear jail, and of the eighteen or twenty prisoners now there,* most of them are confined for selling shamshu (spirits) to the soldiers. In civil cases regarding money or land the people cheerfully submit their suits to Captain Bamfield's arbitration, and almost without exception the defaulters admit the claims made on them, and readily consent to

arrangements for liquidating the debt in time according to their means. The debts of ancestors are always recognized.

The people seem attached to our rule; they imitate our customs, and have great confidence in our veracity.* In many parts of Tinghai the name and designation of the shop-keeper is neatly painted in English over his door. Our language is being acquired very rapidly; particularly by young people, and they take great delight in their proficiency. Idolatry or superstition seems to have little hold on them; veneration for the manes of their ancestors, and the performance of various funereal rites at picturesque or neatly sculptured tombs, constitute their principal religious creed and ritual.

Although spies have been sent from the mainland by the mandarins to watch and intimidate those who might be friendly disposed towards us, yet many have not hesitated to avow their anxiety for our retention of the island, and to express their dread of the restoration of mandarin authority, and all its "squeezings" and indefinable exactions.

A revenue might easily be derived from Chusan, adequate at least to the payment of its civil government. It is stated that during the Chinese occupation of the island the land revenue was 13,500 leangs of silver annually. The leang at Ningpo is equal to 2,000 cash. There were also paid six measures of rice at twenty-three cash per measure, and fifteen catties of grain at sixteen cash per catty, on each mow of cultivated land. The tax was levied in coin and paid into the imperial treasury. Among other taxes there was a stamp on deeds, on the registration of property, &c. There was also a tax on the "foundation of houses," which may be considered a ground-rent. There could be little difficulty in raising a sufficient revenue, from such an extensive population spread over a highly cultivated country.

Animal food, Fish and Vegetable productions.—Of beef, mutton, and pork there is a regular supply at an average price of four pence per pound. The grazing ground is good, and under European management cattle might be cured and fattened in great numbers. The milk and butter of the cow and of the buffalo, are very rich, and sell at moderate prices. The flavour of the Chusan mutton is excellent; goats are numerous; hams are well cured and nearly equal in flavour to those of England; deer and hares are in season during the winter months; beef and pork might be cured to any extent in winter for the supply of the navy, and kept in ice-houses till required. Bul-

* In a letter from Chusan, dated 30th May, 1845, from an intelligent and close observer, who has the best means of judging of the feelings of the people, there is the following passage:—"Nothing could exceed the peaceful and friendly disposition evinced by the natives. Their favourable feeling is evinced by the extraordinary number of buildings which have been erected within the last seven months in the immediate vicinity of the barracks. There is now a busy town where nine months ago you saw a mere swamp."

locks are about forty shillings each; salt is made in great abundance on the coast of Chusan and on the neighbouring islands.

Poultry are plentiful, moderate in price, and of fine flavour. The Chusan fowls are larger than any that are to be seen in England; geese are excellent; ducks are hatched by steam, and reared by thousands: one boy has charge of many hundreds: they feed in the rice fields and canals; *eggs* are very abundant, usual price 150 for a dollar=three for a penny. Of *game* there are pheasants, snipe, quail, woodcock, teal, duck, wild geese, (large and good), wild swans, (very plentiful), &c.

Bread and confectionary prepared in the English style are well made by the Chinese; sixteen pound loaves of excellent white bread may be brought for a dollar; wheat is grown on the hills, and rice and millet in the valleys; cauliflowers, peas and beans, cabbage, spinach, cucumbers, onions, turnips, carrots, sweet potatoes, bringalls, gourds of different descriptions, French beans, radishes, celery, &c., are brought to market in season. European potatoes are now being introduced, and every English vegetable and fruit when cultivated, thrive in perfeetion. The tea plant grows on the hills, and is sent to Ningpo and Chapoo to be manufactured for the beverage of the higher classes. The wild raspberry and strawberry are in abundance; melons and oranges are excellent; the peach, grape, apple, pear, apricot, cherry, and plum only require careful cultivation for their improvement. (At Shanghai the peaches are large and excellent) Walnuts and Spanish chestnuts come to perfection at Chusan. The tallow-tree and varnish-tree are among the most valuable productions of the island. From the tallow-tree a great abundance of candles of a waxy consistence are prepared. The varnish-tree yields a wood-oil of great use in furniture. The bamboo and dwarf oak abound; cotton of excellent quality is largely cultivated; silk as yet is of limited production. The tobacco of Chusan is much prized; the hop (humulus) grows on every hill.

The shores around Chusan abound with fish, some of excellent quality, such as the pomphlat, sole, seer, salt water trout, herring, rock cod, sturgeons, mackerell, and eel; oysters, and crayfish are in perfection. It is stated that forty thousand fishing vessels arrive annually from different parts of the coast of China, and remain three months fishing off Chusan. "The "yellow mandarin" fishing is analagous to the herring fishery of Great Britain or of Holland. About 300,000 dollars capital is invested in this lucrative trade. Ice-boats attend the fishing-boats off Chusan, and as soon as the fish are caught they are packed in ice, and sent to the most distant parts of the empire.

COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES OF CHUSAN.—The external commerce of Chusan on our occupation of the island, consisted chiefly of salted and dry fish, of salt, and of samshu, an ardent spirit distilled from rice, millet or other grains. There was also a con-

siderable entrepôt trade between the northern and southern coasts of China. Now a foreign trade has commenced, which will probably increase to a very large extent if we retain the island. In two articles of British manufacture the sales at Chusan during the past year amounted to one million dollars, viz.:

Cotton goods to the amount of	750,000	dollars.
Woollen ditto	250,000	ditto
	1,000,000	ditto

In July 1843, Captain Cleverly of the "William Hughes" sold in four days in Chusan harbour woollen goods to the amount of 85,000 dollars. There was not so much merchandize sold at the consular ports of Shanghai and Ningpo in nine months as was sold at Chusan in the earlier months of 1843. The Chinese prefer purchasing goods at Chusan; as there is no monopoly; and as they have no China custom-house mark on them, they are more readily saleable at the different ports along the coast, as they can be transmitted into the interior of the country without being subject to the transit duties which are levied on British manufactures, even *after they have paid the custom-house duties at the consular ports.* The possession of Chusan as a trading emporium is the more necessary by reason of the state of four of the consular ports, which excepting Shanghai have not in any degree realized the expectations entertained. There is little British trade at Amoy; the "Erin" and the "Mariane Webb" were at Amoy during the present month, (August 1844), and could not sell a bale of cotton goods or of any thing, although there was no stock on hand. At Ningpo there is no resident British merchant.

Goods have been lying at Ningpo for six months unsaleable; the Ningpo authorities are ever throwing impediments in the way of trade, they forbid the introduction of foreign goods in native vessels from Chusan. I may mention the following fact; in July 1844, the "*Cornwall,*" an English vessel of 300 tons, arrived at Ningpo from Singapore, with a cargo of "*Straits produce,*" and some British manufactures. The "Cornwall" was chartered by a Chinaman, who is a merchant residing at Singapore; he was born at Malacca, and his ancestors for three generations have been British subjects. There was a Chinaman from Singapore placed on board as supercargo by the Malacca Chinese merchant, but the captain of the ship and his crew were English. On the arrival of the "Cornwall" at Ningpo, the mandarins resolved on confiscating the ship and cargo, and it was only by the urgent representations of the consul that she was saved; the "Cornwall" then left Ningpo for Shanghai, and was totally lost on one of the banks in the Yangtzekang river, when proceeding thither. The general policy of the Chinese government is obviously directed to the

greatest possible concentration of the foreign trade, thus rendering it subject to a more rigid system of supervision, and more available for exaction. The Tartar government dread the extension of our trade in the northern ports, and would gladly drive it all back again to Canton.

Mr. Thom the consul at Ningpo who framed the new Chinese tariff, who was the chief eulogist on the advantageous extension of British trade with China, whose knowledge of the Chinese language is complete, and who has married a China woman, now acknowledges that all his hopes have been disappointed. He said, (10th August, 1844,) "*free trade has proved a failure in China;* everything here runs into monopoly. Government have appointed three Hongs, who alone are permitted to sell tea at Ningpo; government have granted a monopoly of all iron made in the district, to one Hong consisting of two or three individuals. An English ship brought some iron here the other day; the Chinaman who brought the English iron at a dollar a pecul, below the price at which the monopolist Hong was selling the native iron, was cited before the mandarins, who after urgent remonstrances, and reference to the treaty, at length, said, the monopoly was granted for internal or home made iron, and that the Chinaman was at liberty to complete his purchase of the English iron. But in a short time the iron monopolist Hong, trumped up some other charge against the purchaser of the English iron; false witnesses were easily procured, and the unfortunate purchaser of cheap English iron was committed to prison. No interference of the consul could be made, as the alleged offence had no reference to trade; the accused would probably be squeezed of all his property, and feel thankful he had escaped with life; such conduct deters other Chinese traders from purchasing English goods, particularly where a monopoly has been granted." Mr. Thom proceeded further to observe, "you may lay down large and liberal principles, but they are sure to be defeated in detail by the mandarins. Although the duties are low on imported English goods, yet a man prefers going over in his junk to Chusan, where he fills her with English goods and takes them to Chapoo, Shantung, &c., where they are readily bought; the same goods if sold at Ningpo would be marked at the custom-house, and fifty or sixty miles in the interior the mandarins levy a heavy internal transit duty, which effectually checks the consumption of British manufactures. I see no prospect of a large increase of trade with China, which has nothing but tea and silk to export, and no money. Silver is becoming scarcer every day, 2,000 cash are now required for a tael of silver. Opium has drained the country. Formerly the Chinese bought our watches, mirrors, and other articles of luxury, now they are unable to do so, and there is evidently an increasing national impoverishment and deterioration. This is also the

opinion of the Rev. Mr. Medhurst at Shanghai. In the Chinese you behold a nation without truth and without morals."

The absence of trade at Ningpo and Foochoo, and our exclusion from other ports to the northward, render the possession of Chusan more valuable. Already goods have been frequently purchased there for the coast of Shantung, but probably destined for the gulf of Potchely, and other places to the northward of the Yangtzekang river. Chusan would also most probably become an entrepôt for the valuable trade of Formosa, from which island it is only distant 300 miles, and from whence there is an immense importation of sugar into Ningpo and Shanghai, for the supply of the rich northern and central provinces of China, where the consumption is very great. The sugar would be a valuable article for shipment to England, and would be much more advantageously transhipped at a free port like Chusan, than under the trammels of the custom-house arrangements at Ningpo or Shanghai, irrespective of the export duty levied at these ports, which on low sugars become a heavy per centage. The Formosa junks take back raw cotton, cotton cloths, Straits produce, &c., all of which British merchants could supply from Chusan. The proximity of Chapoo (the seat of the China Japanese trade) to Chusan, is of considerable importance, as the merchants engaged in it would doubtless prefer making their purchases of foreign goods at Chusan free from duty, to proceeding out of their way to Shanghai to buy them at an enhanced cost.

The Japanese, three centuries ago, made Chusan their entrepôt. Japan, with 30,000,000 inhabitants—the finest climate in the world, rich in various commodities, and abounding in gold and silver, is within two or three days sail of Chusan, and accessible at all seasons of the year. Our occupation of Chusan, would sooner or later bring about an intercourse with that exclusive people, the Japanese, on the ground that we had formerly a factory, in 1613, at Firando in Japan, that we were compelled to retire, and that we have an equal right with the Dutch to trade on free and just terms with the Japanese.

There are several other places with which a trade might be opened with Chusan, viz.: with Corea, which contains about 12,000,000 inhabitants; with the Loochoo Islands, the coast of Mantchouria, the Kurile Islands, and even with Kamstchatka, &c. In fact, a new and large commercial world would be opened to England.

The whale fishery is now being extended into the Northern Pacific, Chinese and Japanese seas. Driven successively from the northern and southern Polar regions, this gigantic and useful animal is seeking refuge in seas hitherto little frequented, from his untiring pursuers. To the whale ships, Chusan would be an invaluable port for recruitment.

In viewing Chusan as a commercial emporium, it is important

to bear in mind, that although the largest class of ships in the British navy, may with as perfect safety reach Chusan, as any other part of the world, yet the navigation to the northward of Chusan is difficult, even for small class vessels of 200 tons burthen. It would be hazardous for large class ships to enter the Woo-sung River, on which Shanghai is situated. The same remark applies to the Gulf of Potchely, the Hwang, Ho or Yellow River, the Peiho, and the other ports and rivers to the northward of the Yangtzekang. This circumstance would give us a great advantage, by enabling merchants to send goods direct from England in large ships to Chusan, where they would be transhipped direct to the English coasting craft, or Chinese junks, without further expense. At present goods are sent to Hong Kong or Canton, there warehoused, considerable expense incurred, and then re-embarked in small class schooners or brigs to the northward, thus materially enhancing the cost of the goods, and delaying their transmission to the place of sale—namely, the richest and most populous districts of China, which lie contiguous to Chusan.

Ere long the worthlessness of our consular stations, except Canton and Shanghai, will be fully perceived; it will then be acknowledged that the present stations were hastily and injudiciously selected; that other places, such as Suchoo at the head of the Woosung river, Chinkeangfoo, near the Grand Canal, below Nankin, and Tiensin, the port of the Peiho, were much better adopted for our trade. The annual expenses of our consular establishments on the China coast of £30,000 a-year, without any corresponding advantage, will be severely felt, should the Chinese government resolve to open no other ports.

The intrinsic worth of Chusan as a British port will then be more manifest; our possession of the island will force the Tartar government of China to the adoption of a less exclusive system, for the natural and apparently instinctive love of a Chinaman for trade, would make him the conveyer of our merchandise to the numerous ports and wealthy districts around our settlement, thus bringing about practically a free trade with China, which ultimately its government would be forced to recognise, protect, and encourage.

MARITIME POSITION.—The navigation of the China sea up to Chusan, is perfectly safe and easy on all occasions. The difficulty of reaching the northern ports against the monsoon has been purposely magnified by those engaged in the opium trade, who have for several years past navigated the whole coast of China, regardless of the monsoon. Captains of merchant vessels declare they would rather proceed from Hong Kong to Chusan in the north-east monsoon, than they would pass through the English channel in winter.

A vessel proceeding from Singapore or any southern port up the China sea, against the monsoon, can reach Chusan as easily as

Hong Hong, and within three or four days of the time, the difference of distance being only seven hundred miles. One of the erroneous ideas entertained respecting Chusan, was the impracticability of vessels reaching the island *against the monsoon.* The monsoons only blow in the tropics, and Hong Kong is on their verge. It is true the wind blows for a long period of the year, (from October to May) down the Formosa channel; and vessels at this season go *outside* the channel; but sometimes beat through; for instance, the "*Omega,*" a small schooner, commanded by Captain White, one of the most intelligent, enterprizing, and skilful officers on the coast of China, left Chusan, 13th June, 1843, went to Hong Kong and Macao, delivered her downward and received her upward cargo, and arrived in Chusan harbour the 29th, being somewhat under *sixteen* days. This was thought much of at the time, but in June, 1844, answers to letters were received by sailing vessels, from Hong Kong in *nine* days from the time of their being written in Chusan. The China coast as far north as Chusan, and the entrance of the Yangtzekang river, is bold, steep, and skirted with islands, where good anchorage may always be found.

The harbour of Chusan is superior to that of Hong Kong, more easy of access and egress in all winds, and safer in a typhoon. No gale can raise a sea in Chusan harbour. The holding ground is a tenacious clay, and when the junks are driven on shore, owing to their imperfect moorings, they drive on a mud bank, from whence they easily get off in fine weather. Sixty sail of British vessels have anchored in Chusan harbour at once, and the adjacent safe and large harbour, termed "Spithead," would contain treble that number of vessels. Excellent anchorage exists throughout the whole Chusan Archipelago, which is accessible to vessels proceeding in any direction to or from Chusan.

It is worthy of note, that throughout the whole year, *Chusan is to windward of the* adjacent ports and mainland of China; so that ships of war, or transports, can at any period with certainty enter the Yangtzekang in a few days after leaving Chusan harbour. Naval commanders will immediately perceive the great importance of such an advantage.

Military Position.—A glance at the map of China, will instantly demonstrate the many advantages which Chusan possesses as a military station. Midway between the northern and southern extremities of this immense empire; at the entrance of the vast Yangtzekang, which divides China into two parts, by means of the net work of canals all centring in this river, affording a cheap and ready water communication with Peking, and all the richest cities and most fertile plains; sufficiently distant from the mainland to prevent observation, and to guard against a surprise; in a healthy climate, abounding in commissariat supplies, and with

the most important maritime advantages, Chusan may justly be termed the *key of China.* [Such, I hear, it has also been since called by the Duke of Wellington.]

Two regiments, a couple of frigates, and two steamers, would be sufficient, if stationed at Chusan, not only to keep the whole empire of China in check, but even to act on the offensive, enter the Yangtzekang, occupy the mouth of the grand canal, and in one week dictate terms of peace without seeking any reinforcement from India. A flat country, thickly peopled, by an unwarlike, effeminate, and commercial race, collected in numerous large cities, can never resist even a small well-organized invading force. Our occupation, would, therefore, tend to preserve peace between China and England.

The following extracts from Dr. Gutzlaff's "Retrospect of two years' peace" written at Hong Kong, November, 1844, after he had seen the previous remarks, entirely confirm my remarks:—

"Chusan will hold a very prominent place in the history of our commerce and intercourse with this country, whatever the political events may be in future. As a mere territorial possession its advantages will be considerable. The tea that grows on the island is fit for exportation, though not carefully prepared for a foreign market, it is merely sold at Suchoo, and other places in Keangsoo. There is space enough unoccupied by any other cultivation which could be carefully planted with tea shrubs, and the proper tea-men invited for this branch of the trade from the Sunglho hills, about seven days distance from Ningpo. With a small expense of capital, Chusan and the neighbouring islands might produce instead of ten to twenty boat-loads as at present, the same number of ship-loads of green tea.

"The silk-worm thrives in the island, but is now merely kept by a few females, who take an interest in weaving home dresses. People brought up from their childhood in this branch of industry could be brought from Hangchoo, (one day's sailing distance from Chusan).

"The island is fertile, and contains a dense, industrious, agricultural population, who though more than ten times the number of the Chinese inhabitants of Hong Kong, require not one-fifth part of the police establishment for keeping them in order.

"As a fishing station Chusan possesses great advantages. The catching of the "mandarin fish" during the spring months, is a very extensive and lucrative business to the inhabitants, and employs a large capital, and numerous boats. For the whale fishery Chusan presents great facilities, for during summer the fish go to the Japanese seas, and along the coast of Korea, whither they have never yet been pursued. Vessels, therefore, fitting out in the island would be just in the track.

"As a commercial emporium few places in Asia can vie in point

of situation with Chusan. On the opposite main are the most flourishing cities as respects manufactures as well as commerce. In its neighbourhood the largest rivers of China disembogue, and these will always be the high road of commerce. It is only two days sail from Japan, the same from Korea, and though the former country still remains hermetically sealed, and the other has always kept aloof from contact with the whole world, they cannot always maintain this exclusion of national intercourse. Chusan is a half-way station between the northern and southern provinces, and was as such visited by large numbers of junks before the conquest. Inasmuch as it ought now to be an object of our constant endeavour to open new outlets for British manufactures, *no spot on earth presents such facilities as Chusan at the present moment.*

"As a station for European troops the climate is most favourable; it is congenial to the European constitution, and the soil would produce all the fruits and vegetables to which we are accustomed at home, if properly planted and cultivated. The imperfect attempts made for that purpose have well succeeded, and the mountains might be clad with the vine, instead of with the dwarf fir which now covers their sides.

"On account of the great rise and fall of tide, docks might be constructed on "Tea island" or on the north coast of Chusan, for the repair of vessels, and it is worthy of remark that the neighbouring Korean islands produce firs and oaks of the best quality, excellently adapted for the use of carpenters and shipwrights.

"In a political point of view Chusan appears in the most favourable light. The great political maxim, of always as much as possible to keep the peace with the Celestial Empire, can never be so well attained as by retaining possession of this island.

"The neighbourhood of a British force so near the great canal, and only about *five days' sail from Peking*, will always make the great Emperor very careful to adopt any measures that may wound the feelings of the neighbouring foreigners, and in case of such an event, the appearance of a few steamers at Kwachoo or Chinkeangfoo would soon change the views of the great monarch.

"In Asia the observance of treaties does not arise from any conviction that they are an obligation binding on both parties; but it springs from sheer necessity, and the moment this powerful law is not in operation all engagements are null and void. The best guarantee for the maintenance of our treaty will be the British occupation of Chusan. Its possession by England will render the mandarins more conscientious and willing in executing the behest of their sovereign, and the great monarch more desirous of conciliation, than when our fleets and armies are stationed at the other extremity of the empire. Chusan will prove the bridle for restraining the wild and ungovernable passions of Muhchan-

gah's party, and for keeping England free from all interference in the political affairs of China.

"In case of an European war, Chusan would prove a very valuable post for the protection of our shipping, and the expulsion of any enemy from those seas; and without such a station, the northern trade, which ere long will be larger than the southern, would be exposed to imminent dangers.

"We would look upon Chusan as another Malta, not in point of natural strength, but of political importance for the maintenance and undisturbed enjoyment of a commerce, which after the opening of Japan, and Korea, and the access to Mantchouria, will certainly rival the whole of our Mediterranean trade.

"With *a fourth* of the money spent on the ungrateful soil of Hong Kong, Chusan would have exhibited a larger and more beautiful city than we shall *ever behold on the straggling hills of this colony.*

"If changes occur,—if difficulties in the performance of the treaty arise,—if China resumes its perfidious conduct,—if other foreign powers strive to obtain the mastery in its councils,—if the country is agitated, and trade must seek a safe asylum, then the *permanent occupation of Chusan will become the most salutary measure that could be adopted for preserving British ascendancy and influence in Eastern Asia.*"

Lieutenant Ochterlony, a distinguished officer, who resided some time at Chusan, says, "as a residence for Europeans, it is undeniably most desirable; with almost every article of luxury or necessity for the table readily procurable; with a climate, allowing many absolutely cold months during the year; the greater part of the remainder temperate, and not oppressive; *with the most lovely landscape meeting the eye wherever it rests;* with advantages of healthful exercise, including the great essential of sea bathing, and many others that need not be enumerated, it affords every promise of becoming in the due course of time, and that a very short one, *one of the most popular, interesting and salubrious stations offered to Her Majesty's troops in the Eastern Colonies;* and which as a place of trade, should it be practicable so far to overcome the prejudices and fears of the Chinese, as to allow of our retention of it, (Chusan) with a fair prospect of the ports on the mainland being opened to us, its value is undoubtedly great, presenting features of attraction sufficient to render it, in many essential respects, as important a fief, as has, of late years, been added to the British Crown."

In Mr. Lindsay's journal of the voyage of the *Sylph* up the coast of China, in which reference is made to the insular places, he says—"superior to all is the island of Chusan: the advantages of a central situation on the coast, communicating with the very heart of China, of anchorages, harbours, fertility, population, climate, are here all united; Ningpo, Hangchow, Shanghae, and Japan, are distant only a few days sail. Among these numerous

islands, (the Chusan group) there are almost as many valuable harbours, or places of perfect security for ships of any burthen. This advantage, together with that of their central situation in respect to the eastern coast of China, and the vicinity of Corea, Japan, Leookaoo, and Formosa, attract considerable commerce."

These opinions of Dr. Gutzlaff, of Lieutenant Ochterlony, and Mr. H. M. Lindsay, were not seen until after my report on Chusan had been sent from China to England; and since I arrived in England, I am happy to find that all the views I formed respecting Hong Kong and China, are entirely coincided in by a distinguished civil servant of the East India Company.

Sir James Urmston, who presided for some years over the East India Company's affairs at Canton, in 1833 satisfactorily pointed out the many and serious disadvantages, under which our trade was carried on at that port, and at the same time forcibly illustrated the important benefits which would be bestowed on British interests, by our permanent possession of Chusan, or, if that could not be accomplished, the sanction of the Chinese government to our trading at that island.

The circumstances of the war with China, the capture of, and our occupancy of Chusan, until restored to the Chinese, afford ample proof of the value and importance of Chusan, and fully corroborate the accuracy of Sir James Urmston's views, opinions, and remarks, relative to this fine island.*

Sir James Urmston rightly observes, "Chusan is not only most advantageously placed for general trade, but is in fact, close to those districts which are more immediately connected with the British and other foreign trade; that is, in the vicinity of the tea and silk districts, and of those marts where British merchandize and manufactures are required and diffused, as well as those articles which are exported to China from our dominions in India, and from the settlements in the Malacca straits, and in the eastern Archipelago.

"Chusan is, moreover, admirably placed and adapted for offensive and defensive naval and military operations, as well as for intercepting the Chinese coasting trade, which passes up and down the coast of China, especially near to Chusan, to an immense extent and value; Chusan, in fact, lays in the very track of that trade, and of the junks which trade with Japan, Loochoo Islands, Eastern Archipelago, Manilla, Borneo, Cochin China, Siam, Batavia, Malacca, and Singapore, and other places to the southward of China.

"The harbour of Chusan is one of the finest and best sheltered in the world, and the whole island might be defended by a very moderate number of troops, and a small naval force.

"Viewing the question of a settlement on the coast of China, in all its bearings, it is undeniable that this fine island possesses ad-

* The Hon. Frederick Bruce, late Colonial Secretary at Hong Kong, also speaks of Chusan as a fine island.

vantages, infinitely superior to any other on the whole coast of China, whether we view it in a geographical, commercial, or political sense; and were we so fortunate as to possess Chusan, or be allowed to trade there, it is doubtless, that a most flourishing and successful trade would speedily spring up, largely benefitting the Chinese of all classes in that quarter, and proving most important, and advantageous to British enterprise and commerce."

Since the termination of the Chinese war, Sir James Urmston has expressed the following opinions and remarks:

"The opening of the four ports to the eastward to us, renders that of Canton, of minor importance; indeed, the less we have to say or to do at that place, the better: the intolerable arrogance, and extortionary spirit and rapacity of the local officers of government, and the insolence of the people there, towards foreigners, will, I suspect, remain with them; this will arise from a violent vindictive feeling towards us, not only in consequence of the example we made of them during the war, and our impolitic and unaccountable forbearance in not inflicting on them the full measure of chastisement which they so amply merited, but the opening of the ports to the eastward to us, has materially curtailed the British trade at Canton, deprived the Hong merchants of their unnatural and objectionable monopoly; and at the same time checked to a certain, but limited extent, the cupidity of the Chinese officers of government at that port.

"Canton, moreover, is one of the worst places on the whole coast of China, for foreign trade, for the obvious reason, that none of the articles we export from England or India, are either required or diffused in that quarter, but are sent to the marts of their demand, in the northern and eastern provinces, and all articles of our import from China, are conveyed by inland transit from the above provinces to Canton.

"With regard to Hong Kong, that island never can prove of the smallest benefit or value to us, beyond a mere rendezvous for shipping, and *that* we at all times commanded and possessed, before we took possession of this insignificant and useless island; and most of the neighbouring islands possess equal advantages in this respect. It never can become an emporium, unless for opium, if that trade continues. Any articles of commerce which British traders might expect to find at Hong Kong, would necessarily be brought from Canton, and would doubtless pass through the hands of those very monopolists whom our merchants and traders now so loudly and justly complain of, at that port. It is idle, and a delusion, to imagine, as has been suggested in some of the public journals of the day, that the tea and other Chinese merchants, will convey their teas and other commodities from the provinces to Hong Kong, direct by sea. They have hitherto invariably declined so doing, in respect of Canton, having preferred the circuitous and tedious route to that place by inland transit. It is very

improbable, therefore, that they will at the present day alter their system, in favour of Hong Kong, which is double and treble the distance, from the north-eastern ports, than Canton is; with the additional risk of a long sea-voyage. The Chinese merchants in the provinces have, moreover, now infinitely less inducement to proceed to the southward with their goods and merchandize, especially to such an out of the way place as Hong Kong, because the opening of the ports to us to the eastward, has bestowed upon them foreign customers at their own doors.

"British merchants, therefore, trading with China, cannot on any reasonable or plausible grounds, expect to come in contact at Hong Kong with Chinese tea, and other merchants from the provinces. Let our merchants and traders in China, who are clinging to Canton, withdraw entirely from that objectionable port, and direct their commercial proceedings to the ports newly opened to us—especially Ningpo and Shanghai, and where a fair, if not a promising field, is open to them, if they avail themselves wisely and judiciously of the prospect; but much must depend on themselves, as well as on the Chinese, to ensure success. The Chinese in that quarter, and at Chusan, are a superior class to the Canton people, and are well disposed towards us. The excellent and exemplary conduct and deportment of our troops and seamen, and of all our countrymen, during their occupancy of Chusan, has left a very favourable impression on the Chinese of all classes in that quarter, and this is best proved by the regret generally and openly avowed by them on our recent restoration of, and departure from, that island.

"After the admirable and masterly manner, in which Admiral Sir William Parker conducted a fleet of fifty or sixty sail of ships of war, steamers, and transports, two hundred miles up the Yangtzekang, capturing (in conjunction with our gallant troops), the extensive, strongly fortified, and important city of Chinkiangfoo, and virtually capturing Nankin, the ancient metropolis of the empire, it cannot but be a subject of surprise and regret, that we did not stipulate for, and insist on, the free navigation of the Yangtzekang, as high as Nankin; with the privilege of trading at Nankin, Chinkeangfoo, and the opposite port of Quachow, and for the cession, in perpetuity to us, of the island of Chusan.

"It is undeniable, that had these points been attained by the British government, the most important, not to say immense, advantages would have resulted to us—far surpassing the privilege, important and valuable as it is, of trading at the four new ports which the treaty of peace opened to us. This cannot be considered as a mere speculative opinion: the locality and nature of the quarters above mentioned are well known and understood by those acquainted with China, or with Chinese geography, and can assuredly be attested by those of our countrymen who shared in the triumphs of the Chinese war, and by those who during the cam-

paign, or since the termination of hostilities, have visited that empire, in whatever capacity."

These valuable remarks of a practical and experienced mind, are now generally acknowledged as a truthful exposition of what ought to have been our policy in China, and an effort was made in the following letters to impress the importance of Chusan on Her Majesty's government. As another war with China is now expected, in consequence of our past mistakes, the statements here made may on a future occasion be useful.

To C. E. Trevelyan, Esq., Assistant Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury:—

Her Majesty's Treasury, Hong Kong, November 14, 1844.

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a letter which I addressed to you on the 20th September, 1844, accompanying my report on the island of Chusan. The maps explanatory of that report, were not then copied; and I have now the honour to forward them in this inclosure.

The necessity for the retention of Chusan as a British colony, is now being fully acknowledged by all persons whose judgments are not biassed by their individual interests. Moreover, it has been recently shown that the Chinese have the power, in twenty-four hours, to cut off all supplies from this barren rock, and to stop all labour here. For forty-eight hours no work was done in Hong Kong, and the markets were empty. It was only by rescinding the registration ordinance (No. 16, of 21st August, 1844), that labour was resumed, the shops re-opened, and the markets again supplied with the daily food required by the inhabitants of Victoria.

I adhere to every statement which I made in my report on Hong Kong, which has been transmitted by Mr. Davis to Lord Stanley.

There is no perceptible commerce but that of opium; very few vessels in the harbour, and *the tea trade at Canton is as perfectly independent of Hong Kong as if the island did not exist.*

I yesterday furnished Commissary-General Coffin with an estimate of the sum of money which I will require from him for the ensuing year, viz., 150,000*l.*; this is independent of the expensive outlay now being incurred by Major Aldrich, of the engineers, on various works. I would again respectfully intreat their Lordships' consideration of the inutility of this large expenditure of the public money on Hong Kong, and of the necessity of diminishing its establishments to a scale commensurate with the wants and circumstances of the island.

No money, talent, or energy can ever make Hong Kong worthy the name of a British colony. Its decided insalubrity,

incapability of fortifications, precarious means of supply, distance from the scene of any future belligerent operations (the Yang-tzekang), and powerlessness of any efficient check and control over the Chinese government, render the island utterly worthless for military purposes.

The absence of trade is now beginning to make the few merchants who have built houses here repent of their outlay, and some have even said they would cheerfully undergo the loss of their capital invested in buildings, if the seat of the British Government were transferred to Chusan. Unfortunately, several gentlemen who have been in China, and who are now in England, hold land and houses here, and it is to be expected that their opinions will be given adversely as regards the transference of the seat of the British Government from Hong Kong to Chusan.

I am ready to prove, on the most incontrovertible evidence, to Her Majesty's Ministers, that neither commercially, financially, politically, or socially, can there be any justifiable grounds whatever for this expenditure.

Whatever public character I may possess, I am prepared to stake it on the issue of this subject; and should Her Majesty's Ministers deem my views erroneous, I am also prepared to incur the sacrifice of my position as one of Her Majesty's servants.

I cannot conscientiously continue to receive the salary awarded to my office, and remain silent, when I perceive that a great error has been committed, and that England is under the delusion of being engaged in founding a colony on the frontiers of China, which will be a permanent advantage to her trade—a lasting credit to her character—and a powerful means of establishing and of extending her civilizing influence over one-third of the human-race.

While viewing our trade with China as one of vast importance, I cannot forget that there are other subjects of equal, if not of superior, consideration.

Happily these subjects are not antagonistic, but collateral: whatever gives political power and Christian influence to England in China, affords the means of expanding her commerce, and of strengthening her intercourse with the myriads of industrious and intelligent people, on whose shores she is now irrevocably established.

The position which England has assumed, the treaty which she has forced on China, (which has thus been opened to all Europe and America,) and the shock which the late war has given to the Tartar Government, and which may probably end in the dismemberment, if not destruction, of the Tartar empire of China, all indicate the great responsibility we have incurred.

England cannot remain passive in China—there, as elsewhere, she must advance or recede; the latter is impossible; and the former, if uncontrolled, will plunge her into the greatest diffi-

culties. The abandonment of Chusan, in January, 1845, and the retention of Hong Kong as the sole settlement of Great Britain in China, will, ere long, by the force of peculiar circumstances, lead to our territorial occupancy on the mainland of China; a measure greatly to be deprecated and condemned.

But by our retention of Chusan island, there could be no excuse for seeking a continental occupancy: it is large, fertile, salubrious, well peopled, and admirably situated for commercial, military, maritime, and social purposes.

Abundant scope would thus be given for developing the energies of Great Britain, and remove all plea of necessity for establishing ourselves on the mainland.

Whether China be a foe or a friend, England, by the occupation of Chusan, would be prepared to defend or to aid, as circumstances might demand. Whether war or peace prevailed in Europe, equally advantageous would be our position to resist an enemy, or to encourage the trade of the western world.

The permanent occupation of Chusan by England involves so many considerations of the highest importance, that I trust their Lordships will excuse the earnestness with which I seek their immediate and deep investigation of the question; and that they will be pleased to overlook any strong expressions which I may have used in my reports on Hong Kong and on Chusan.

Twenty years have been devoted to an investigation of the colonies of England, and I trust their Lordships will deem that the long study of this vast subject, and the personal examination of many of our transmarine possessions, have qualified me to form and to express an early opinion on the British position in China.

If the sentiments I have endeavoured to convey, relative to the utter inutility of a large governmental expenditure on Hong Kong, and to the great importance in every point of view of permanently occupying Chusan, be productive of the desired result, I shall have the satisfaction of feeling that I have endeavoured to do my duty, and I hope in some degree to justify the confidence reposed in me,

I have, &c.
R. M. MARTIN,
Colonial Treasurer.

To the Right Hon. Sir R. Peel, Bart., First Lord of the Treasury.

Her Majesty's Treasury, Hong Kong, November 14, 1844.

SIR,

I most respectfully solicit your early perusal and consideration of two reports which I have prepared on the islands of Hong Kong and Chusan.

Governor Davis has transmitted the "Report on Hong Kong" to Lord Stanley, and the "Report on Chusan" to the Earl of Aberdeen. I have transmitted copies of these reports to Mr. Trevelyan, the Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, with an explanatory letter of this date.

When Lord Stanley did me the honour of selecting me for the duties of treasurer, I believe his Lordship expected that any information I acquired here should be devoted solely to Her Majesty's service.

In fulfilment of what I deemed my duty, I collected all the facts bearing on the present position and future prospects of Hong Kong; and while at Chusan, on sick certificate, I examined into the value of that island.

These inquiries have produced on my mind a strong conviction of the inutility of Hong Kong as a British colony, and of the necessity of retaining Chusan, if we desire to preserve peace with China, to secure our trade, and to extend our influence. The expenditure from the British Treasury on this coast, is about half a million sterling per annum; and of this sum the civil expenditure on Hong Kong alone is estimated at upwards of one hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum. I have in vain sought for any justifiable reason, either as regards the existing state of the island, or any rational expectation as to the future, which can sanction a civil expenditure on this barren, useless, unhealthy rock, of more than 10,000*l.* or 15,000*l.* per annum.

The possession of Hong Kong is not of the slightest aid to the tea trade at Canton. The presence of a single ship of war, one of Her Majesty's frigates, or steam-vessels, at Whampoa, would be a more effectual protection to the tea trade and commerce of Canton, than any army or force that could be established at Hong Kong, which protects nothing, produces nothing, and may within thirty-four hours have its daily supplies of food entirely cut off by even the Chinese resident on the island, as has been shown during the past fortnight, when the markets were emptied, the shops shut, and all labour stopped for forty-eight hours, until an obnoxious government ordinance (No. 16, of 21st August, 1844) was rescinded.

My opinion of the worthlessness of this rock, is confirmed by the entire absence of trade, after three and a-half years continued British occupation, and an immense expenditure for civil, military, and naval disbursements; by the dreadful waste of life—for, according to Major General D'Aguilar, one European regiment will be entirely destroyed by death within the space of three years; by the incapability of fortifying the island at almost any expense, if a garrison could be kept alive, or if there were a necessity of defending anything—or commanding any point or pass of the slightest value; by the impossibility of raising a revenue to de-

fray one-tenth of the amount of the mere civil expenditure; and by the failure of all attempts to induce any class of respectable Chinese to settle here with their families.

An examination of the map of China will show that Hong Kong is situated at the extremity of a line of coast extending nearly 2,000 miles; that its geographical position is disadvantageous for even commanding the wide entrance or estuary of the Canton river; and that the navigation of the entire China seas from north to south, is entirely independent of Hong Kong.

The adjacent mainland, nearly as rugged, rude, and barren as the island, is occupied by a scanty but hostile population, of predatory habits, and devoid of the civilization and peaceful commercial character of the people to the northward.

Should, unfortunately, another war take place between England and China, the seat of belligerent operations would be the Yangtzekang river, and not that of Canton.

The distance of Hong Kong from the Yangtzekang, and the difficulty of proceeding thither with a large armament in the cold and practicable season during the north-east monsoon, demonstrates its valuelessness for military or nautical purposes.

As a commercial station, Hong Kong is a decided failure; from the landing of Captain Elliot here in January, 1841, to the present moment, there has been no Chinese trade; no European or native craft attracted hither for mercantile gain; Mr. Davis is unwilling to impose even a small tonnage or harbour duty, lest the few European vessels that now touch here might be deterred from entering the port.*

As regards social influence, or Christian principles, their dissemination in China through Hong Kong is utterly impossible. The island is a receptacle for any thief, pirate, or robber, who can escape from the mainland; and in the worst penal settlement, life and property are more secure than in this island. It was only yesterday that an ordinance passed the legislative council, enabling the governor to proclaim martial law in any part of the island, with a view to the immediate destruction of bands of robbers and pirates. Taking every point into consideration, and examining it in the most favourable aspect, I cannot discern any one advantage which England gains by the retention of an island which can never become a colony, a commercial port, or a fortress.

* "We have no native merchants settled in the colony; neither is produce imported, nor goods exported, to any of the five ports, except it be on British account; and all mercantile transactions are concluded at these ports, whilst the harbour of Hong Kong is completely deserted. Not an anchor of a junk is dropped in the bay of Hong Kong; they flee from it as man would from a pestilence. * * * * * Hong Kong, a free port, is deprived of all trade, further than the transhipment of goods, and a supply of articles for local consumption, the commissions upon which would barely pay the expenses of a first class mercantile establishment."—(Extract from Editorial article in the "Friend of China, and Hong Kong Gazette," No. 185, for November, 1844.)

If left with a superintendent, a small local corps of Malays as a police force, a ship of war in the harbour, and with a municipal power in the inhabitants to assess themselves for police, &c., the British flag might remain, and time would show whether, under the most perfect freedom, Hong Kong would be aught but an opium depôt.

I am aware that the view here taken of Hong Kong will be opposed by several gentlemen now in England, whose opinions however must necessarily be influenced by their being owners of houses and building locations on this rock, from which considerable profits are derived. Some, also, unwilling to acknowledge an error in judgment, and others fearful of losing in position, income, or property, will object to a transfer of the seat of Government from Hong Kong to Chusan; or to any reduction of the large government expenditure on Hong Kong. But their opinions will, I doubt not, be considered with due caution, as are those of all men whose sentiments are guided by their immediate personal interest, or by those motives which almost imperceptibly bias the judgment.

If a commission were appointed, I doubt not that Her Majesty's government would obtain full and impartial statements on Hong Kong and on Chusan. My report on Chusan will, I trust, tend to demonstrate that the qualities which are wanting to make Hong Kong a British colony, are all to be found at Chusan.

Its geographical position at the central point and to windward of the coast of China—opposite the great Yangtzekang river—within twenty-four hours' communication with Nankin and the other large cities and towns on the borders of that vast artery of the Chinese empire, whose trade may thereby be immediately and effectually controlled; its proximity to the Peiho and Yellow rivers; its secure haven and spacious harbours around; the ample size, great fertility, numerous agricultural population, healthy climate, capability of contributing a revenue to meet an adequate civil establishment, and perfect adaptation for a naval and military station—all indicate its importance as a position by which England can maintain peaceful relations, and at the same time develope her trade with China, with Japan, Corea, Mantchouria, and the neighbouring islands.

These, and various other considerations, all point out the advantage of our being permanently established at Chusan, whence a single war-steamer could, in twenty-four hours, be prepared to stop the fleet of 6,000 grain junks, bearing each 2,000 peculs of grain, valued at two dollars per pecul, or the 24,000,000 taels of silver, which annually pass the Yangtzekang to Pekin, and thus avoid the grievous calamity of another war.

I have endeavoured, Sir, briefly, though I fear very imperfectly, to bring this subject under your earnest and early examination, because I know of no question connected with the eastern hemisphere which involves higher considerations for England, par-

ticularly if we reflect that the condition of one-third of the human race is interested therein, and that a weighty and solemn responsibility rests on England with regard to her position in China.

I believe it to be for the interest of China, more than even for that of England, that Chusan were a British colony; and that but a brief period will elapse ere the Celestial Government, whether Tartar or Chinese, will rejoice that they have a powerful, equitable, and friendly nation so adjacent to their shores,—one whose main object is peaceful and profitable commerce,—who desire no territorial aggrandizement,—and whose best interests are identified with the tranquillity, prosperity, and independence of the government of China.

The dispatch of an Ambassador Extraordinary, of high rank and of tried ability, to the Court of China, would (especially at the present moment) be productive of beneficial results, and well worthy any expense which might be incurred. The permanent cession of Chusan to England might be one of the primary objects of such a mission; but to be successful, no person who has been formerly connected with trade, either individually or on behalf of the East India Company at Canton, should be the representative of his sovereign—even if he possessed the statesman-like qualifications necessary to the mission, and which it is exceedingly difficult for any man who has been the greater part of his life at Canton, keeping records or supplying the tea trade, to possess.

By diplomatic policy,—peaceful relations, advantageous intercourse, and a secure, profitable, and commanding position on the coast of China, may be accomplished. But the evacuation of Chusan, in December, 1845, will, in my opinion, be the precursor of a disastrous state of affairs for British interests in China.

I am ready to undergo the expense and fatigue of a journey overland to England, and also the sacrifice of half my salary—if six months leave of absence be granted me—in order that I may personally substantiate the information which I have acquired; and should Her Majesty's ministers deem my views erroneous, and that I have erred in seeking this leave of absence, I am also prepared to incur the loss of my official appointment.

Any suffering or degradation would be preferable to witnessing the pursuance of an erroneous policy, fraught with great injury to England, but which may be averted by prompt, judicious, and timely measures.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
R. M. MARTIN,
Treasurer.

The opinions of Sir H. Pottinger, and of several persons in England who had been officially employed in China, and who had bazaars, houses, and building allotments in Hong Kong, prevailed against my representations; the Government at home naturally

listened to their suggestions, not knowing the interested, pecuniary, and personal motives which dictated those suggestions, and I was censured by the government of Hong Kong for venturing to give an opinion contrary to that of Sir Henry Pottinger, especially as "Her Majesty's Government had expressed their high approbation of the several details and representations with which they had been furnished by Sir H. Pottinger connected with the colony" (Hong Kong). I, therefore, prepared a "Minute on the British position and prospects in China," in which the whole case was calmly examined, and transmitted it to Her Majesty's government with the annexed vindicatory letter:—

To his Excellency J. F. Davis, Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary.

H. M. Treasury, Hong Kong,
Sir, April 19, 1845.

Anxiously solicitous for the welfare and perpetuity of the British Empire, and accustomed for several years to examine the policy of England with foreign states, I have been induced to prepare a minute on the 'British Position and Prospects in China.'

This minute I have now the honour to lay before your Excellency, with my respectful request that you will be pleased to transmit it along with this letter to the Secretary of State.

In this minute, as well as in my reports on Hong Kong and Chusan, I have ventured to impugn the policy pursued in China by the predecessor of your Excellency. Whatever effect this free comment and exposition of public acts may have on my personal interests, is of little moment compared with the evil which, in my opinion, a non-rectification of those acts is capable of inflicting on England.

Neither as a servant of the crown, nor as a private individual, can I surrender my right of judgment on the public conduct of any public man; nor do I think that any personage, however exalted, or however infallible he may be deemed, can claim an exemption from that fair and open criticism which is the privilege and advantage of a free state. I do not think that the high character for manliness and integrity which Sir H. Pottinger is reputed to possess, would make him wish to stifle an examination of his policy, if the object of that examination be, as mine has been, the advantage of the common weal.

The impartial examination and discussion of a line of public policy, operating at a distance of 15,000 miles from the seat of government, is essentially necessary to enable Her Majesty's ministers to form a correct and stable judgment on the important interests involved in the present position and future prospects of England in China; and if I am singular in the opinions I have formed, and stand alone in opposition to the high approbation which, I think, has been erroneously given to the past system of

policy, I feel regret at being compelled to differ from those who are my superiors, and for whom, publicly and privately, I entertain a sincere respect. With an humble yet earnest hope that your Excellency will examine this minute, as regards its imperfections, with an indulgent yet enlarged and generous spirit, and that, irrespective of the past, or of individual considerations, you may be enabled, in accordance with your own patriotic feelings, to procure for England a more permanent and secure footing, and a more extended and beneficial intercourse, than we now enjoy in China,

I have, &c.,
R. M. MARTIN,
Treasurer.

Sir Henry Pottinger still maintained the assertion that Hong Kong was preferable to Chusan, and assigned reasons why he continued to prefer the former to the latter. I, therefore, transmitted to the Secretary of State, in 1845, the following answers to Sir H. Pottinger's four reasons, in the hope that the truth would be established before the final evacuation of Chusan.

I. '*I cannot say that Hong Kong was selected by me.*' [SIR H. POTTINGER.]—In the draft treaty sent out to China from the Foreign Office, printed, there was a blank after the word 'islands.' Sir Henry Pottinger had only to name the word Chusan, and England would have obtained that valuable possession; or he might have written after 'islands' Hong Kong and Chusan. When Captain Elliot temporarily located at Hong Kong, we had not occupied Chusan; Sir Henry Pottinger had resided on both islands then in our possession, and made Hong Kong his choice. Several of Sir H. Pottinger's suite, officers, and friends had selected Hong Kong, and secured the most valuable sites for building, previous to the treaty of Nankin, viz., Lieut.-Colonel Malcolm, his secretary, and Mr. Woosnam, his doctor; Mr. Johnston, deputy superintendent and lieut.-governor; Major Caine; [and, subsequently, Mr. Gordon, the relative of Sir Henry Pottinger, and surveyor-general of Hong Kong.] The Malcolm, Morgan, and Ochterlony bazaars were then, and are still, the best positions and property in Hong Kong.

II. '*If the two places, Hong Kong and Chusan, were at my disposal to-morrow, I should prefer Hong Kong.*'—I do not think there is one disinterested person, who has seen both islands, who would give the preference to a small, barren, unhealthy, trafficless rock—producing nothing—commanding nothing, not even the mouth of the Canton river—devoid of European or native commerce—with a thieving, piratical population, and situated disadvantageously at the southern end of China, as compared with a large, fertile, salubrious, healthy, and richly-cultivated island, yielding abundance of food and produce—admirably adapted for a

commercial entrepôt with Japan, Corea, Mantchouria, Northern and Central China, &c.—commanding the entrance of the great Yangtzekang—contiguous to the richest and most civilized and densely-peopled districts of China—containing a numerous, peaceful, civil, industrious, thriving agricultural population—and most advantageously situate at the central part of the coast-line of an empire 2000 miles long.

III. *'I am quite sure, to have retained Chusan would have been a heavy expense to Great Britain.'*—Chusan, if not burthened with an unnecessarily large civil establishment, would defray all its expenses the first year. 100,000 fixed agricultural and trading inhabitants could easily contribute 2*s.* 6*d.* per annum, or even 5*s.* per head—£12,000 to £25,000 a-year. Hong Kong has not one respectable Chinese inhabitant, out of 15,000 to 20,000; they are coolies, peddling traders, and thieves. Even with the aid of enormously high land-rents from Europeans, and with an immense government expenditure for the last four years, at least, for building, it is difficult, if not impossible, to raise £12,000 or £15,000 a-year revenue; and of this, the expected rent from building-lots constitutes more than two-thirds. The police and police magistrates' expenses are alone about £10,000 a-year, although there is a large garrison, European and native, and a fleet of ships of war in the harbour. At Chusan, the whole police expenses are not £500 a-year.

The civil cost of Hong Kong alone is about £50,000 per annum, the military about £150,000, and the naval about £100,000. On a low computation, this useless rock drains from the British exchequer a quarter of a million sterling, without being of the slightest benefit to England.

IV. *'Chusan would have brought government into constant unpleasant discussion with the Chinese; for it is needless to deny that, though the people are quite obedient to their own mandarins, yet with strangers they are extremely troublesome.'*—The advantageous distance of Chusan from the mainland removes the possibility of collision with the Chinese government; whereas Hong Kong, being within one mile of the mainland, is better calculated to lead to this apprehended but very remote contingency.

The people of China are not obedient to their own mandarins, as is supposed. In Canton and Foochoo, the mandarins acknowledge they cannot control the populace; but at Chusan, the inhabitants are attached to our rule, anxious for its continuance, submissive and civil wherever we go—and scrupulously honest.* Not

* The following is an extract from the letter of a traveller in the East, dated October 17, 1844:—

"I left that pleasant spot (Chusan) with many feelings of regret. As my first abode, there were many pleasing associations connected with it, and I shall always look back to my long residence there as one of the most happy periods of my life. We continued on the best possible terms with the people; no community could be more peaceable than that of Chusan, and nowhere could life and property be more

a homicide has been committed in the island since it has been in our possession; but very few petty larcenies, and the property generally recovered; not a row, a tumult, or the slightest symptom of discontent or of dissatisfaction. The English residents are much pleased with the inhabitants. At Hong Kong, robberies and piracies are of nightly occurrence; and after five years' residence on the island, and with the protection of a large police and military and extensive naval force, no European retires to rest without pistols under his pillow or on his toilet-table.

R. M. MARTIN.

The subject is of such great importance to British interests in China, and involves so materially the responsibility of servants of the Crown in a distant part of the empire, by imposing on them the duty of sacrificing their immediate personal interests to the welfare of the State, when they conscientiously believe they see waste and mismanagement of the treasures and interests of their country that it is necessary to append the following correspondence, in elucidation of a point not yet settled in our colonial policy, and which involves far more than mere personal or individual considerations.

To the Right Hon. Lord Stanley, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[Transmitted through Governor Davis to his Lordship.]

H. M. Treasury, Hong Kong, July 8, 1845.

My Lord,

I have the honour to solicit your Lordship's perusal of the inclosed correspondence with Governor Davis, and a consideration of the following statement.

Soon after my arrival in this island, I observed that there had been a large and unnecessary expenditure of the public money here, which had been greatly facilitated by the power of arresting portions of the Chinese indemnity money, in its transit to the home exchequer.

Perceiving that the disbursement was daily augmenting,* I felt it to be my duty, even at the hazard of losing what I much covet, the confidence and support of your Lordship, to state openly my opinions to my superiors, and to substantiate them by facts, relative to the true nature and value of Hong Kong, and to its

secure. The whole island presents one scene of honest industry, and the happiness of well requited labour."—*Times*, London, 17th December, 1844.

* Governor Davis declared that he was 'determined to spend as much as possible of the Chinese indemnity money, in its transit to England; because, after that supply ceased, the grants voted by parliament would be *jejune* indeed.' The necessity of the expenditure was a subordinate consideration. The leading idea of many governors is to create a favourable impression of having made great progress in public works, roads, &c. This used to be frequently done by grants from the home exchequer, and, as in the case of Hong Kong, were totally unrequired by local circumstances

necessary concomitant—the British position and prospects in China.

The reports, minutes, and papers, written in support of these opinions, were transmitted either to your Lordship, to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, or to the Lords of the Treasury, and as I understood they were producing some effect at home, by suggesting various inquiries, and causing a check to be put upon the expenditure here, I resolved, although my health and constitution have been much impaired by this climate, to await the result of those inquiries, and the correction of errors which time and circumstances generally induce.

Having however, recently ascertained that Governor Davis is proposing for your Lordship's sanction a further expenditure of half a million of dollars for civil works here,* irrespective of the, I think, entirely unnecessary extent of outlay incurred, and projected in the military and ordnance departments; believing that Her Majesty's government must be under great misapprehension relative to Hong Kong, and to our affairs and position in China; and understanding that it is intended to evacuate Chusan in February or March next, without any attempt at negotiation for the retention of that most valuable and important island (worthy of being an Anglo-Chinese colony,) I applied to Governor Davis for six months' leave of absence, on public grounds, in order that I might bring the whole subject under a complete and unbiassed investigation, and thus, if possible, timely correct what are deemed primary errors of national importance.

In order to place the question on high grounds, I offered *to give up all my salary; to incur my own expenses to England; to continue my bonds of pecuniary security to the Crown; and to forfeit my commission in Her Majesty's service, should my application for leave of absence be disapproved of at home.*

The governor refused the leave sought, on the plea that I was not dying and requiring change of climate; a decision, as shown in the accompanying correspondence, contrary to the obvious meaning of the governor's instructions (chap. iv. p. 25,) and which, if thus interpreted, would make every colonial servant of the Crown an exile for life, or subject to the caprice, favouritism, or vindictiveness of any colonial governor.

The yet unsettled state of the British affairs in China; the very short time intervening for their imperatively-required better arrangement, previous to the evacuation of Chusan, when our expenditure of every description ought to undergo the most careful revision and retrenchment; the desire to prevent the contemplated expenditure of half a million dollars for civil works, and of other unnecessary projected outlays; a conscientious belief that, as a sworn servant of the Crown, I am bound to lay all the information

* I only ascertained this on my return from visiting the northern consulates in June, 1845, and immediately endeavoured to check this waste of the public money.

I have collected here, before Her Majesty's Ministers, and that I can only effectually do so, without further loss of time, in person; have compelled me to adopt the only alternative in my power, namely, to place in the hands of Governor Davis my resignation as Her Majesty's Treasurer for the colonial, consular, and diplomatic services in China, in order that I may at once bring the whole matter under the full and fair consideration of your Lordship, and be on the spot in case of necessity for reference.

I will not advert to myself, personally; to any treatment which I have experienced, or to any misinterpretation of my motives and conduct; these are points of comparatively little moment. But I do confidently hope that the newness and vast importance of our position in China; the still partial blending of colonial, diplomatic, and commercial affairs here; the possible imperfections of individual judgment, arising from natural causes and various interests; and the advantages consequently derivable to the State, from a minute examination and exposition of our affairs in the most distant, most complex, yet least understood, settlement and relations of the British Crown, may induce your Lordship to grant, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, and on public grounds, a court of inquiry, previous to the acceptance by my Sovereign of the responsible commission with which Her Majesty was graciously pleased to invest me.

I have, &c.,
R. M. MARTIN.

(The following is the correspondence enclosed.)

To His Excellency J. F. Davis, Governor of Hong Kong.
H. M. Treasury, Hong Kong, June 18, 1845.

SIR,

In my recent 'Minute on the British position and prospects in China,' I ventured to indicate, according to the best of my judgment, the mistakes committed during our past negotiations with the Chinese authorities, to demonstrate the apparent defects of our present policy, and to point out in some respects the course which it seems advisable to pursue previous to the evacuation of Chusan in February next.

Having devoted twenty years to an investigation of our colonial and commercial relations, I believe that my opinions thereon receive some attention at home: and that when Her Majesty's government, unsolicitedly, selected me for office in China, it was expected that I would be enabled to collect useful information.

Desirous of justifying the confidence reposed in me, I prepared and submitted several reports and documents to your Excellency; and these, together with a commercial report,* which I am preparing for the Lords Committee of the Privy Council for

* This voluminous report has since been laid before the Board of Trade.

Trade, will, I hope, demonstrate that I have minutely examined affairs in China.

Although several of the conclusions at which I have arrived, after anxious investigation, may be at variance with those emanating from high authority, I trust I may, without arrogance, ask a full and fair hearing for opinions originating in integrity of motive and a solicitude to ascertain what would be most conducive to the trade and permanent interests of the British Empire: being therefore convinced that an investigation of our Anglo-Chinese policy is of the highest importance, on general as well as on financial and commercial considerations: aware that the sentiments I entertain find little concurrence in England, from several gentlemen who recently filled office in China; and thinking that Her Majesty's government have been acting under some erroneous impressions, I am very desirous of personally placing before Her Majesty's Ministers, the information collected and the opinions thence deduced, after visiting every part of China accessible to Europeans.

For this purpose I have the honour to solicit from your Excellency leave of absence for six months, on the following terms:—

1*st*. *That I draw no salary for these six months.*

2*nd*. *That I defray my own expenses to England.*

3*rd*. *That if Her Majesty's government decide there were no justifiable grounds for this application, that I resign my present office.*

By granting my request, no detriment whatever can accrue to the public service. The treasury accounts are close up, the books duly balanced, and all the required returns will be made on the 30th June.

I believe the payments on account of public works will be comparatively small for the next six months, (or until final orders from home;) and I am certain that, with ordinary care, no delay or embarrassment can arise in the colonial treasury.

Confiding in the importance of the information which I believe it to be in my power to convey, and in the probability of its being duly appreciated by Her Majesty's ministers, I ask permission to forego all my salary,—to incur considerable expense,—to destroy, perhaps, my remaining health by travelling during this hot and adverse season; and further, I propose to risk my commission in Her Majesty's service, in order that I may have an opportunity of communicating personally to the authorities at home the result of my inquiries in this country.

I have, &c.,

R. M. MARTIN, *Treasurer*.

To the Hon. F. W. A. Bruce, Colonial Secretary.

H. M. Treasury, Hong Kong, June 24th, 1845.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th instant, conveying to me the refusal of his Excellency the

Governor to grant my application for six months' leave of absence, on the following grounds :—

1st. That the regulations by which the Governor is bound as to leave of absence are clear and peremptory, confining such leave to cases of serious indisposition, requiring change of climate.

2nd. That his Excellency does not feel justified in incurring an act of responsibility, by the substitution of another person in my place. And—

3rd. That by granting the leave sought, his Excellency would materially depart from the usages of the service.

In reply, I beg to observe that,—

1st. The words of the regulations (ch. iv. p. 25) are, "Leave of absence should be confined as much as possible to cases of serious indisposition, requiring change of climate." The regulations then proceed to state when leave should be granted on private affairs. *A fortiori*, leave may be granted on public affairs.

2nd. By granting the leave sought, no responsibility whatever would be incurred by his Excellency, as my sureties would stand good during my absence, as well as those of my *locum tenens*.

3rd. By the usages of the service, colonial officers frequently obtain leave of absence to proceed to England irrespective of sickness.

But, even were the regulations clear and peremptory against leave of absence being granted, except in cases of imminently fatal illness, I venture to think that the novel and peculiar position of Great Britain in China, the nature and prospects of this island as a new settlement, and the many years which I have devoted to the study and personal examination of other colonies, and to the investigation of the commercial and financial relations of England, might have rendered my application an exception to the general rule, more particularly as my temporary absence would be no detriment to the public service, and as I offered to take upon myself all the responsibility of my proceedings.

I put aside entirely the question of my health, although it has been materially shaken by my residence and mental labours here; life or death is of little moment, compared with the great interests which England has at stake in China. These interests are too vast and pressing to be affected by individual considerations, or by the ordinary usages and proceedings of the service which are applicable to every-day occurrences.

Whether I am right or wrong, I have endeavoured to demonstrate in my report and minutes, that our affairs in China require immediate and special reconsideration and revision; that time and experience have made manifest several mistakes, which, if not rectified previous to the evacuation of Chusan in March or February next, will be a subject of deep regret and serious injury; and that our policy and proceedings are not productive of the extended beneficial results which the British nation has a right to expect in

China, and not commensurate with the large expenditure incurred on this coast.

Feeling strongly on these points, as of great national importance; believing, that however humble my situation in Her Majesty's service, it is my bounden duty to my Sovereign to bring them under the early serious consideration of Her Majesty's Ministers; and deeming that my personal attendance is indispensible to answer questions on the spot, which, even if time permitted, could not be done by a lengthened and tedious correspondence; I have resolved to undergo the responsibility of proceeding to England, to bring the whole question under the immediate attention of Her Majesty's government; and I cannot help entertaining a confident hope, that when the magnitude and pressing exigency of the case is fully seen and understood, and the motives in which my conduct has originated been explained, I may rely on the justice and liberality of Lord Stanley and Her Majesty's Ministers.

My accounts are made up, and the moneys under my charge ready to be transferred, on the half-year ending 30th instant, to whomsoever his Excellency may be pleased to direct to officiate as treasurer.

I have, &c.

R. M. MARTIN, *Treasurer.*

The reply to this letter was a mere reference to the previous decision of the Governor, who, I was informed, would only permit me to proceed to England by my putting the word "resignation" into my letter. I tried in vain to avoid this; but each draft letter was rejected by the Governor, to whom it was submitted by the acting colonial secretary, who said the Governor insisted on my resignation, and that he would appoint his relative, Mr. Mercer, to my situation. No alternative being left but an abandonment of my principles, or the risking of my position and prospects, the following letter was sent in on the eve of the departure of the last vessel of the season for Bombay.

Her Majesty's Treasury, Hong Kong, July 8, 1845.

SIR,

The decision of his Excellency the Governor on my letters of the 19th and 24th ultimo, refusing me leave of absence for six months on public business, and with a view to what I deem the public good, compels me, most reluctantly, to adopt the only alternative of requesting his Excellency to receive my resignation as Her Majesty's Treasurer for the colonial and diplomatic services in China, *until I can bring the subject, through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, under the consideration of my Sovereign, who was graciously pleased to appoint me to the important office and trust which I have now the honour to place in the hands of his Excellency.*

My quarterly accounts are made up to the 30th June, 1845, declared before a magistrate, and passed by the auditor.

I beg that a board may be appointed to receive from me the moneys under my charge, and that his Excellency will state to whom I am to transfer the accounts and books of my department, and the vouchers for payment made by me since 30th day of June last.

In order that I may be enabled to pass my accounts in England, and receive for myself, and for my sureties, the exchequer quietus, I have the honour to request that a copy of my day cash book be furnished me from this office. I have, &c.,

R. M. MARTIN.

I hastened to England with the Report contained in these pages in time to stop the immediate evacuation of Chusan, and to demonstrate to Her Majesty's government, that the treaty of Nankin and its supplement had not been fulfilled in the spirit or in the letter; I was assured that Chusan would not be evacuated by us, until Canton city was opened for our residence, conformably to the treaty. For six months after the payment of the last instalment of the indemnity money, Chusan was retained, and at last evacuated by our troops on the mere promise of the wily Tartar Keying, that as soon as he could control the populace of Canton, the city should be opened to us. No sooner was Chusan evacuated, than the predictions made in November, 1844, to Sir Robert Peel, (see page 369,) were manifested by the riots at Canton, threatening destruction to the lives and property of the English, who were obliged to shoot several Chinese in July last, at Canton, in self defence, for Hong Kong was no more protection to our countrymen than if it were still the nest of a few pirates and fishermen. Such has been the unfortunate result of our proceedings in China, into which all investigation has as yet been denied, although it is for the public interest that a searching enquiry should take place.

CHAPTER VIII.

MACAO, ITS POSITION, STATE, &c.

PORTUGAL and England are the only European nations that have territorial settlements on the coast of China, but the Portuguese colony is in a far better position than that of the English.

Macao, originally called Port de Ama-cao, from a Chinese idol called Amo, is situated in 22° 11′ 30″ north, and 11° 32′ 30″ east of Greenwich, built on a hilly peninsula, in the Kwantung (Canton) province, contiguous to the wide estuary of the Canton river and separated from the large island of Hangshan by a wall across the isthmus. The whole territory is estimated at eight miles in circuit. The greatest length from N.E. to S.W. is about a league, and the breadth is less than a mile. It is nearly surrounded by water, subject to the ebb and flood of the Canton river. Two ranges of hills form an angle, the base of which abuts the anchorage. The town is built on a gradual slope from the sea, which gives a picturesque effect; it has many shops, several excellent public buildings and a very handsome quay, called the "*Praya Grande,*" forms a pleasant drive in the front of the residence of the Governor and several other excellent mansions. A campo, or plain, stretches eastward of the town.

Macao is a roadstead, but there is a good harbour called the *Typa* for small vessels, in an island opposite Macao, and there is a well-sheltered haven for vessels of 400 tons. A battery protects the "*Praya Grande,*" and several adjacent commanding hills have forts and batteries, but although perfectly defensible against any force the Chinese could bring against the place, it would soon fall before any European invading power. There are several Roman Catholic Churches, and a grand Cathedral has nearly been destroyed by fire. Good water abounds. The markets are well supplied with meat, poultry, fish, vegetables, and fruits of various kinds. The climate, although in the same latitude as Hong Kong, from which it is eighty miles distant, is much cooler, and indeed has been found by European residents to be very salubrious. It is open to the sea breeze, which varies with the changes of the monsoon, and it is remarked that the seasons in which there are fewest of such changes are the most salubrious, and the winters in which there is much southerly wind are the most unfavourable.

Fall of Rain, per guage, at Macao, in 1831.

	Inches.	8ths.		Inches.	8ths.
January .	—	—	July . .	4	4-8
February .	.1	2-8	August .	7	—
March .	. —	7	September .	11	6-8
April . .	. 6	5	October .	9	2-8
May . .	.25	5-8	November .	—	6-8
June . .	. 7	6-8	December .	—	—

History. The Portuguese appear to have settled at Macao about the year 1556, when it is supposed the Emperor of China granted them permission to reside on a rock or peninsula, by their

stipulating to pay tribute or ground rent, and duties on their merchandise. This concession is said to have been obtained in reward for their having cleared the coast of pirates, who infested the mouth of the Canton river.

In 1560 the Portuguese commanded the trade of India, Japan, and China, but their conduct at Ningpo and Macao alarmed the Chinese, and unfortunately for other nations the Chinese government placed all the western nations on the same footing. Subsequently the Chinese confined the Portuguese solely to the port of Macao; various efforts were made to be permitted to trade to Canton, without success, and an edict, forbidding them to visit Canton, or any other port in China, was delivered on the 11th June, 1640. This however was soon set aside by bribery. The intercourse between the Portuguese and Chinese is given in part ii., vol. i., page 369.

The Portuguese now claim and exercise as complete sovereignty over Macao as we do over Hong Kong, and have a much better class of Chinese living at Macao, than we have in our settlement.

GOVERNMENT.—Macao is ruled by a governor aided by an elective senate, composed of two judges, and three aldermen, who preside alternately for a month. A procurator attends the sittings. According to existing regulations, all matters are decided by a plurality of votes. All documents having reference to government must be registered at the colonial secretary's office. The governor presides in all cases civil and military, has charge of the preservation of the peace in everything that concerns foreigners or natives; he used to be sent from Goa by the governor of that place for three years, but is now I think nominated direct from Lisbon. His duty is to report to Goa and Lisbon. All matters under discussion, according to law ought to be decided by a majority of votes, but this preliminary is dispensed with at Macao. When the governor and ministerial members coincide in opinion, the other members have only to sign their names. Although the governor has no casting vote, he may oppose any motion. Should anything serious or disagreeable ensue between the senate and the governor, the bishop (who has also a right to vote) is bound to endeavour to reconcile the contending parties. There is a right of appeal to the supreme tribunal at Goa. The military force should amount to 400 men and 16 officers. In 1834 the whole disposable force of sepoys and youths of the city who enlisted, amounted to 240 men. A soldier receives six dollars a month, and a suit of regimentals every two years.

In 1784 the sovereign of Portugal ordered an examination of the accounts of the senate of Macao, and discovered a deficiency of 320,000 taels, which had been fraudulently made away with. It was impossible to impose a tax without destroying the settlement, and the sovereign paid the debt; under the rigorous administration of De Silva a new order of things was established; in the year of 1802, the revenue amounted to 173,690 taels, ever

since it has declined, and of late years has not exceeded 40,000 taels, or £12,000 per annum.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.—The revenue of Macao was formerly raised by duties on goods imported; but the trade has been so limited, the expenditure of late years exceeds the income, and when I was at Macao, (July 1844) the government was in actual want of funds to meet unavoidable expenses, although reduced to the lowest scale, and the troops were showing symptoms of mutiny. The revenue for 1834, shews the gross amount of duties was 75,283 taels, the expenditure for the same period 89,900 taels, leaving a balance of excess of 13,000 taels, or £3,500 sterling.

The cost of Macao is stated to be as follows: civil establishment £4,144; ecclesiastical £1,555; military £8,141; miscellaneous £1,591: total £15,431. What a contrast to the cost of Hong Kong!

POPULATION.—It is difficult to obtain accurate information concerning the population of Macao. The annexed table was returned by the Roman Catholic Clergy of their parishes. It appears from a ministerial memorandum, that no Chinese is authorised to establish himself, or own a house, in Macao, but by permission of the procureur of the senate.

The decline of trade for the last twenty years has compelled many Chinese to seek employment elsewhere. Including the adjacent villages and those living in boats, they amount to about 30,000 individuals. Several have embraced the Roman Catholic Religion, but the reality of their conversion is doubted. The Portuguese population of Macao was in 1834.

In the Parish of St. Peter, white men . .	660		
„ „ „ „ „ women . .	1,057		
			1,717
In the Parish of St. Laurence, white men . .	547		
„ „ „ „ „ „ women . .	834		
			1,381
In the Parish of St. Anthony, white men . . .	280		
„ „ „ „ „ „ women . .	415		
			695
			3,793
Slaves in St. Peter's Parish, male . .	147		
„ „ „ „ „ female . .	383		
		530	
Slaves in St. Laurence Parish, male . .	257		
„ „ „ „ „ female .	305		
		562	
Slaves in St. Anthony's Parish, male .	65		
„ „ „ „ „ female .	143		
		208	
			1,300
			5,093

Among the population were seventy-five male Portuguese born in Portugal, or in its colonies, (excepting those in Asia) constituting the government; one civilian, six priests, and a few officers and soldiers. There were only two women from Portugal.

The policy of Portugal, for more than a century, was to relieve the kingdom from vicious subjects by sending them on board the royal fleets to serve in India.

Many enormities were consequently perpetrated by natives of Portugal in the east. They were smugglers, pirates, merchants, and commanders, as opportunity suited. It was from this stock that the first inhabitants of Macao sprung, with some others of a better mould. Malay, Japanese, and Chinese women became their partners in nominal wedlock. Their progeny is called mongrels. Next to this class are those whose forefathers were either Malay, Chinese, or Japanese converts; they are equal to the Portuguese in free citizenship. In 1584, there were at Macao 900 Portuguese, besides slaves and children; and at the latter part of the seventeenth century the population amounted to 19,000 souls; in 1821, there were 4,600, including slaves, Chinese converts, and women, which amounted to 2,693, nearly one-half of the total.

PRICE OF PROVISIONS AT MACAO.—Beef, 10 catties per dollar; mutton, 3 ditto, ditto; pork, 8½ ditto, ditto; fish, 10 ditto, ditto; vegetables, 40 ditto, ditto; fruit, 30 ditto, ditto; wood averages between 6 and 7 peculs per dollar.

WAGES.—A coolie per day, ⅓ dollar; ditto, per month, 4 dollars; an artizan, per day 1 ditto; a clerk, per month, 30 ditto.

The duties levied on commerce at Macao are now almost nominal, and probably by this time it is a free port, the requisite wants of the government being provided by an income tax. Had this been done in 1841-2, few of the English merchants would have left Macao to build houses at Hong Kong, which they are now abandoning. The present Governor of Macao, Senor Amaral, has shewn a proper spirit in chastising some Chinese boatmen, who endeavoured, as heretofore, to control the government of Macao. In the affray, several Chinese were killed; and when the mandarins came to Macao to inquire into the matter, Senor Amaral declared the sovereignty of Macao to be entirely independent of the Government of China, that the power of life and death was in his hands over all Chinese resident in Macao, and that he would no more think of consulting the Chinese authorities on his measures, than he would consult the English, or any other foreign power. This decided conduct checked the Chinese officials; they feasted with Senor Amaral, and went away apparently quite contented. If Macao continue to be administered in this spirit, and to be made attractive to the English, Americans, and other foreigners, it will tend to accelerate even the present rapid downfal of Hong Kong.

CHAPTER IX.

RUSSIAN SETTLEMENT OF KIACHTA; NATURE AND VALUE OF TRADE, &c.

THE intercourse between Russia and China has been described in the previous pages of this work.* In conformity to the treaty of peace between Russia and China, in the year 1728, (see vol. i. p. 391,) it was stipulated that the commerce between Russia and China should be transacted at the frontiers. Accordingly, two places were marked out upon the confines of Siberia, where they border upon the Mongol desert; one near the brook Kiachta, and the other at Zuruchaitu.

Kiachta, in the government of Irkoutsk, at the extremity of Eastern Siberia, on the northern frontier of China, is situated in 124° 18′ longitude from the Isle of Fero, and 35° N. latitude; distant from St. Petersburgh 6,500 versts; from Moscow 3,676 versts; and from Peking 1,025 versts. It is a neat, regularly built town, situated on an elevated plain, with four hundred and fifty houses, and four thousand inhabitants; the brook, of its own name, serves as the boundary of China and Russia. The Chinese stipulated that no brick or stone buildings should be erected but the Russian church. The district is governed by a counsellor of chancery, and a director of the customs, who conduct, between them, the judicial, political, military, and commercial affairs.

Beyond the frontier, about 150 yards distant, is the Chinese town of Maimatchin, the place of commerce, now called "Old Kiachta," the residence only of the merchants; no officer nor stranger being permitted to sleep in it, according to an article of the treaty. The town, "Old Kiachta," as it is called, contains a government-house, barracks, and about forty-five dwellings, some of which are handsome buildings; the warehouses are crowded with goods.

The Chinese town Maimatchin, or, as they term it, *Fortiss*, is about two hundred fathoms from the old town. Captain Cochrane, who visited the place in 1824, says, "It is a small, ill-built, mud town, *with four* narrow mud-paved streets, running at right angles, containing, during the fair, 'from *twelve to fifteen hundred men*;' no females are allowed in under any pretence." There is a wooden screen at the opening of each street, to prevent observation. The governor is generally a disgraced mandarin, who has been "squeezed."

* See vol. i. p. 386.

The houses are without windows towards the streets, and are approached by a narrow court, on each side of which are the store-houses. In the centre of this oblong square is the residence of the Chinese, where they eat, drink, smoke, and carry on their business; it is divided into two apartments. The first is appropriated to the sale of the goods; the other is for the guests, and differs from the first in having a raised boarded platform. By the side of this raised part, there is a square brick stove with a perpendicular cylindrical excavation; from the bottom of this stove a tube descends, and is carried under the platform, and from thence to a chimney, which opens into the street. The stove is heated with small pieces of wood, and the warm air keeps a moderate temperature in their houses.

There is no fortress or defence to Maimatchin, where about five hundred persons remain in the village during the spring, summer, and autumn. Trade continues the whole of the year; there is no ceremony now observed on entering the Russian or Chinese villages by either party; formerly it was otherwise. A merchant from Irkoutsk—M. Siberchoff—has built a private residence at Kiachta, which is said to have cost £20,000. The travelling distance from Kiachta to Peking is said to be 1500 Russian miles, which occupies a courier ten days, and a merchant with his goods thirty to forty days. The distance from Kiachta to the frontier of China Proper is stated to be 1000 miles, through a well-peopled country, and over a good road, well provided with horses by the Mongols.

By some the distances are stated to be—From St. Petersburg to Moscow 734 versts; Moscow to Tobolsk 2,385; Tobolsk to Irkoutsk 2,918; Irkoutsk to Kiachta 471;—6,508 versts; or 4,338 miles.

From Irbit to Tobolsk 420 miles; From Irkoutsk to Nershink 1,129; Nershink to Zurukaitu 370; From Okotsk to Yakutsk 972; From Yakutsk to Irkutsk 2,433; From Selenginsk to Zurukaitu 850; Zurukaitu to Peking 1,588; Kiachta to Peking 1,533 miles.

The Chinese transport their goods to Kiachta on camels. The journey occupies five days from Peking to the Wall of China; and forty days from thence across Mongolia to Kiachta.

The route between China and Russia commences by a navigation on the borders of China, passing by the Selinga to the Baikal Lake, from thence upon the Angaira, into the Yenissey, as far down as Yenissey; there the merchandise is unloaded and carried over a short track of land, and embarked on the river Ket; from thence down that river into the Oby; from which it is conveyed up the Irtish, the Tobol, and thence over-land to the Tchussovaia, upon which river it is embarked again, and falls into the Kama, and from the Kama into the great river Wolga. By this conveyance it is estimated that some years upwards of twelve million of roubles, in merchandise, are thus conveyed.

RUSSIAN TRADE WITH CHINA.—The commencement of all connexion between Russia and China was about the year 1650, as stated in vol. i. p. 386; but the treaty of Kiachta, dated 14 June, 1728, is the basis of all transactions carried on between the two countries at the present time; it was then agreed that a caravan might go to Peking every three years, on condition that it should not contain more than two hundred people, and that when it reached the frontier, notice should be sent to the Chinese government, who would despatch an officer to meet the caravan, and conduct it to Peking.

The traffic generally commences in the month of January, and concludes in March. The Russian traders took, in 1841, 80,000 chests of tea, the half of which is destined for the annual July fair of Nishni Novogorod, and the remainder for Moscow, and other towns in the interior. The transport gives employment to a population of 5,000 versts of country. The goods brought to China are woollens and camlets, and are made in Moscow; in 1841 there were 40,000 pieces of woollen cloth sent to Kiachta. The other goods in request are plush stuffs, leather, and lambskins. The average amount of Russian merchandise is about 24,000,000 rubles (ten pence each ruble sterling.) The Russians look on this trade as an important branch of their commerce. Since the Chinese forbid the introduction of opium, the Emperor of Russia has issued an ukase to guard most strictly against the transmission of any opium over the border.

A mountain which commands both towns, was demanded by the Chinese, under the false pretence that some of their countrymen were interred there, but it was subsequently discovered that their object was to construct a fortification, which was subsequently done.

The over-reaching policy of the Chinese government is developed in the terms by which both nations have agreed to conduct their commerce.

The Chinese merchants must have partners, resident in China, to relieve them every alternate year. These merchants generally come from the northern provinces of China; Nanking and Peking chiefly, where their partners must reside as hostages.

The Russians supply cloth, peltry, and furs, which they have on the spot. The duties paid by the Russians on furs is twenty-five per cent. other articles twenty per cent; with one per cent. for deepening the river Selinga, and seven towards the custom-house. The contraband trade is said to be very considerable. (See tables of Russian trade for 1843, and Mr. MacGregor's valuable Report.) The crafty instructions from the Peking Government to the merchants at Kiachta are given in vol. i., page 138 of this work.

The commerce, as it is now carried on, is entirely a trade of barter, the Russians being prohibited to export their coin. The Chinese merchant comes first to Kiachta, and selects the goods he

wants from the Russians, agrees for the price, and has the articles he selects sealed up in his presence; both parties then repair to Maimatchin, where the Russian chooses his commodities, and leaves a person of confidence in charge of them until they are delivered. Furs and peltry are the most important articles on the side of the Russians: most of these come from Siberia and the new discovered islands. A coarse cloth is manufactured in Russia, bnt the fine cloth comes from England, France, and Prussia. Camlets, calimancoes, druggets, white flannel, stuffs, velvets, coarse linen, Russia leather, tanned hides, glass ware, cattle, hardware, tin, talc, sporting dogs, provisions, and meal, are brought by the Russians, who are supplied by the Chinese with silk, raw and manufactured, tea, cotton, porcelain, toys, furniture, artificial flowers, tiger and panther skins, rubies, colouring matters, canes, rice, tobacco, candies, rhubarb, and musk. The Russians drive a profitable trade in China, and find a ready market for their inferior furs, which would not pay carriage from the coast of Siberia to European Russia, while good furs bring a high price in China, and are too expensive for the Russian home market; in exchange for their furs, they get articles which they would not be able to obtain on as good terms from the European nations.

An effort will be made to shew the extent of the past and present trade at Kiachta.

The exports and imports from and to Kiachta were in 1764,

Export of Russian goods, in roubles, . . .		137,493
Duties on the whole		12,851
Export of foreign goods to the amount, . .		25,586
		175,930
Imported to the amount . . .	158,236	
Duties on ditto, ...	37,344	
		120,892
Balance in favour of the exports, ...		55,038

The imports from China to Kiachta were in 1765,

Quality of goods.	Quantity.	Roubles in value.	Duties.	Quality of goods.	Quantity.	Roubles in value.	Duties.
Velvet (Arsheens).	4464	4464	1053	Bohea tea (pood).	591	11819	2789
Damask (pieces).	140196	5608	1321	Brick tea (ditto).	1228	4912	1159
Dab damask (ditto).	1098	439	103	Black tea (ditto).	251	1006	237
Satin (ditto).	6213	55917	13196	Dyed silk (ditto).	34	2720	642
Gros de Taeer (ditto).	18	180	43	Raw silk (ditto).	26		
Damask (ditto).	763	9919	2341	Silk gauze (pieces).	1937	4842	1143
Chintz (ditto).	14638	58554	13819	Tobacco (ditto).	127		508
Plain chintz (ditto).	2002	1402	3307				
Silk stuffs (ditto).	1844	9221	2176			231447	58106
Single silk stuffs (ditto).	43009	43009	10150	Total amount of imports,		58106	
Half satin (ditto).	130	780	184				
Esoff, a silk (ditto).	914	5484	1294			173341	
Paper, various (sheets).	21260	213	50	Total of exports,		246692	
Sugar (pood).	56	336	79				
Gelan tea (ditto).	342	10259	2421	Balance in favour of exports,		73351	
Common tea (ditto).	36	363	88				

Russian Goods exported from Kiachta to China in 1765.

Quality of Goods.	Quantity.	Roubles in value.	Duties paid in roubles.
Hides	23968	34882	2918
Squirrel Skins	468180	22500	1936
Ermine	36256	8589	128
Red Fox Skins	3652	4793	135
Black ditto	23	600	30
Sundry sorts	812	1772	55
R. Bear Skins	828	1406	155
Kamschatka ditto	668	29607	3611
White and Black Fox Skins	3660	2366	144
Sables	65	164	5
Martins	11282	1312	189
Back part of Br. Skins	694	1590	257
Belly and Breast part of do.	2858	307	76
Sundry sorts of Furs		2600	
Astracan Black Lamb Skins	12478	3353	311
Ditto White	180551	28583	4650
C. and R. Cloth (Arshuns)	15561	1534	70
		145958	14670
Duties		14670	
		160628	

Foreign Goods exported from Kiachta (duties paid in Russia)

Quality of Goods.	Quantity	Roubles in value.
Gilt Leather (pieces)	184	511
Buck Skins	6281	26441
Otter Skins	513	1102
Gilt Leather	90	180
Dutch Cloth (Arshuns)	13521	30313
Polish do do	120	240
Breslau do	2852	5819
French do	551	581
Spanish do	50	75
Dantzic do	6314	5192
Silesia	12082	11139
Yorkshire	100	200
Beaver	220	176
Half Beaver Cloth	1562	1094
English Cloth (pieces)	3351	2631
Tin Plates do	2275	369
Total amount of foreign goods		86064
Total of Russian goods, with duties		160628
Total of export from Kiachta		246692

I am unable to shew the progressive trade since 1765, but the following returns for four years ending 1841, will afford a comparison between the present and past state of Russian trade with China.

Exports from China to Russia, viâ Kiachta.

	Furs.		Hides & Skins.		R. Leather.		Linens.		Cottons.		Woollens.	
	Silver Roubles	£	Silver Roubles.	£	Silver Roubles.	£	Silver Roubles.	£	Silver Roubles.	£	Silver Roubles.	£
1838	740.290	116,176	101,804	16.420	87,392	14,095	53,481	8,626	123,537	19,925	801,497	129,273
1839	695,328	112,149	115,442	18,672	80,503	12,983	58,916	9,502	230,065	37,107	984,200	158,742
1840	691,303	111.510	114,229	18,424	75,654	12,202	70,297	1,238	263,109	42,496	984,403	158,724
1841	1,819267	292,140	219,695	35,420	214,971	34,673	185,356	29,896	975,119	157,277	282,401	206,839

Value of all other descriptions of Chinese produce, &c. imported by Kiachta (which is carried on by barter, and therefore shews an equivalent) is thus estimated.

	Silver Roubles,	or	Sterling.
1838.	2,227,182	—	£ 359,223.
1839.	2,474,421	—	399,100.
1840.	2,493,669	—	402,204.
1841.	7,537,596	—	1,215,741.

In 1845, the trade is stated to have been equal to 13,622,000 silver roubles, or £2,156,816.

Another account gives the following as the woollens exported from Russia to China, viâ Kiachta.

		Silver Roubles.			Silver Roubles.
1838.	Woollens sent to China .	801,497	1841.	Woollens sent to China .	3,282,401
1839.	Ditto .	984,200	1842.	Ditto .	3,300,000
1840.	Ditto .	2,984,403			

Thus the value of woollens sent by Russia in 1842 amounted to £522,500 sterling. During our war in 1841-42, the Russian China trade increased.

The foreign fur trade at Canton, for the year 1824, amounted to nearly one million of dollars. This trade is now almost extinct, as the supply from Russia is equal to the demand, and cheaper in price.

The Tea trade between China and Russia is thus shewn from 1830 to 1841.

			Silver Roubles.	
1830.	Total	154,554 poods 161 cases	1,789,151	— £288,572
1836.	—	169,229 poods 79,455 packages	2,463,745	— 397,387
1837.	—	135,899 poods 58,161 packages	2,317,441	— 373,786

		Value in Silver Roubles.				Value in Silver Roubles.	
1838.	Tea in cases	2,015,780	£325,127—	Tea in packages	134,238	£21,657
1839.	Do.	2,295,339	370,216	Do.	100,724	16,245
1840.	Do.	2,366,522	381,697	Do.	129,453	20,879
1841.	Do.	7,042,776	1,135,931	Do.	359,223	57,939

The progress of the trade will be seen from the fact that the Russian imports of tea, were in 1800, Russian pounds 2,799,900 ; and in 1839, Russian pounds 8,071,880. N.B.—Forty Russian pounds are equal to thirty-six pounds avoirdupois.

The following statement was laid before the Parliamentary Committee on East India affairs in 1830, which shows the retail price of tea at St. Petersburgh, and the value of some samples procured and brought from thence. It will be seen that high prices have not diminished consumption :—

Description of Tea.	Price in Russia.	London Broker's valuation.
	s. *d.*	*s.* *d.*
Black flower tea . . .	11 11	5 3
Ditto „ . . .	7 3½	4 9
Black family tea . . .	5 10	3 8
Ditto „ . . .	3 0½	2 1½
Green „ . . .	11 11	No value named, a quality unknown here.

Russian tea, which I drank last year at Vienna, at the hospitable table of Mr. Magennis, Secretary to the British Embassy, was superior to any tea I have tasted in England.

The Charges on a chest of tea from Kiachta are stated to be :—

Specification of Charges.	Flower Tea weighing 60 pounds.	Family Tea weighing 65 pounds.	Family Tea weighing 80 to 85 lbs.
	Roubles.	Roubles.	Roubles.
Import duty and custom charges	130	138, 50	160
Commission at Kiachta . .	10	4, 80	6, 40
Packing in hides . . .	3	3	3
Receiving, weighing, and cartage in Kiachta . .	10	10	10
Carriage to Nesni or Moscow .	35	35	50
	188	191, 30	229, 40

The silver rouble of Russia is estimated at about three shillings and two pence; 113 silver will purchase 345 paper roubles. The latter are subject, however, to great depreciation, according to the supply of specie.

The Exports of Woollen Cloth from Russia to Kiachta have been increasing, while ours have been decreasing.

Year	Russian Cloth.		Polish Cloth.	
	Arshuns.	Equal to pieces of 19½ yards.	Arshuns	Equal to pieces of 19½ yards.
1833	447,176	18,305	325,040	13,305
1834	555,876	22,755	247,256	10,122
1835	719,221	29,442	206,301	8,445
1836	923,936	37,822	181,519	7,430
1837	789,853	32,333	26,625	1,089
1838	965,193	39,510	738	30½
1839	1,218,574	49,880		
1840	1,241,133	50,806		
1841	1,550,477	63,470		

In former years, Russia exported to China the woollen manufactures of Poland (as will be seen by the above table), and still earlier those of Prussia, in addition to her own. Previous to 1812, a considerable quantity of English woollens were sent to Russia, intended for the Chinese market. The cost of this cloth was at that time from 17*s.* to 20*s.* per yard, though the same cloth, in 1830, could be had at 10*s.* or 12*s.*, or even less. This trade was stopped by an increase of duty laid by the Russian government on English cloths, and a reduction of that on Prussian cloth. At present, however, only cloths manufactured are exported. They are made principally at Moscow and its neighbourhood, of different qualities, similar to the English cloths, called Spanish stripes and habit cloths. They are classed in three varieties:—1st. Mezeritsky cloths; 2nd. those of Masloff or Maslovia; 3rd. Karnavoy cloth: in each variety are four or five grades of quality.

The assortment of colours in 100 pieces of Mezeritsky, is:—Blue, 40 pieces; light blue, 10 pieces; black, 20 pieces; violet, 2 pieces; yellow, 1 piece; red pomegranate, 8 pieces; brown violet, 4 pieces; scarlet, 10 pieces; green, 3 pieces; and fashions of the day, 2 pieces.

These are packed in ten bales, each having an assortment of the different colours. The first quality of Mezeritsky cloth costs at Moscow 150 to 165 roubles assign, per piece of twenty-five arshuns (6*s.* 9*d.* to 7*s.* 4*d.*, per yard); and the charges from Moscow to Kiachta amount to about 250 roubles assign, per each bale, the

measure from sixty to sixty-seven inches in width. The first quality of Masloff cloth costs at Moscow 7 to 7½ roubles assign per arshine, (8*s.* to 8*s.* 6*d.* per yard); the length of the pieces forty to forty-five arshines, or thirty-one to thirty-five yards; breadth between the lists sixty-seven to seventy inches. They are made up in bales of eight pieces each; in an export of 1,000 pieces of these two cloths, the proportions are about 750 to 800 pieces of Mezeritsky, and 200 to 250 pieces of Maslovia.

Velveteens (plush), a considerable quantity is annually bartered at Kiachta. They are made in pieces of about fifty arshines in length (39 yards), and of two breadths, viz.: ten vershacks and sixteen ditto, (seventeen and a half and twenty-eight inches), the price of the former at Moscow is about R. 1, 40 co. to R. 1, 80 per arshine, and of the latter R. 2, 80.

The camlets exported to China are principally of Dutch make, a very trifling proportion being Russian. The other principal articles of Russian export to China are linen goods of a coarse description; leather, skins, and furs. Also fire-arms, cutlery, corals, mirrors, watches, and divers articles of ornament; the cost of carriage from Moscow to Kiachta is about twenty-five roubles per pood (36lbs.) English.)

In a letter from China dated December, 1842, to Mr. Macgregor, one of the secretaries to the Board of Trade, and to whom the nation is so greatly indebted for his invaluable collection of European tariffs, and the statistical illustration of the condition of different countries, it is stated that the Russian woollens now actively compete with English woollens in the north of China. I found excellent Russian cloth in Chusan, Ningpo and Shanghai.

Mr. Macgregor's correspondent states that the cloth is called by the Chinese *Ka-la;* its consumption, in reference to English cloth, is as five to one of the latter, and it is only within the last five years that the article has been introduced in any quantity. The breadth of the muster cloth exceeds that of English stripes by four inches. The length usually is 50 to 80 cooids (19 to 30 yards) per piece; the breadth varies from 62 to 64 inches. The consumption at Ningpo is estimated at from 3,000 to 5,000 pieces, and at Soo-choo 20,000 *pieces.* The latter is the principal mart, and from it Ningpo gets supplied. The shopman quoted the then rates at 27 dollars per piece of 50 cooids ($19\frac{1}{100}$ yards) for black; 32 dollars blue; 35 dollars scarlet and purple; say $1\frac{47}{100}$ dollars per yard for black; $1\frac{68}{100}$ dollars for blue; and $1\frac{84}{100}$ dollar for scarlet and purple.

The packages are made up of five pieces, and an assortment should contain, according to the shopkeeper's information, 50 pieces blue (the muster sent is not a fast colour, apparently dyed in the piece), 35 pieces black, 10 pieces scarlet, two pieces ash, three pieces green; this may not be correct, as neither purple nor

brown is mentioned. The end of the piece seen had the maker's name in gold letters, No. 18301. The high number of the piece will show that it is a manufacture of some moment. In order that a comparison might be made between the Russian cloth and Spanish stripes, there was selected from the man's stock a piece of Gott's manufacture, which it was said that buyers complained of the quality being inferior to that of the same article imported during the Company's time; they also stated that the consumption of it was decreasing. Ningpo does not take off more than 300 to 500 pieces per annum, (chiefly black and blue); Soochoo 3,000 to 5,000 pieces; Hangchow-foo only a small quantity. The price of a piece of 18½ yards was quoted at 35 dollars purple ($1\frac{88}{100}$ dollar per yard), 27 dollars blue ($1\frac{46}{100}$ dollar per yard), and 20 dollars for black ($1\frac{08}{100}$ dollar per yard).

From the foregoing statements, it is quite evident, that the terms upon which Russia can compete in the Chinese market with England, in the article of woollens, chiefly depends upon the sale of tea. When we consider the great reduction in prices that woollens have undergone, it is clear that unless their tea trade was protected as it is (notwithstanding the large profits of the Russian imports) it would be largely participated in by the merchants of other countries. They could not barter their goods at Kiachta at the nominal prices stated, nor supply China Proper with woollens, at such competing prices. Cotton cloths called "*Daba*" and "*Kitaia*" from China, were such favourites that nothing else was worn in summer.

The "*Daba* and *Kitaia*," is a sort of thick callico, of different colours, brought from China through Bucharia, into Russia, in large quantities, and is used for the apparel of both men and women. The Chinese Kitaia is the best, of which there are two sorts. Daba is a strong stuff, of a beautiful red colour without gloss; it is narrow and not unlike our coarse calico. The other is coarser, but more durable.

Great quantities of cotton stuffs, and calicoes, are brought from Bucharia and Mongolia, called Seleinskaia, from a city of the name of Selim. They are generally of gay colours, as red, green, yellow, blue, and are made up in bundles of rolls, each 20 ells long.

A Russian official account states, "That formerly, Chinese nankins, and other cotton stuffs, were amongst the most important articles of our importation. Now Russia exports cotton goods to China, and little by little the tissues of our fabrics have very nearly supplanted, in this trade, those proceeding in transit from foreign countries.

"The cotton stuffs manufactured in Russia, and exported to China in 1826, was in value 167,199 roubles, paper-money, and in 1840 to 920,881 paper roubles, in the succeeding year there is a small increase on the preceding." The cotton stuffs imported from China in 1840 were 19,670 roubles.

Report concerning the barter trade at Kiachta in 1843.

Description of goods.	Bartered.	Remaining on hand.	Description of goods.	Bartered.	Remaining on hand.
Cloth: Mezeritsky pieces	14,565	40,883	Furs: Squirrel ,,	673 364	1,140 696
,, Masloffs ,,	2,013	5,143	,, Otter ,,	13,461	17,406
,, Karnovay ,,	4,761	6,740	Lamb, Bucharian grey ,,	5,549	44,921
Camlets: Russian Arshines	578	177	Do. do. black ,,	8,463	48,955
,, Dutch ,,	25,600	45,784	Do. Ukraini white ,,	155,172	646,738
Linen goods. Tcheshuyka ,,	480,733	498,736	Do. do. piebald ,,	8,580	18,344
,, Ticking ,,	85,655	45,550	Do. do. black ,,	2 581	28,311
,, Konovat ,,	624	16,437	Cats skins ,, ,,	245,006	105,847
Velveteens: 10 ver-			Lynx skins Russian ,,	2,181	17,220
shacks broad ,,	1,074,639	1,818,129	Do. do. American.	4,750	8,100
,, 16 ditto ,,	72,495	126,630	Do. do. Musquash.	72,415	18,926
Leather Goat skins, skins.	52,665	176,095			

It appears the amount of trade in the foregoing report, as compared with that of previous years, does not exceed one-third of the average. No cause is assigned for such a great falling off. The foreign fur trade at Canton, twenty years ago, amounting to a million dollars annually, is now nearly quite extinct; on the northern frontier there is still an extensive traffic; and were all the facts of the case at our command, we might find that this traffic is annually increasing.

The Russian and Chinese commerce was very considerable in 1845. It is said to have amounted to 13,622,000 silver roubles, at 3*s.* 2*d.* per rouble, to £2,156,816 sterling. The Russian articles were furs and cloths.

From China there came 100,000 chests of tea from forty-five to sixty pounds each, besides 40,000 chests of inferior qualities of tea.

The mode of transacting business at Kiachta deserves notice. Commissioners are appointed on each side, who fix by regulations, the price of every article of import, and of the tea to be given in exchange for it; the price of the tea, the proportion of each sort, to be bartered for the different articles. Six members chosen among the Russian merchants, and presided over by the custom-house director, a similar number of Chinese presided over by their governor; these two commissioners discuss the prices, which once determined, become the law for both nations. The tea is classed into family and flower tea; both which are said to consist chiefly of Pekoe. In 1843 the Chinese brought for sale 120,000 chests; of which 80,000 were flower tea, and 40,000 family tea. The prices, which have been unaltered for years, are as follows:—

Rubles, sixty for one chest qudrat family tea.

Rubles, 120 for one chest 3*rd.* sort flower tea.

Rubles, eighty do. Polootornay family tea (1½ as large)

The prices of Russian produce were raised in 1843, from those of former years. And it was also arranged that one chest of family, is to go along with every three chests of flower tea.

Regulation Fixing the Prices of Russian Goods at Kiachta,—

Description of Goods.	Against Family tea.	Flower tea, 3rd sort.	3 chests Flower tea 1st sort.
Cloths,	Rs. Co.	Rs. Co.	Rs. Co.
Mezeritsky, 1st sort per piece	105		131 25
2nd „ „	100		125
3rd „ „	97		121 25
4th „ „	93		116 25
5th „ „	65		81 25
	Arshines per chest.	Arshines per chest.	Arshines for 4 chests.
Masloff, 1st sort	12	18	66
Explanation,			
3 chests flower tea, equal 54 archines			
1 chest family tea, equal 12 ditto ..			
4 chests tea, equal 66 ditto ..			
Masloff cloth, 2nd sort	13	20	73
	14	22	80
3rd „	15	23	84
4th „	16	24	88
Karnovoy cloths,	Rs. Co.	Rs. Co.	Rs. Co.
1st sort, per piece...	65		81 25
2nd „ „	63		78 75
3rd „ „	60		75
4th „ „	54		67 50
5th „ „	58		60
Camlets, 1st sort, per arshine	2 65		3 31
2nd „ „	2 20		2 75
Plush (velveteens), narrow,			
1st sort (Riga) per arshine	1 05		4 31
2nd „ „ „	0 98		1 22
3rd „ (Moscow) „	0 94		1 21
4th „ „ „	0 80		1
Otter skins, 1st sorts, each	20		25
2nd „ „	18		22 50
American, 1st „ „	10		12 50
2nd „ „	12		13

The nature of the regulation will be better shewn by an example of the transactions by barter. Against the second sort of Mezeritsky cloth the Russians receive 9 chests of flower tea, at 120 rs. per chest, ... , , , 1,080 rs.
and 3 chests of family tea, at 60 rs. per chest, B. rs. . 180

Being the fixed proportions and prices named, . 1,260

For which the Russians pay

1080 rs. is equal, at the regulation price of
125 rs. per piece, to . . . $8\frac{3}{4}$ pieces.
and 180 at 100 rs. per piece, to . $1\frac{1}{4}$

1260 rs. . . nearly $10\frac{1}{2}$ pieces cloth.

Pursuing the illustration, we will shew the result of such a transaction in 1843.

The $10\frac{1}{2}$ pieces of cloth cost at Moscow in 1842,		
145 rs. cash per piece, making . . .		1,522,50 rs.
Interest for 15 months, 15 per cent. . .		228,37
Charges from Moscow to Kiachta, . . .		250,00
Cost at Kiachta of $10\frac{1}{2}$ pieces cloth, . .		2,000,87
But the value of tea in Russia in 1843 was, 9 chests flower tea, at 555 rs. per chest, at 12 month's credit.	4,995	
3 chests family tea ,at 445 rs. per chest	1,365	
	6,360	
Deduct 12 month's interest, 763,20 rs.		
Duty and charges, . . 2,265,90	3,029,10	3,330,90

Leaving a profit of 1,330,03 rs.

Woollen cloths costing 2,000 rs. are exchanged for teas estimated at 1,260 rs. or at a loss of 37 per cent.; but the tea taken in exchange, the nominal cost of which is 1,260 rs., realises a profit of 2,070 rs., being $103\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the cost, (2,000 rs.) a profit of $66\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The prices of tea at Nijori Novogorod in 1843, on 12 month's credit, were,

Flower tea, 1st per chest,	705 rs.	Weight in Russian lbs. 55 58 & 60
„ 2d. „	655	
„ 3d. „	555	
Qudrat family tea	455	60 @ 70
Polootorney „	605	86 @ 88
„ 2d. „	535	81 @ 85

Mr. MacGregor, in his Report on Russia, alluding to the Russian College at Pekin, says: "In this respect, and in the intercourse which Russia has by Kiachta, and now by other points with China, the former has great political and intelligent advantages over the English. Add to which, a great moral superiority with the Chinese government over the English, from the circumstance of Russia never having, as far as we can learn, unless to a small extent lately, been engaged in the degrading trade in opium, and from Chinese blood not having been shed by the Russians."

The whole subject of Russian communications with China, political and commercial, is of great interest, and deserves serious consideration, in reference to the future. The establishment of a Russian college at Peking entitles England to have a similar establishment there. An English ambassador ought also to be stationed at Peking.

CHAPTER X.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA; ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JEWS; STRUGGLES BETWEEN JESUITISM AND ROMANISM; PERSECUTIONS AND TOLERATIONS OF CHRISTIANS, AND IMPERIAL EDICTS IN FAVOUR OF CHRISTIANITY.

DIVINE revelation teaches and proves, that there is no other mode by which a nation can be perpetuated and maintained in even its mere outward characteristics, but by its possession and practice of a pure faith and belief in the one true and living God, and that as it departs from this truth, such will be its temporal as well as spiritual state. In a report, therefore, on the general condition and prospects of China, it is impossible for any one but a confirmed materialist to abstain, when examining the history and position of such a singular country, from investigating also the religious principles on which all durable things rest, and in so doing, to endeavour to trace, however faintly, the cause of this extraordinary empire being held intact for so many centuries, when surrounding nations have sunk into the grossest idolatry, become desolate, or have yielded to the rule of some grasping powerful kingdom. Moreover, if it be believed that Christianity can alone purify and preserve a nation, it is necessary to inquire what efforts have been made by Christianized Europe for the welfare of one-third of mankind, and what causes have contributed to prevent the extension of a blessed doctrine productive of happiness here and hereafter, and which is as essentially a portion of the Divine gift of the Creator to the created, as is the physical world on which we exist, and as is "the breath of life by which man became a living soul."

The existence of the Chinese as a distinct and independent nation for more than two thousand years, is a proof that its preservation is owing to some extraordinary circumstance irrespective of material agencies; and the reasoning mind must admit that its stereotyped condition is owing either to some special Provi-

dence, or to the possession of a vital, spiritual truth, sufficient, at least, to overcome the tendency to dissolution, which the history of ages shews is the inevitable fate of all idolatrous societies. The points which I propose to explain, and, if possible, prove, in this chapter are,

1st. The great antiquity of the Chinese as a people and a kingdom.

2d. Their early knowledge of the only true and living God, as illustrated by Confucius, and by the absence of idolatry.

3d. Their early intercourse with the Jews, and the existence of various settlements of Jews in China prior and subsequent to the Christian era.

4th. The introduction of Christianity into China by St. Thomas, its promulgation and establishment by the Nestorians for several centuries.

5th. The rise, progress, and decline of Jesuitism in China, and the cause of the downfal of Romanism in China.

6th. The existing state of Christianity in China, its toleration by the emperor, and also the means by which it may be beneficially extended; for I believe it to be *as much* (I should rather say *paramountly*) the duty of England, both by its government and people, to extend the light of the gospel to distant lands, as it is to push its trade into those countries. Commerce is, indeed, sure to follow in the track of peaceful and humanizing Christianity.

I have stated (vol i. p. 193) that *Fohi*, the earliest recorded ruler of China, is said to have been *Noah*, or supposed to be his contemporary. But whether this be correct or not, the great antiquity of the Chinese people is a fact beyond a doubt. The chronological chart, given in vol. i. p. 200, derived from authentic translations of their annals, shews a record such as no existing nation possesses. It bears internal evidence of truth, from the absence of the improbable, and the faithful narration of vice and virtue, without any attempt at palliation or exaggeration. Indeed, there could have been but one motive in exhibiting such an array of crime, namely, that its history might serve as a warning to posterity. Their tribunal of history is as well protected against falsification as human efforts could devise.

All occurrences, even the most trifling, are recorded during the reign of each emperor, and deposited, without any classification, until the succeeding reign, when, if favourable, they are digested and published; if otherwise, they are again placed in the archives until the succeeding reign. There is great sagacity in this mode, for it protects the chroniclers from falsification.

The supreme tribunal at Peking is composed of the chief ministers, who sit daily in the Imperial Palace. Every day there is posted on a board, adjoining the tribunal, extracts of all cases decided on the previous day, which are then copied by officers, whose

duty it is to prepare the King-paou, "Messenger of the Capital," known to Europeans as the Peking Gazette. All public events and announcements are also printed in this gazette; there is no attempt at concealment, and it is probably the most faithful transcript of the acts of a nation ever published. The approximation to the Hebrews in their various laws and customs, as previously noted, vol. i. p. 239, is also remarkable in this, that, after the manner of the Jews, they are the only nation who possess a chronological history.*

A very general opinion prevailed at one time that the Armenians had a record of events to the period of Haie, who was said to be a grandson of Japheth; but it was discovered that their historian, Moses Chorenensis, lived in the fifth century of the Christian era, and for the prior epochs he must have relied on tradition.* Confucius acted very differently, for he refused to record that of which he possessed no evidence.

If this history of Confucius be admitted, the truth of the Chinese annals is established, not only to his own era (B.C. 550) but to a much earlier date: his candid avowal, "for want of evidence," he could give no account of different events and periods, stamps him as a trustworthy historian.

Corroborative evidence of the authenticity of the Chinese annals, to B.C. 709, will be found in vol. i. p. 201, which correspond with the calculations of Europeans.

An objection may be urged against this proof, that the Chinese astronomers probably obtained the aid of the Jesuits to make their dates correspond. But even granting this as to dates, how did it happen that the events were recorded? Moreover, one of those sixteen eclipses is narrated, with the exact year, month, and day, in an ode in a four syllable verse of the Shoo-king, the classical book of Confucius, on which no doubt has been cast.

Their annals are in a great measure comparatively free from the exaggerated statements found in other Asiatic histories. From the seventh or eight century B.C., to which I think full credence may be given, there is no account of their emperors living beyond the ordinary limit allowed to mankind; no Goliaths nor pigmies: no celestial phenomenon except such are to be found in the chronicles of every country.

The question is whether their annals for two thousand five hundred years are worthy of credence, or whether they are (as they have been termed) a "*gross imposition.*"

It is recorded that in the year 219 B.C. the Emperor of the Tsin dynasty sent an expedition to the "Isles of the Immortals," to procure an herb which would confer immortality; a superstition so gross as this could not be recorded from motives of vanity.

* There was a history published of Armenia A.D. 1785 by Chamich, but he quotes no historian of his nation of an earlier date than A.D. 386.

A few years ago some European scholars, with a view of testing Chinese history, minutely examined Japanese annals, surmising that the three islands which comprise that empire might turn out to be the "Isles of the Immortals."

The translators discovered that at that period, (a discrepancy of ten years only)* an expedition had reached the shores of Japan from China, for such an object. Thus we find two nations jealous of each other,—recording an event of apparently trifling moment, but calculated to gratify the vanity of one, and to illustrate the ignorance of the other.

By some it has been supposed that the Chinese are of Scythian or Tartar origin, but of these tribes there is no record until 636 B.C., when they advanced under Madyes, killed Cyaxares, and prosecuted their victorious career until they arrived at the confines of Egypt. This conqueror who is called Indothyrsus, and by some Ogus-Khan, did certainly conquer a portion of China; but the portion conquered, or the race subdued, is totally unknown. It might have been some of the patriarchal tribes—the descendants of Fohi or Noah.

Within the last six hundred years China has been conquered by two distinct races of foreigners, viz., by the Mongol Tartars, A.D. 1280; and by the Mantchou Tartars, A.D. 1644—who displaced the native princes, but adopted their forms of government, laws, language, and religion; yet, so far as we know, no doubt nor suspicion has been cast by the conquerors on the truth of the historical records of this ancient empire. Neither have the different sects of religionists in China disputed the authenticity of the national annals,—although in Europe, adverse sectaries claim a reverence for their separate systems, on the score of antiquity.

Mr. Thornton, in his valuable and elaborate work, gives full credence to the great antiquity of the Chinese. So also the learned Doctors Morrison, Gutzlaff, Medhurst, Bridgeman, and Milne: all Chinese scholars, and well versed in Chinese history.

The conclusion at which Father Amiot arrived, after his long and laborious researches respecting the origin of the Chinese, seems, in addition to other points, to settle the question. He says, "The Chinese are a distinct people, who have still preserved the characteristic of their first origin; a people whose primitive doctrine will be found, by those who take the trouble of examining it thoroughly, to agree in its essential parts with the doctrine of the chosen people, before Moses, by the command of God himself, had consigned the explanation of it to the Sacred Records; a people in a word, whose traditional knowledge, when freed from whatever

* The learned and erudite Calmet thus accounts for the discrepancy of a few years met with in ancient history. The conjoint reigns of two sovereigns, who may not begin their reigns at the same time, naturally gives occasion to double dates. He further says, falsification cannot be charged on the differences of a few years, sixteen years might occur and both be justifiable.

the ignorance or superstition of *latter ages has added* to it, may be traced back from age to age, and epoch to epoch."

I proceed now to a consideration of the second point, namely, to investigate why the Chinese have been so long preserved as a distinct people, and to demonstrate that it has been solely owing to their abstinence from idolatry, and to their possession of the knowledge of the True God, which are the sole means by which a nation can be preserved from destruction.

Sacred Writ declares, and natural religion proves, that the Creator made man perfect and good, endowed him with all knowledge, (as is shown by Adam naming, i.e., describing the qualities of, the animals brought unto him, Gen. ii. 19), and gave him dominion over all earthly things (Gen. i. 28). Man, by his disobedience, fell away from God, and in every successive generation departed more and more from his Maker, until the whole earth became filled with wickedness, and a general Deluge was the inevitable result. A remnant of purity was preserved in the family of Noah, and the patriarchal system was maintained for the governance of mankind. All who were scattered at Babel, and who departed from the plain in the land of Shinar, carried with them, and founded their first religious codes on, the traditions and precepts of the Patriarch; and the more closely they approximated to their origin, the more pure and simple was their worship, and the more distinct and permanent their character. To this circumstance I ascribe the peculiar history and character of the Chinese, whose pagoda structures are typical of the tower of Babel.

It is probable that China was the last portion of the eastern world that admitted or even tolerated idolatry, which spread slowly among mankind.* Their love of antiquity and their isolated state, may have caused their preservation from this first and greatest sin, or it may have been in the wise design of Providence that the nation containing so large a portion of mankind, should be maintained for some great purpose.

From the earliest ages there has been in China a supreme court of rites, to watch and guard the state religion with exactness, so that it was not easy to introduce any new laws. This state religion, which is upheld by the government and better class of Chinese, is as ancient as the Empire itself, and is very simple, (see vol. i. p. 57). Reverence is prescribed to an invisible Being, dwelling in the visible Heavens, and distributing happiness and misery among mankind. The Emperor is priest and king, alone prays for his people as their father, and alone offers sacrifices and propitiations.

This patriarchal creed, naturally, from time to time, became more or less corrupt. To keep this primitive worship pure was the great object of that extraordinary man Confucius, who was born in the principality of Loo, B.C. 550; his family, Kung-tze

* Eusebius alleges that idolatry took its rise in Assyria, where there was not the appearance of an idol until long after Belus.

were descended from a family allied to royalty. When three years old his father died, but he was brought up by his mother with great care and atttention. The filial obedience and docile manners he inculcated through life, he is said to have intuitively acquired, and practised in his tender years; this with his precocious genius procured for him general admiration.

At the age of seventeen, he was made a subordinate magistrate, and inspector of the sale and distribution of the government granaries. The judgment he displayed in the introduction of many useful reforms established his character.

At the age of twenty-one he was made inspector over a large district of pasture and flocks. Here he was eminently successful; and by his impartial decisions, he procured the esteem of all classes.

When twenty-three, his mother died, and he resigned his office to mourn for her loss, which had been an ancient custom, but had become obsolete.

He interred his mother with his father, observing, *"we owe equal duty to both our parents, and it is right that those who in life were united by the same bond, should be undivided in death."*

At this period the dead were generally placed in the nearest waste ground. Confucius contended that it was degrading to man, the "Lord of the earth," when the breath had departed, to treat it like the brute; that it was repugnant to the mutual affection which should actuate all human beings towards each other.

This respect for the dead may be called the ground-work of the subsequent reformation which he effected. It is probable (and consistent with the general prevalence of mankind to go to extremes) that this respect for the dead, had in after ages degenerated into worship, and is now a national custom in China.

After the period of mourning had subsided, Confucius was urged to present himself at court to obtain some employment; he answered that he required further leisure to improve his mind. On being frequently urged, he would say "I devote myself to mankind in the aggregate. I dedicate my hours to study and acquire knowledge, that I may be useful to them; I am but in my thirtieth year, a time of life when the mind is in all its vigour, the body in its full strength."

B.C. 522. His house was open to all who wished to benefit by his instructions; but he carefully excluded all who were viciously disposed. His fame had spread beyond the limits of his own kingdom. The King of Tse sent an invitation to Confucius, which he accepted.

After spending a year at this court, he found it impossible to make any favourable impression on the rulers or people, and took his departure.

He subsequently visited the imperial palace, but was also unsuccessful, although well received; he would, however, remain no

where unless he could mould the manners and habits of the people to his own.

B.C. 516. Confucius returned to Loo, and was graciously received; but the ministers of the King dreading his presence, nominated him to an humble office in expectancy. His admirers urged him to refuse this office: but he remonstrated with them how inconsistent it would be in him to refuse an humble station. And he argued thus, "What good effect could my instructions have, if I were supposed to be actuated by pride?"

B.C. 510. His official duties being light, time was obtained to revise the "*Sheking,*" and it is said he reduced it from 3000 poems to 311; he also prepared an edition of the *Shooking,* omitting whatever was useless, by which he reduced the number of chapters from 100 to 50. He employed his disciples in carefully comparing the characters, arranging the subjects under their separate heads, and ascertaining the authenticity of the original, giving his reasons for the various alterations, which he thought necessary. These celebrated books are to be found now in the state in which he left them.

This great benefactor, like all who have succeeded him, was treated with indifference, or calumny. He was subjected to various trials and temptations to entrap him, but in vain. He was a pure single-minded man, and the whole bent of his mind was to impress on the governors the responsibility and necessity of setting an example to the governed; and by that means ameliorate the condition of the people. But his failure is easily accounted for, he relied on mere morality for salvation.

The prescribed limits of this part of the work, preclude a detail of his chequered life. He was a great admirer of the works of nature, and by drawing deductions therefrom, he made his disciples think for themselves, by exercising their judgment, observing, "I teach you nothing but what you might learn yourselves, if you made a proper use of your faculties. All I tell you, our ancient sages have practised before us, viz. the three fundamental laws of relation between sovereign and subject, father and child, husband and wife: and the five capital virtues; namely, universal charity, impartial justice, conformity to ceremonies and established usages, rectitude of heart and mind, and pure sincerity."

To a new governor, who was going to a distant province, he said, "Be just and disinterested. Justice respects no one; it gives to all their due. Disinterestedness leads to equity; when we are biassed we cease to be just. If we take anything from our inferiors, under whatever title, we commit a theft upon them. Four times a year in each season convene the people, and explain to them in person their duties. A few words from you will be a spur to their attention." This is done at the present day, (see vol. I. page 164.)

In answer to the King of Tse, who wished to know if his ancestors, to whom he paid homage, could hear him, the reply was, "It is not necessary that I should speak explicitly on this point. If I were to say that our ancestors are conscious of the honours we pay them; that they see, hear, and know what passes on earth, it is to be feared that they who cherish a deep sense of filial piety, would neglect their own lives, for the sake of rejoicing in the other world, those whom they loved in this: and on the contrary, were I to say that all knowledge of the living ceases with life, it would encourage a neglect of filial duties, and dissolve those sacred ties which bind the human race in social happiness. Continue, therefore to fulfil as you have hitherto done, your duties to your progenitors; conduct yourself as if you knew them to be witnesses of your actions, and seek to know no more; *the time will come when you will know all.*"

On another occasion, being pressed to say who was a saint, or perfect being, he said, "*I have heard that in the western countries, there will be a holy man, who without governing, will prevent troubles; who, without speaking will inspire faith; who without violent changes, will produce good: no man can tell his name, but he will be the true Saint.*"*

In one of the discourses which the king, (Ting-kung) had with Confucius, happening to touch upon the customs of high antiquity, he inquired why the ancient emperors, in their sacrafices, had connected their ancestors with the *Teen.*†

The answer of the philosopher is extremely curious.

"The Teen," said he, "is the universal principle and prolific source of all things. Our ancestors, who sprung from this source, are themselves the source of succeeding generations. The first duty of mankind is gratitude to Heaven; the second, gratitude to those from whom we sprung. It was to inculcate at the same time this double obligation that *Fuh-he (Fohi or Noah)* established the rites in honour of heaven and of ancestors, requiring that immediately after sacrificing to Shang-te, homage should be rendered to our progenitors. But as neither the one nor the other were visible by the bodily organs, he sought emblems of them in the material heavens.

"The *Shang-te* is represented under the general emblem of the visible firmament, as well as under the particular symbols of the sun, the moon, and the earth, because by their means we enjoy the gifts of the *Shang-te.* The sun is the source of life and light; the moon illuminates the world by night. By observing the course of these luminaries, mankind are enabled to distinguish times and seasons. The ancients, with the view of connecting

* The *Ching Keaou-chin tseuen.* Notices des MSS. du Roi, tom. X. p 407.

† M. Amiot's translation from Kea-yu. Teen and Shangte, are often synonymous and denote the Being who is above all; Teen is used to denote the sky, or in a sense purely material.

the act with its object, when they established the practice of sacrificing to the Shang-te, fixed the day of the winter solstice, because the sun, after having passed through the twelve places assigned apparently by the Shang-te as its annual residence, began its career anew, to distribute blessings throughout the earth.

"After evincing, in some measure, their obligations to the *Shang-te*, to whom as the universal principle of existence, they owed life and all that sustains it, the heart of the sacrificers turned, with natural impulse, towards those by whom the life they enjoyed had been successively transmitted to them; and they founded a ceremonial of respect to their honour, as the compliment of the solemn worship due to the Shang-te. The Chow Princes (dynasty) has added another rite, a sacrifice to the Shang-te, in the spring season, to render thanks to Him for the fruits of the earth, and to implore Him to preserve him."

Instead of the hillock, where all sacrifices were formerly offered, under the canopy of Heaven, temples are now used in China as elsewhere. There were two splendid temples in Peking during the last century. They are both dedicated to Shang-te, but under two different titles; in the one he is adored as the eternal spirit, in the other as the spirit that created and preserves the world.

The Emperor, as the father of his people, in their name prays and sacrifices. The preparation is attended with, if possible, more than Jewish outward ceremonies. No audience is granted: marriages, funerals, and festivities of every kind are discontinued, the tribunals shut, and all who assist must prepare themselves by fasting, prayer and continence.

The Emperor and his train appear in the utmost pomp, and the magnificence of everything that appears in the temple corresponds to that of the sovereign; the vases, and all the utensils employed, are of gold, and cannot be applied to any other purpose. The pomp and grandeur of the Emperor is all laid aside previous to his appearing as the High Priest of his people. He prostrates himself in the dust, and speaks of himself in the most abject manner, as does Job. (chap. xl. v. 4.) See vol. i. p. 65.

M. Biot, states that several odes in the She-king indicate, in the most decisive manner, a *belief in* a supreme Being, the Shang-te, or sovereign lord. This term Shang-te is represented in the She-king as "a being perfectly just, who hates no one." M. Biot disagrees with the opinion entertained by the missionaries, and very generally believed by Europeans, that the Chinese never had more than a very vague belief in a supreme Being. This opinion is founded upon the circumstance of the term *teen*, 'heaven,' being more frequently employed by Chinese moralists than that of *Shang-te*, 'Supreme Lord.'

Father Amiot, was impressed with the idea that one of the Chinese characters △ (equal angles,) signifies strict union, harmony, the chief good of man, of heaven and earth; it is the union

of the three *(Tsai)* which signifies *principle, power,* and *knowledge;* for united, they direct, create, and nourish together.

Marco Polo states that the Chinese (in A.D. 1270) paid adoration to a tablet, fixed against the wall, in their houses, upon which was inscribed the name of the High Celestial and Supreme God; to whose honour they burnt incense, but of whom they had no image; the words were three, *Tein,* Heaven; *Hoang-tin,* Supreme Heaven; and *Shang-te,* Sovereign Lord. Polo was of opinion that from the God whose name was on the tablet, the Chinese only sought two things, viz., sound intellect and bodily health.

But that they had a god of whom they had a statue or idol, which they called *Natigai,* who was the god of all terrestial things; in fact, god the creator of the world, (inferior or subordinate to the supreme being), from whom they expect a compliance with whatever temporal request they make, fine weather and such like. A sort of mediator. This worship has a striking similarity to many of the early Christian forms of worship. This apparent idolatry may have crept in after the time of Confucius.

According to a translation by Confucius, he evidently professed a firm belief in the Supreme God, which with the observance of some ceremonial rites, was all that the Lord of Heaven and earth then required, from his people.

The philosopher first impressed his followers with the beauty and perfection of the solar system, the economy and beautiful adaptation of the material world. On this belief he founded his system of ethics, which is summed up in a few words, at the close of his work Lun-yu, as follows:—"He who shall be fully persuaded, that the Lord of Heaven governs the universe, who shall in all things choose moderation, who shall perfectly know his own species, and so act among them that his life and manners may conform to his knowledge of God and man, may be truly said to discharge the duties of a sage, and be far exalted above the common herd of the human race."

The extraordinary prophecy of Confucius (see vol. i. p. 239), where he describes the terrestrial paradise,—the fall of angels and of man,—the appearance at that moment of mercy, and the Holy One in the west to teach and save mankind—must have resulted from Divine inspiration.

Upon this passage Dr. Jackson, the eminent author of Jewish Antiquities, says, "These expressions seem to be presages which Confucius had concerning the coming of Christ, the Holy One of God, to deliver to mankind a perfect rule of religion and virtue; and his saying that its appearance would be in the west, seemed to point to Judea, the most western country of Asia in respect to China." "Whenever God shall raise up preachers of true Christianity amongst the people of China, they may be led to see and be convinced that Christ is the Holy One, and that *divine teacher,* whom their *own prophet, so many ages before,* had taught

them to expect, and this may be a means of their conversion to the Christian faith." Antiquity and prophecy are much prized in China.

The Creator has implanted in all mankind an earnest longing for spiritual communion with the great author of their being.* Confucius and the most celebrated Pagan philosophers have expressed an anxiety of being enlightened by some personal revelation from God.† Plato, who has credit for a large portion of heathen wisdom, told Socrates, that "Alcibiades knew not what to pray for in a right manner; and that it was not safe for him to pray in the temple till God should dispell the darkness of his mind, so that he might be in a capacity of discerning good and evil." And still more strongly, Socrates says, "that he thought it best to be quiet and wait till something should come, and, by a divine teaching, remove the mist from before men's eyes."‡

Confucius early learned, or was intuitively instructed, that in all communities the chief bond of connexion is the recognition of a Being superior to man, an upright law, giving power. There is not on record an instance of any human legislature dispensing with this recognition. It was tried for a time in France, to act without acknowledging a Supreme Deity during the fever of the Revolution, and the awful result is well known. Confucius died in his 73rd year, B. C. 479, after a most useful life. In person he was said to be tall, his forehead remarkably lofty, his cheek-bones very prominent, and his eyes clear. Dr. Morrison states, that the effigies he saw of him represent him as of a dark, swarthy colour. The number of temples dedicated to him are said to be upwards of 1,500; there is no statue or monument that would indicate gross idolatry, such as Budha, but a simple tablet, with this inscription: "Seat of the soul of the most renowned teacher of antiquity."

It is a great error to suppose that Confucius was worshipped in his lifetime. He never was an object of religious worship, though modern European, professing Christians have been quite willing to pay the homage of civil adoration to his tablet. See p. 469. On the contrary, society must have arrived at an advanced stage of civilization to have tolerated his austere precepts. The benefactors of mankind in all ages have been more frequently persecuted than adored or worshipped during their lifetime. The late Dr. Morrison was of opinion that Confucius was engaged in politics all his life; and even his ethics dwell chiefly on those social duties which have a political bearing. A family is the prototype of his nation or empire; and he made the basis of his system not the visionary notions (which have no existence in nature) of independence and equality, but principles of dependence and subordination; as of

* "The desire of all nations." Haggai, ch. ii. v. 7.

† B.C. 340. ‡ Plato, Alcib. 2. Also Leland's Divine Rev, vol. i. p. 470.

children to parents, the younger to the elder, and so on. These principles are perpetually inculcated in the Confucian writings, as well as embodied in solemn ceremonials, and in apparently trivial forms of mere etiquette.

Sir John Davis says: "Confucius embodied in sententious maxims the first principles of morals and of government; and the purity and excellence of some of his precepts (whatever may have been said to the contrary by persons ignorant of the language,) will bear a comparison with even those of the Gospel." [Many of these maxims I have given in the previous volume, p. 41.]

"It is probably this feature of his doctrines that has made him such a favorite with all the governments of China for many centuries past, and down to this day. These principles and these forms are early instilled into young minds, and form the basis of their moral sentiments; the elucidation and enforcement of these principles and forms is the business of students who aspire to be magistrates or statesmen, and of the wealthy, who desire nominal rank in the country; and it is, in all likelihood, owing chiefly to the influence of these principles on the national mind and conscience, that China holds together the largest associated population in the world."

Mr. Thornton, who can read the Chinese language, and who has with great zeal written the best work I have seen on the ancient history of China, says:—"The remote age of Confucius, the slight attention paid to Chinese literature in Europe," [he might have said, particularly in England] a want of confidence in the ancient records of China, and other causes, have conspired to obscure the fame of this wonderful man, who is often regarded almost in the light of a fabulous personage. His biography can only be discredited upon grounds which would destroy all historical evidence; and, assuming its truth, and that the writings and apopthegms attributed to him are genuine (and neither can be reasonably questioned), he must be ranked amongst the greatest characters of antiquity. He was, perhaps, the only reformer and legislator in early times, who did not betray the natural weakness of aspiring to supernatural distinction; for even Socrates had his familiar genius.

"His persevering efforts to lead men into the path of reason and of natural religion, were the offspring of pure philosophy, without the least taint of ambition or of selfishness. His moral doctrine discovers none of the ingenious subtleties and incomprehensible logomachies of the Hindoo schools, and its severe simplicity forms a strong contrast with the ethical systems of ancient Greece.

"His maxims of conduct are of a practical, not of a speculative, character; applicable to all the pursuits of life, being based upon human nature; herein differing essentially from the mysticism of Laou-tsze, and the sect of 'the Immortals.'

"By disclaiming the original of the truths he taught, he obviated at once the imputation of egotism, and the dread of innovation, and they could not be better enforced than by the rectitude and blamelessness of his own life. The superiority of his sentiments over those of the heathen moralists, which have been so highly extolled, has seldom been properly appreciated; they bear the impress of sincerity, and of practical utility, whereas the sounding aphorisms of the Greek and Roman writers wear the complexion of mere sportive speculation."

He divided his scholars into four gradations; to the first he taught morals; to the second, rhetoric; to the third, political knowledge; and to the fourth, the art of elegant writing, in which the Hebrew scribes excelled, especially Ezra.

His system was to commence at the foundation and form the mind; this was the primary introduction to all the others, and by this means, he cleared the intellect from the fanaticisms and obscurities which prevent the mind from distinguishing truth from falsehood.

This he illustrates by the husbandman, clearing out the noxious weeds, before he commits the good seed to the ground.

The doctrines of Confucius have been differently represented by several who have examined his character. Martini says that his morality is truly worthy of respect and admiration; for instance, "that the greatest good attainable by man, is the improvement of himself and others," and again, in another text, he says, "the perfection of man consists in keeping the light, afforded to every one by nature, bright and burning, so that he may never err against the law of nature, or lose sight of the precepts implanted by nature in his bosom."

According to Kempfer, the Confucian system, as practised in Japan, was highly applauded by the Emperor and his nobility, until the time that that jealous nation excluded Christianity. Their contempt for idolatry, and probably, their moral doctrines, made the government suspect the Confucians of a secret leaning towards Christianity; the followers of his system were closely watched, and a resolution to eradicate it, as well as Christianity, was determined on, when its followers complied with some outward forms of their own system, by which means it was allowed to be practised. In Kempfer's time it had been declining rapidly in Japan.

It is probable that the Mosaic and pure patriarchial system, if restored or sustained by Confucius, in the year B.C. 530, and subsequently preserved by the numerous disciples who survived and succeeded him, has become somewhat obsolete.

Two remarkable circumstances are related in Chinese history, connected with the prophecy of Confucius, which occurred in the first century of our era:—

1st. The reigning Emperor's title, at the period of the birth of Christ, was *Ping-te*, which signified "Prince of Peace."

2nd. In the year, A.D. 65, the Emperor *Ming-te* sent to the "West," for the "Holy One;" the envoys returned from Ceylon, with some priests of the religion of Budha, which has ever since been tolerated, and a portion of the people followed, (see p. 68, vol. i.)

Budhism is an exotic,* and in no way indigenous to China; it has extended among the lower classes, and is probably the least degrading of the various idolatrous systems.

Confucius was in the habit of commending just and upright rulers, and indicated his approval by stating, that the Emperors who ruled according to the law of reason, and example of the God of Heaven, would have their conduct approved by "*that Holy person who is expected to come upon earth; even though a hundred ages should pass before his coming.*"†

Couplet says, that the Chinese have a traditional account, mixed with fable, of the creation of the world. They have an account of the long lives of the Patriarchs, who lived before the flood, whom they supposed to live eight or ten thousand years. These were understood as centuries of years: and others say, the years were lunar months, by which the Egyptians computed the years of the reigns of their antediluvian heroes.‡ Either computation would agree with the Scripture history.

The next step in my argument, is to shew the existence of Jews in China, from the earliest period, and thus to demonstrate how China must have possessed a knowledge of God, and how remarkably it has been prepared and kept ready at the fitting period for the reception of Christianity. On the dispersion of mankind on the plain of Shinar, it is most probable, for the reasons previously stated, that a large portion would have settled in the fertile regions of China. Wherever the seed of Abraham colonized, they would have resisted idolatry, and looked anxiously forward to the Messiah, whose blessed mission would ever be the theme promulgated. The Jews may, indeed, have been preserved there to this day, as a means whereby God designs to awaken the Chinese to a conviction of the promise having been fulfilled in Christ.

The dispersion of the ten tribes of Israel, which took place about the year B.C. 721, is clearly foretold in the first book of Kings, xiv. 15, 16. "*the Lord shall scatter them beyond the river:*" in the second book of Kings, xvii. 4, 5, 6, "*Israel carried away into Assyria,*" and xviii. 9, 10, 11.

* A dream, it is said, informed the Emperor A.D. 65, that the "Holy One," was born in the West, and the native historians record that an embassy was therefore, sent to India, to bring hither some disciples of the new born sage. In the classic odes there was found a passage, which in indefinite terms spoke of such an event; this was thought sufficiently corroborative of the infallible dream of the Emperor, so that when the Buddhist priests arrived, they were received with open arms.

† Imo etiamsi post centum secula expectatus sanctus advenerit, non ambigit quin eadem virtus eidem testata sit futura.—Couplet, p. 85.

‡ Couplet's Præfat. ad Sin. Chronol. p. 5.

The Jews were to be scattered in all lands, to be everywhere a living monument, a standing miracle of the truth of Divine Revelation and prophecy, to convey to the most distant regions a knowledge of the true God, and to preserve the sacred light, which at some period is to illumine the whole earth.

And here it is necessary to examine the remarkable prophecy of Isaiah. "*I will make all my mountains a way, and my highways shall be exalted. Behold these shall come from far: and lo, these from the north, and from the west; and these from the land of* SINIM. Sing, O Heavens; and be joyful, O Earth; and break forth into singing, O Mountains; for the Lord hath comforted his people, and will have mercy upon his afflicted."—Isaiah, ch. xlix., v. 11, 12, 13. A very general opinion prevails, that China is included in this prophecy, of the conversion of all mankind to divine truth; if so, it will further corroborate my reason for ascribing the perpetuation of the Chinese Empire to the providence of God; and as it must be pleasing and profitable to all Christians, to search and discover the meaning of every portion of the Word of God, an elucidation of this passage will be satisfactory.

The Septuagint translates the passage "from the land of the Persians," in which it is followed by the Arabic. The Chaldee paraphrase, and the Latin versions of Jerome, render it, "from the land of the south," in which they are followed by the Spanish translation of Bishop Miguel; and the earliest English version, that of Coverdale, who renders it, "and some from the south."

The ancient Syriac, the most literal, and probably the best of all the versions, retains the Hebrew word, merely substituting sea for land, "and these from the sea of Sinim."

The German of Luther, the French of Martini, the Italian of Diodati, and the authorized English version, all retain the Hebrew word, "and these from the land of *Sinim*." Dr. Bridgeman, who has investigated this subject, in the clear and luminous style which characterises all his writings, says: "this difference shows that when these versions were made, it was still uncertain what particular country was meant." It is worthy of notice, that none of the authors of those versions supposed their own country to be intended.

The authors of the Chaldee paraphrase living eastward of Judea, gave the preference to a "southern land." The authors of the Septuagint lived in Egypt, and those of the Arabic, either in Arabia or in Babylon, and they supposed that Persia was intended. While the versions on which we place the most reliance, leave the particular country undetermined.

From this it would appear that neither of the above countries is intended in the prophecy, or the authors of a version living in the above mentioned countries would not assign the region of Sinim to other lands.

The opinions of men who stand high as commentators, may

lead to further investigation. Jerome, Jarchi, Grotius, and Pleffer, supposed, that by the land of Sinim is meant the peninsula of Arabia, and particularly the desert of Sin, and the region round about Sinai. Others prefer to understand Egypt, two of whose cities are called in Scripture, Sin and Seyne; many Jewish and Christian writers maintain this opinion. Those who hold that China is "the land of Sinim," are Manasseth ben Israel, Arias, Montanus, Dorsch, Langles, Gesinius, Calmet, Hager, Morrison, and others. The versions have disregarded in a great measure the punctuation of the original, but literally translated and pointed according to the Hebrew, it reads, *Behold these: from afar they shall come. And behold these! from the north; and from the west; and these! from the land of Sinim.* There is a full stop after the clause 'from afar they shall come,' and also at the end of the verse.

The distinguished biblical scholar, Dr. Bridgeman, has elaborately comments on this remarkable passage: and first he says, that; "the expression in the first clause 'from afar,' is indefinite. In three places, Jeremiah xxx. 10; xlvi. 27, and Hab. i. 8; it seems to refer to the Chaldeans; in one, Deut. xxviii. 49, to the Romans; and in one, Joel iii. 8, to the Sabeans. Yet even in these, its definite signification arises from the context, whilst elsewhere there is nothing to induce us to suppose that one part of the world is intended to the exclusion of any other.

Thus in the passage in Isaiah xliii. 6, 'bring my sons from afar, and my daughters from the ends of the earth,' the expression is evidently to be understood as comprehending all the distant parts of the earth; consequently the assertion of Vitringa, 'by Merahoth, the east is to be understood,' is quite gratuitous. There is no other place in Isaiah where it has this signification, and why should this be an exception? By the north, in the prophecies of the Old Testament, Babylon and the countries adjacent are almost always intended; thus in the prophecy so often repeated by Jeremiah, 'I will bring evil from the north, and great destruction,' (Jeremiah iv. 6, also l, 9—41,) Babylon is evidently meant. By the west (literally from the sea, the Mediterranean sea lying west of Judea,) is generally to be understood, all the countries west of Canaan, particularly the maritime countries around the Mediterranean.

In Daniel viii. 5, Alexander is predicted under the figure of a he-goat that came from the west. The land of Sinim is the only clause whose meaning is involved in doubt; the word does not occur elsewhere, so that little direct assistance is gained from direct parallel passages. It is commonly pronounced with the first vowel short; the analogy of other scripture names Sidon, Silas, Sihon, Sinai, &c., shows that it should be long, as *i* in pine, Si-nim.

The name Sinite, Gen. x. 17, and Chron. i. 15, belongs to a

Canaanitish tribe north of Palestine, and cannot be intended here. The only other names resembling *Si-nim,* are Seyne and Sin, two cities in Egypt, and Sinai and Sin in Arabia.

The first clause of the prophecy predicts the conversion of the world to God, under a figure drawn from the existing dispensation, when worshippers of the true God came up to the temple at Jerusalem to offer their sacrifices. The person who speaks is Jehovah, the Redeemer of Israel, and his object is to confirm his covenant with the Son, and thus console the church mourning over her desolations.

He declares that even from the most distant nations shall his people come to pay homage to the true God, and to the Saviour whose appointment is so fully set forth in verses 1—12—"*Behold these! from afar they shall come.*" The succeeding clauses divide the world into three great parts, and predict the conversion of each under the same figure.

"*Behold these; I from the north, and from the west; and these: I from the land of Sinim.*"

Thus there is a general declaration, "from afar," including the parts, the north, the west, and the land of Sinim.

The interpretation of M. Henry is, that "some province of Babylon is meant;" this is untenable, as the whole of Babylon is included in "the north."

Dr. Adam Clarke, says, "*Sin* signifies a bush, and Sinim bushes, woods, &c. Probably this means that the land where several of the last Jews dwell is a woodland. The Ten Tribes are gone no one knows whither. On the slave coast of Africa some Jewish rites appear among the people, and all the males are circumcised. I understood that such was the case with the Caffres, and also with the light coloured race, from Ovah, in the interior of Madagascar; but this merely proves that the Jews were scattered in all lands. The whole of the south-eastern part of Africa, as it appears from the coast, may be emphatically called "erets sinim," the land of bushes, as it is all covered with bushes as far as the eye can reach."

The chief arguments to prove that Mount Sinai and the regions adjacent in Egypt, are meant, are that the context requires a southern country, as also the similarity of the names Sinai and Sin with *Sinim.* It is assumed that "from afar" means "from the east;" having thus the north, east, and west; the south must also be contained in the prophecy, and as the desert of Sin lies south of Judea, it may be the land of Sinim. There would be little force in the argument, were it certain that the four quarters of the earth are referred to; but this is by no means certain, and it is gratuitous to assert that "from afar" means "from the east;" it is equally so to say that "the land of Sinim" must be a southern land. The second argument is quite as weak: there is a similarity in the names but nothing more; Sin and Sinai are not Sinim, and it is quite irrelevant to say that Sinim is the plural of Sin, for there were not two deserts

of Sin, and why should the plural be used? The objections against this view are serious. 1. If the remark already made be correct, that "from afar" is a general term, including those that follow, then the north, the west, and the land of Sinim must also be afar off. But the desert of Sin was near to Jerusalem. A few days' journey brought the Arabians to Jerusalem, and a few days' journey carried them thence to the extreme limits of their land. 2. The prophecy is of great things, the conversion of many nations unto God. But Arabia, and especially the region around Sinai, has few inhabitants, and its political importance is small, while the desert of Sin would never have been heard of, but for its connection with the history of Israel in their wanderings; how then can we suppose a country so insignificant to be singled out in a prophecy whose scope is so comprehensive? 3. Nor is it unworthy of notice that this opinion has never been general in the Christian Church; excepting Jerome and Grotius, there are few or no names of note in its favour. That the Chaldee and Vulgate versions suppose a southern land to be meant (while it does not show that even they thought Arabia to be that land), only proves that the authors of these versions were as ill-informed, as were the authors of the Septuagint and Arabic versions, who decide in favour of the Persians.

II. The opinion that Egypt is meant, is more probable than the preceding, and has the support of more eminent names; the weight of authority is certainly in its favour. But the arguments are nearly the same as those just answered:—

1. The context requires a southern land. 2. Sin, in Ezek. xxx. 15, which certainly is a city of Egypt, very nearly resembles Sinim, while Seyne, also a city of Egypt, is a cognate word. 3. Sinim being the plural form, is used in reference to the division of Egypt into two parts; "from the land of Sinim," is from the land of the two Sin; i.e., Upper and Lower Egypt. The objection against the previous view, that the inhabitants of Arabia are few, is not applicable to Egypt. It does not appear, however, that the arguments in favour of the position are sufficient, while the objections are certainly strong.

That the context requires a southern country has already been shown to be incorrect. As to the second argument, Sin (Ezek. xxx. 15, 16) is not a name of Egypt, but simply of one of its cities; nor does it appear to have been often used, for we meet it only once. Seyne is the name of a city or fortress in Egypt, but neither of these names were ever applied to the country itself. The remark that the plural form has reference to Upper and Lower Egypt is merely fanciful: there were not two places named Sin in Egypt.

A sound reasoner will not argue, that because one of the cities was called Sin or Seyne, the country itself bore the same name, and must be intended in the prophecy. It would be easy in this way to

prove that China is the country intended, as many of the cities, districts, and departments are called by names resembling Sinim. 2. Granting even that Egypt was called Sin, it was not *afar off*. A little more distant than Arabia, the Egyptians were the nearer neighbours of the Israelites, and the latter were prone in every emergency to "go down to Egypt" for help. 3. The context appears to point in another direction. It speaks of remote nations, and arranges them in three divisions. Egypt falls as naturally in the western or maritime as in the southern. But if Egypt be the land of Sinim, the division is very unequal. We shall then have the north, the west, and the land of Egypt, but where is all the vast population eastward and southward, from the land of Canaan? Nearly half the human race is thus left out of the prophecy, whose scope includes the whole.

Isaiah lived seven centuries before the birth of Christ; and at that period China was a great nation; its chronology is stated by Dr. Jackson to be equal, if not superior, to that of the Egyptians; not only because it has not been corrupted by communication, intermixture, or accommodation with other nations; but also because it is taken from authentic records, which are further verified by astronomical data, (see vol. i., p. 236, on eclipses). According to prophecy, the Jews became indifferent as to the place of their habitation, and were familiarized with a roaming life; they journeyed amongst the Scythians, sought a resting place in distant regions, safe from persecution; and the expatriated families were soon forgotten by their own clan. It was not long after the prophecy of Isaiah that the Jews sought and found a resting place in China; and it is evident from the writings and remarkable predictions and sayings of Confucius, B.C. 520, that he learned from the Jews the prophecies of Isaiah and the other inspired writers, who foretold the existence of nations almost unborn and unnamed; thus the Romans were described in Leviticus, in Deut. xxviii. 49, and in Daniel xi. Zechariah declared the overthrow of Persia—Isaiah announced the deliverance of the Jews from the captivity in Babylon by Cyrus, nearly 200 years before it occurred. It is impossible to read the sublime, nervous, and poetic inspirations in this wonderful agent of the Holy Spirit, who so clearly saw the redemption of mankind by the Redeemer, without giving full credence to his prophecy of the final conversion of the Gentiles.

That the "Land of Sinim," as prophecied by Isaiah, means China, I have no doubt whatever on my mind; in a previous page, (vol. i. p. 241,) I have shewn that by this name, or its nearly analogous sounds, *Sinae*—Sinicæ—Sin—Chin—Sina—China, or at least its *southern* part, has for ages been known.* It agrees with

* When Sir William Jones made the following remarks, he was not aware that *Sinim* might reasonably be supposed China; his observations are therefore worthy of attention "The territory of *Chin*, so called by the old Hindoos, by the Persians, and by the Chinese, (while the Greeks and Arabs were obliged, by their defective articu-

the prophecy as a distant land; as forming a third portion of the habitable earth, now, and probably for many centuries, containing one-third of mankind, and as not being included in the geographical divisions mentioned by the prophet. Thus, in distance, population, and territorial division, as well as in name, China, or *Sina*, is the land described by Isaiah, and with which it is evident the Jews were acquainted as early as the year 1715 B.C., for China was the only country which then produced *silk*. Thus, *first*, (B.C. 1715) in Genesis, lxi. 42, Pharaoh arrayed Joseph "in a vesture of fine linen" (or silk). Cruden admits the two translations, "*fine linen or silk*," so also the polyglot and other bibles. *Second*, B.C. 1070, in Prov. xxxi. 22, respecting a good wife, whose clothing is "*silk and purple*." *Third*, B.C. 594, in Ezekiel, xvi. 13, in the terrible passage on the abominations of Jerusalem, "*I covered thee with silk*." *Fourth*, B.C. 595, in the lament of the kings and merchants over the fall of Babylon. Rev. xviii. (written A.D. 96.) Until the reign of Justinian, (A.D. 520) when Christian missionaries penetrated into China, the silk-worm was unknown out of that country.

Among the Chinese the same sacred numbers are found as those among the Jews. This may be called an accident, but it is a very singular coincidence, if the two nations were unknown to each other. Again, among the hundreds of thousands of the followers of Confucius, he had only seventy-two initiated; precisely the number of the Jewish Sanhedrim, of the Roman cardinals, and of the chosen disciples of Christ.

lation, to miscall it *Sin*,) gave its name to a race of Emperors, whose tyranny made their memory so unpopular, that the modern inhabitants of China hold the word in abhorrence, and speak of themselves as the people of a milder and more virtuous dynasty; but it is highly probable that the whole nation descended from the *Chinas* of Menu, and mixing with the Tartars, by whom the plains of Honan and the more southern provinces were thinly inhabited, formed, by degrees, the race of men who now possess the noblest empire in Asia"

In an abridgement of the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, at Paris, dated 1714, it is stated, that the Duke of Escalona, a foreign associate, sent the Society a map of China, drawn by a Chinese. The following observations were made by the celebrated M. Delisle, in comparing the ancient China with the modern. He says, "It is true that Ptolemy distinguishes Serica from the country of *Sinae*, which must be the modern China; but, in the time of Ptolemy, they may have given the name of the country of the Sinae only to the southern part of China; so that he places at the 35th degree of latitude the limits of Serica, and of his country Sinae, which is more to to the south; and it is at this very degree, or within 15, that our modern observations place the limits of Nankin, which was without in the province of Sinae. Ptolemy further says, that it was towards the 36th degree of latitude (parallel of Rhodes,) that they had the most observations. All other maps place Serica in Scythia, except Ptolemy's, which must be a mistake, as Scythia (Tartary) never produced silk"

There is strong reason for believing that Siam, Cambodia, Borneo, and Java were depending on China; for instance, Ptolemy's island of Jabadu is certainly the island of Java; it extended from E. to W., so does Java. The ten Maniole of Ptolemy are the ten Philippines. It appears he was better acquainted with northern than southern China, having placed the capital of the Sinae in the 3rd degree of southern latitude. Modern observations have no part of China nearer than 18 degrees. Ptolemy's three islands of the "Satyrs" must be those of Japan. Small errors are not surprising, but we may wonder that the early writers should have such a number of just notions.

The *Father of his people* is a common expression in China. The Jews call themselves sons of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Father, among the Hebrews, was a term of respect from inferiors to rulers and elders. See 2 Kings, vi. 21; v. 13; xiii. 14; Job, xxix. 16. Other analogies are shewn at vol. i. p. 239, between the Jews and the Chinese.

It was as easy for the law of Moses to reach China as to reach Persia. Zoroaster, B.C. 512, in concert with Hystaspes, worked a wonderful change among the Persians; in five years he gained over the whole nation to his system. Some authors state that he was a native of Palestine, and others that he was only educated there. Dr. Hide says he became *acquainted with the law of Moses and the prophecies*, and, finding there that God promised to raise up to the Israelites a prophet like unto Moses, to whom they should implicitly hearken, the impostor gave himself out as the prophet, and made his hearers believe that the *stars* had so instructed him. The Persian magi confound the two, and declared Moses was Zoroaster, to uphold their system.*

The Affghans have a tradition amongst them, by which they call themselves the posterity of Mellic-Talut (King Saul) who is said to be a descendant of Judah, the son of Jacob, or according to others, the son of Benjamin, the brother of Joseph.

All the Persian historians, state that the Affghans are descended from the Hebrews, they have traditions of such descent, their families are distinguished by the names of Jewish tribes, but since their conversion to Islamism, they do everything to conceal their origin. The Pushto has a strong resemblance to the Chaldaic. The Affghan Jews, that I have seen, bear a perfect resemblance to the better classes of the oriental Jews; the features of Dost Mahommed are quite Jewish; Mr. Masson, who is better acquainted with Affghanistan, and Central Asia generally, than any other living author, and whose observations are marked by profoundness and accuracy, informs me that the celebrated Dooranee tribe of the Affghans are Jews. From Central Asia there has always been a constant communication with China. The Scindian chiefs whom I saw at Poonah bore a remarkable resemblance to the Jews. It is very probable that the Mahomedan religion found favor with the Jews scattered throughout Asia and Africa; the prohibition of idolatry, and the grafting of the law of Moses on the Koran, by Mahomet, were well adapted for this purpose, and it will explain the rapid progress of Mahomedanism. The Hebrew religion was designed for defence rather than for conquest. Mahomed was most probably a Jewish apostate and believed in the promised Messiah.

The Mahomedans have always found favor in China; there is

* The Chinese never worshipped the planets, although they consult them. They have never used the hebdomadal division of time: the 1st and 15th of the month are their marked days,—viz., the new and the full moon.

a large mosque inside the city of Canton, and their places of worship are numerous in the interior. They generally coalesce with Jews, except at Jerusalem and in Syria; I mean with those Jews that appear to be descended from the Ten tribes. The early establishment of Jews in China has been previously stated. Grosier says we have unquestionable evidence of them in China B.C. 206. They were probably there long previous.

Calmet states, that it is a most remarkable feature in the history of the Chinese, the settlement of Jews at so early a period as the year 73, only three years subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem, and only a reasonable time for them to journey so far. Writers of undoubted veracity state that seventy Jewish families took their route from Persia, through Khorassan and Samarkand, and settled in China.

Paulus compared some Jewish documents found in Cochin-China with those found in China Proper. The Jews at Cochin had a chronological account, respecting their brothers who had arrived in the Mogul country 187 B.C. The comparison of these accounts with each other, has proved that both are authentic.

The following is a summary of the Sacred Writings found with the Chinese Jews.*

The Synagogue at Kai-fung, was erected in A.D. 1163. In the most holy place are seen thirteen rolls of parchment, containing the *Thorah* (the law) placed on tables like tabernacles; each is provided with a covering; twelve are placed in honour of the twelve tribes, and one in honour of Moses. The latter is the only one now remaining of the old copies. The others were consumed in a great conflagration, which happened 200 years ago. All the books in the synagogue perished in that disaster, except this one copy, which was somewhat damaged. The twelve there now, are transcribed copies from the original. The Thorah has but fifty-two divisions or sections. The biblical books are divided into four classes. 1st. the Pentateuch. 2nd. the Supplement, viz. Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and the Psalms. 3rd. The Book of Ceremonies, or Ritual book; the Prophets and the Book of Chronicles. 4th. The historical books, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the two books of Maccabees, also in Hebrew. Koegler says, "they may have more books than they acknowledge, or more than they themselves know of, as they are exceedingly ignorant; neither will they suffer any one to take away any book, to examine it; and it is impossible to run them over singly in the synagogue; and they lie there in great confusion."

It is to be hoped that further investigation will be made into this highly important subject. New or hitherto undiscovered copies of the Sacred Scriptures may yet be found, which will explain many things and passages that now appear confused and improbable.

* See remarks by Murr, under the title of "Notitiae quaedam P. Ignati Koegleri de Bibliis Judoeorum in Imperio Sinensi."

Why should not our Christian sovereign, Queen Victoria act after the manner of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who having commenced an extensive library, B.C. 285, employed one of his officers (Austias) to make the selection. It came to the knowledge of the Emperor that the Jews had an extraordinary book, which contained their history and laws. It was mutually agreed between the Emperor and Eleazer, the High Priest of Jerusalem, that on condition of Ptolemy liberating the 120,000 captive Jews, that his father Ptolemy Sotor, had taken, a copy would be given. The terms were accepted: seventy-two men, six from each tribe, were sent to Alexandria, and a translation made in letters of gold.

This translation served the Jews, for upwards of 400 years afterwards, and was as much esteemed as their Hebrew copy, both in Jerusalem and throughout Judea.

It was not until A.D. 128, that the Jews issued a new edition, giving it a colouring that would suit the altered circumstances which the Christian era had brought. It is said to have been written by Acquila a convert to Judaism.

That truly great statesman, my ever lamented friend, the late Marquis Wellesley, whose pure and noble mind was always anxious to uphold the truth of the Bible, in which he entirely believed, and which his Lordship caused to be translated while Governor-general of India, was anxious to promote the full extension of Christianity, and gave great encouragement to well disposed and learned missionaries in India. To carry out his excellent desire of investigating the history and literature of the Christians and Jews of India and China, Lord Wellesley afforded to the learned Dr. Buchanan government aid for the promotion of this useful object.

The Doctor travelled from Calcutta to Cape Comorin by land, and made excursions into the interior of that extensive peninsula, where he met with many Jewish colonies.

The learned Doctor found a manuscript on a roll of goat skins, dyed red, in a Synagogue of the Black Jews, in the interior of Malayala in India in 1806. The Jews could give no precise account where they procured it; some of them stated that it originally came from Senna in Arabia; others said, from Cashmere. The Cabul Jews who travel to China annually, informed the Doctor that in some Synagogues the law is still found written on leather, not on vellum, which is made from goat skins. Ram's skins dyed red, made part of the covering of the tabernacle. (See Exod. xxvi. 14.) Moses Pereyra a Jew, found manuscript copies of the Hebrew text in Malabar: and accounts for it in this manner; having escaped from Titus, the Jews betook themselves through Persia to the Malabar coast. There are only six Synagogue copies of the Hebrew Pentateuch in rolls, at present known in England.* Five are on skins, and one on vellum.

* Exclusive of those in the possession of the Jews.

I proceed now to the fourth point of investigation, namely the introduction of Christianity into China, and the spread of the Nestorian church. It will be seen by the previous references, that 500 years before the birth of Christ, the prediction was made in China, that the "*Holy One would be born or appear in the west,*" that the Emperor Mingte, A.D. 65, (it may have been exactly at the Christian era) sent learned men to search for the new religion, and that the establishment of Jewish colonies in China, the absence of idolatry, and the probable direct descent of the Chinese from Abraham, had prepared them to a great degree for the reception of Christianity.

Dr. Gutzlaff says, that "Kwan-yun-chang, a celebrated Chinese writer, is said to mention the birth of the Saviour in the grotto, exposed to all the winds; His death; His resurrection; His ascension; and the impression of the Holy feet." The Doctor states he has not seen his work, but that, "he is acquainted with the Shin-seen-tung-keen, a history of all religions in China, where Christianity is detailed in such a way, as to leave no doubt that it was known in China long before the entrance of the Jesuits."

The foregoing testimony is corroborated by the Chaldean ritual, and the epitome of the Syrian canons. In the former we read, that "*by the blessed Thomas, the Kingdom of Heaven was extended and opened to the Chinese;*" by the latter he is denominated, "*the Apostle of the Hindoos and Chinese.*" These records state that St. Thomas visited a large portion of western Asia, India, and reached Kambalu, which according to the latest researches is the Khaubalk of the Tartars, and the Peking of the Chinese.

Mosheim has doubts concerning St. Thomas visiting India and China, but refers to the early period when the Christian religion extended to the Chinese, Seres, and Tartars, and says there are various arguments collected from learned men to shew that the Christian faith was carried to China, if not by St. Thomas, by the first teachers of Christianity. Annobius, writing about A.D. 300, speaks of the Christian deeds done in India, and among the *Seres,* Persians, and Medes. There is no doubt amongst those acquainted with the geography of China, that the country of the Seres, (see vol. i. page 1,) included the province of Shense in China, and the mention of them by Annobius, (who died 325) is strong presumptive evidence, that previous to his time, the Gospel had been preached there, and if so, with the success which attended all the primitive teachers of Christianity. The destruction of the Alexandrian library, A.D. 637, must have caused the loss of many valuable documents, which would have aided the history of the early ages of Christianity.

Marco Polo says "In the province of Malabar is the body of the glorious martyr, St. Thomas the Apostle. It rests in a small city, not much frequented, because not suited to commerce, but by

devout natives; a great number of Christians and Saracens resort thither; the latter regard him as a great prophet." The place here spoken of, is situated a few miles southward of Madras; it was formerly called Maliapur. By the Arabian travellers it is called Beit-tuma, (i. e. temple of Thomas,) who also say, " les vaisseaux se rendent ensuite, après dix jours de navigation à un lieu appellé Betouma, ou on fait de l'eau, si l'on veut. Dela ils passent en dix jours a Kadrenge." Auct. Relat. p. 13—143. The traveller Barbosa, about (A.D. 1493,) gives an interesting account of having visited the church of St. Thomas. When the Portuguese first visited this coast, their primate styled himself metropolitan of India and China. Mosheim calls the Nestorians the Christians of St. Thomas.

Nestorius, the founder of the sect, was a native of Syria, and received his education at Antioch. By his eloquence and piety, he was appointed Bishop of Constantinople, by the Emperor Theodosius, A.D. 429.

He enforced his opinions with great determination; he rejected the errors of Ebion, Paul of Samosata, and Photinus; but maintained in express terms, that the Divine Word was united to the human nature in Jesus Christ, in the strictest sense possible.

The opinions he held, no one out of the Church of Rome at this day will controvert. Many of his followers were men of pure faith, and holy zeal. That the blessing of God accompanied their preaching cannot be doubted, and they certainly considerably advanced the fulfilment of the prophecy, " behold these from the land of Sinim."

The tenets of the Nestorians, as they were determined in several Seleucian councils, are as follows:—1st. That in the Saviour of the world, there were two " hypostasis," or SUBSTANCES, (not *persons*, as I think erroneously translated in the Creeds, &c.), of which the one was Divine or the Eternal Word, and the other human, or the Man Christ Jesus. 2nd. That these two " hypostasis " had only one outward appearance. 3rd. That the union between the Son of God and the Son of Man, was formed in the moment of the Virgin's conception, and was never to be dissolved. 4th. That this union was not of nature or person, (*substance*), but of will and affection. 5th. That Christ was to be carefully distinguished from God, who dwelt in him as in a Temple. 6th. That Mary was to be called the Mother of Christ, and not the Mother of God.

Barsumas, who was bishop of Nisibis, A.D, 425, carried his zeal so far as to persuade Pherazes, the Persian monarch, to extirpate all the Christians in his dominions, who had adopted the opinions of the Greeks; and to receive the Nestorians in their stead.

Barsumas founded a college at Nisibis, and caused some thousands of disciples of his doctrine to be educated there; so that in the fifth and 6th century their doctrine spread throughout Egypt, Arabia, Syria, India, China, and Tartary. About the middle of

the tenth century, the Nestorians in Chaldea (they were frequently called Chaldeans), extended their doctrines beyond the Imaus, and into Tartary.

Gibbon says, that in their progress by sea and land, the Nestorians entered China by the port of Canton and the northern portion of the Empire. Under the reign of the Caliphs, the Nestorian Church was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus; and their numbers, with those of the Jacobites, were computed to surpass the Greek and Latin communities.

In the sixth century, Gibbon admits, that the Nestorians composed a large majority of the clergy and people of Persia. Their ecclesiastical institutions were distinguished by liberality and good policy; the austerity of the cloister was relaxed, and celibacy condemned in no measured terms, in opposition to the Latin Church. They appear to have been actuated with the true spirit of the primitive Christians. He says that, "in Persia they first planted the standard of natural and religious freedom, to which myriads of fugitives resorted from all the provinces of the eastern empire; the narrow bigotry of Justinian was punished by the emigration of his most industrious subjects; they transported into Persia the arts both of peace and war.

"Notwithstanding the persecution of the Latins, they carried their spiritual conquests from Persia to the north, the east, and the south; and the simplicity of the Gospel was carried to the Bactrians, the Huns, the Indians, the Persarmenians, the Medes, and the Elamites; the barbaric churches, from the Gulf of Persia to the Caspian sea, were almost infinite; and their recent faith was conspicuous in the number and sanctity of their ministers."

Mosheim states that "nothing could exceed the zeal of the Nestorian Christians to spread the Christian doctrine in the east. They gained a firm footing in Persia about A.D. 520, and established a Patriarch or Spiritual Head of their sect at Seleucia. Their doctrine spread with astonishing rapidity and success through all countries that lay beyond the limit of the Roman Empire. There are extant authentic records, from which it appears that throughout all Persia, *a great portion of China*, India, Armenia, Arabia, Syria, and other countries, there was a vast number of Nestorian churches, subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Seleucia." Their system, says Mosheim, was extremely superficial and imperfect. All that was required from the converts was an oral profession of their faith in Christ, and to abstain from sacrificing to false gods. It was enjoined on them to commit to memory a certain form of doctrine; but beyond this, no care was taken to enrich their minds with pious sentiments, or to cultivate in their hearts virtuous affections. The consequence was that they invariably returned to their primitive barbaric manners on the withdrawal of the priesthood.

Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History, and Moshiem's likewise, state,

"that it was about A.D. 550 that some Persian monks conveyed silk worms (i.e. the eggs) from China. It is more than probable that it was Nestorian Missionaries who had colleges at Edessa, and at Nisibis, still further to the east.

Historians differ as to who founded the metropolitan sees of Sina and Samarkand. Some state it was Silas and Achacus, others that it was Salibazacha. Achacus was archbishop of the Chaldeans at Selencia, A.D. 410, and Silas was a patriarch of the Nestorians A.D. 506.

In the reign of the Caliph Abdulmalu, which was about A.D. 680, the Christians of India, sent to Simon, the Syrian Patriarch of Alexandria, requesting he would send him a bishop. The intercourse between India and China can leave no doubt that Christianity continued in the latter, while it was crushed in the former by its frequent intercourse with Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and Persia, where Islamism spread with great rapidity. The Christians in those countries were so persecuted that they were no longer enabled to send labourers to the vineyards of India and China.

Amro, in his list of metropolitan sees which were subject to the Nestorian Patriarch, has *Sina* (China) placed next in the list with India. The antiquity of Christianity in India is not questioned.

According to Ebedjesus, the sees were always placed successively as they were founded, thus showing clearly that China or Sina was early blessed with Christianity. Its isolation preserved it from idolatry or Islamism.

Reference has been made in a previous part (vol. i. p. 248) to the reception which the Christian religion met with by the favour of the Emperor Taitsung, when Olapun and his coadjutors made great progress.

A.D. 678. The next Emperor Kaoutsung greatly favoured the "illustrious religion," so that it was spread in every direction, and temples rose in one hundred cities. From 698 to 712 it suffered great persecution from the Budhist priests, the literati, and the rabble; but notwithstanding, flourished with renewed vigour under successive emperors. It must have been at the close of the eighth century that a conspicuous monument was erected to commemorate its outward prosperity in one portion of the empire, (see vol. i. p. 249). This remarkable monument was discovered in the year 1625, in the province of Shensi, near the city of Sin-gan on the river Wei, latitude 34° 16″ north. It was covered with rubbish, reported by the native workmen to the Chinese magistrate, who caused its removal to a pagoda, where it was examined by natives and foreigners—by Pagans and by the Roman Catholics, then in China. The monument was described as a slab of marble, ten feet long and five feet broad. On one side is the Chinese inscription in twenty-eight lines, twenty-eight characters in each line, besides a heading over the top in nine characters, and another on

the right side. The inscription was translated into Latin by Kircher, who published the original at Amsterdam in his "China Illustrated." There is a translation by Dalquie into French, and the following translation is by the learned Dr. Bridgeman, who has divided the sentences into paragraphs according to the sense.

A TABLET—THE SYRIAN MONUMENT,* (COMMEMORATING) THE DIFFUSION OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS RELIGION OF TA-TSIN IN CHINA.

A stone tablet commemorating the diffusion of the illustrious religion in China, with a preface, written by King Tsing, a priest from the Church in Judea.

"Now verily, the unchangeably true and recondite, the eternal cause of causes, the far-seeing and purely spiritual, the never ending and incomprehensible Being, who grasping the poles created the universe, and being more excellent than the holy ones, is the supremely honorable. This is our mysterious Trinity, the true eternal Lord Jehovah! He, determining, in the form of the cross, to establish the four quarters of the earth, moved the primeval Spirit, and produced all things visible and invisible. The dark expanse was changed, and heaven and earth were unfolded. The sun and moon revolved, and day and night began.

"As an architect, having finished the universe, he created the first man; endowed him with goodness and benignity; and commanded him to rule the world. His original nature was entirely pure and unsullied; and his simple and uncorrupted heart was wholly free from inordinate desires. But at length Satan, by exercising dissimulation, and by throwing a gilded covering over that pure and uncorrupted nature, took away equity and greatness from the centre of good, and insinuated evil and darkness in their stead.

"Hence arose a multiplicity of sects, following each other in close succession, striving to weave their legal nets: some substituted the creature for the Creator: some considered being as nothing, sinking all things in oblivion: and some, in order to gain felicity, made prayers and offered sacrifices. Others deceived mankind with a show of goodness. With wisdom and solicitude they labored hard; and their anxieties and cares were unceasing. They were bewildered and obtained nothing. Heated and scorched, they writhed in anguish. They accumulated darkness, and lost their way; and, being misguided, they were irrecoverably lost.

"Thereupon our Trinity set apart the illustrious and adorable Messiah; who, laying aside his true dignity, came into the world as man. Angels proclaimed the joyful tidings. A virgin

* See Chinese Repository for May, 1845.

gave birth to the holy child in Judea. A bright star proclaimed the happy event Persians, seeing its brightness, came with presents. He fulfilled the ancient laws, given by the twenty-four holy ones. He ruled families and nations with great virtue. He instituted the new doctrine of the Trinity, pure, spiritual, and inexplicable. Like a potter he formed good usages by the true faith. He established the measure of the eight boundaries. He purged away the dross, and perfected the truth. He opened the gate of the three constant virtues, revealing life and destroying death. He suspended the bright sun, to break open the abodes of darkness, and thereby the wiles of the devil were frustrated. He put in motion the ship of mercy, to ascend to the mansions of light, and thereby succour was brought to confined spirits.

"His mighty work thus finished, at mid-day he ascended to his true estate. Twenty-seven books remained. He set forth original conversion, for the soul's deliverance; and he instituted the baptism of water and of the spirit, to wash away the vanity of life and to cleanse and purify (the heart).

"Taking the cross as a sign, (his disciples) unite together the people of all regions without distinction. They beat the wood, sounding out the voice of benevolence and mercy. In evangelizing the east, they take the way of life and glory. They preserve their beard for outward effect. They shave the crown of the head, to indicate the absence of passion. They keep no slaves, but place upon an equality the high and low. They do not hoard goods and riches, but bestow them on the destitute. They practice abstinence in order to increase their knowledge. They watch, in order to maintain quiet and circumspection. Seven times a-day they offer praises to the great advantage of both the living and the dead. Once in seven days they have divine service, in order to cleanse their hearts, and to regain their purity.

"The true and constant doctrine is mysterious, and difficult to be characterized. Anxious to make it clear and manifest, we can only name it the ILLUSTRIOUS INSTRUCTION. Now without holy ones, religion cannot be propagated; nor without religion can holy ones become great. But when the two are united the whole world will be civilized and enlightened.

"In the reign of the civil emperor Taitsung, the illustrious and holy founder [of the Tang dynasty], there was in Judea a man of superior virtue, called Olopun, who, guided by the azure clouds, bearing the True Scriptures, and observing the laws of the winds, made his way through dangers and difficulties. In the year 736, A.D., he arrived at Changngan. The Emperor instructed his minister, Duke Tang Hiuenling, to take the imperial sceptre and go out to the western suburbs, receive the guest, and conduct him into the palace. The Scriptures were translated in the library of the palace. The Emperor, in his private apartments, made inquiry regarding the religion; and fully satisfied that it was correct and true, he gave special commands for its promulgation.

"The document, bearing date, Chingkwan, 13th year, 7th month, (August, 639 A. D.) runs thus:

"'*Religion is without an invariable name. Saints are without any permanent body. In whatever region they are, they give instruction, and privately succour the living multitudes. Olopun, a man of great virtue, belonging to the kingdom of Judea, bringing the Scriptures and images from afar, has come and presented them at our capital. On examining the meaning of his instruction, it is found to be pure, mysterious, and separate from the world. On observing its origin, it is seen to have heen instituted as that which is essential to mankind. Its language is simple, its reasonings are attractive, and to the human race it is beneficial. As is right, let it be promulgated throughout the empire. Let the appropriate Board build a Judean church in the Righteous and Holy Street of the capital, and appoint thereto twenty-one priests.*"'

"The power of the illustrious Chau dynasty having fallen, the green car having ascended westward, the religion of the great Tang family became resplendent, and the illustrious spirit found its way eastward. The appropriate officers were instructed to take a faithful likeness of the Emperor, and place it on the wall of the temple. The celestial figure shone in its bright colours, and its lustre irradiated the illustrious portals. The sacred lineaments spread felicity all around, and perpetually illuminated the indoctrinated regions.

"According to the maps and records of the western nations, and the histories of the Han and Wei dynasties, Judea is bounded on the south by the Coral Sea; on the north, by the Shupau hills; on the west it stretches towards the flowery forests, and the regions of the immortals; and on the east it is conterminous with the Dead Sea of perpetual winds. The country produces cloth that is proof against fire, a balm that restores life, bright lunar pearls, and night-shining gems. Theft and robbery do not exist. The people have joy and peace. None but illustrious laws prevail. None but the virtuous are placed in the magistracy. The country is extensive, and its literature and productions are flourishing.

"The Emperor Kautsung honoured and perpetuated (the memory of) his ancestors. He supported the truth they inculcated, and built churches in all the departments of the empire. He raised Olopun to the rank of high priest and national protector. The law spread in every direction. The wealth of the state was boundless. Churches filled all the cities; and all the families were rich, illustrious, and happy.

"In the year 599 A.D. the followers of Budha raised a persecution, and argued against the eastern Chau family.

"At the close of the year 713 A.D., some base scholars raised ridicule, and in Sikau spread abroad slanderous reports. But there were chief priests, Lohan, Taiteh, Lich, and others, honourable

descendents of those from the west, distinguished and elevated in character, who unitedly maintained the original doctrines, and prevented their subversion.

"Hiuentsung, the most righteous Emperor, commanded five kings, Ningkwoh and others, to go in person to the church of Felicity, build up the altars, restore the fallen timbers, and replace the dilapidated stones.

"Tienpau, in the commencement of his reign, A.D. 742, commanded his general, Kaulihsz, to take the portraits of the five sacred ones, and place them in the church, and also to present one hundred pieces of silk, to give éclat to the same. Though their august persons are remote, their bows and their swords can be handled. The horns of the sun send forth their light; and, the celestial visages seen to be present.

"In the third year of Tienpau's reign, there was a priest, Kihhoh from Judea, who observing the star, sought renovation: and seeking the sun, came to the honoured one. His majesty commanded the priests, Lohan, Pulun, and others, seven in all, with the eminently virtuous Kihhoh, to perform divine service in the church of Rising Felicity. Then the celestial writing appeared on the walls of the church, and the imperial inscriptions upon the tablets. The precious ornaments shone brightly. The refulgent clouds were dazzling. The intelligent edicts filled the wide expanse, and their glory rose above the light of the sun. The bounteous gifts are comparable to the lofty mountains of the south; the rich benevolences deeper than the eastern seas. The righteous do only what is right, and that which is fit to be named. The holy ones can do all things, and that which they do is fit to be commemorated!

"The Emperor Suhtsung, learned and illustrious, in five departments of the empire, Lingwu, &c., rebuilt the churches of the illustrious religion. The original benefits were increased, and joyous fortune began. Great felicity descended, and the imperial patrimony was established.

"The civil and martial Emperor, Taitsung, enlarged the sacred domains, and ruled without effort. On the return of his natal day he gave celestial incense to celebrate the meritorious deeds of his government; and he distributed provisions from the imperial table, in order to give honour to those in the churches. As heaven confers its gifts, and sheds bounties on the living; so the sovereign, comprehending right principles, rules the world in equity.

"Our Emperor Kienchung, holy, divine, civil and martial, arranged his form of government so as to abase the wicked and exalt the good. He unfolded the dual system so as to give great lustre to the imperial decrees. In the work of renovation he made known the mysteries of reason. In his adorations he felt no shame of heart. In all his duties he was great and good. He

was pure, and unbiassed, and forgiving. He extended abroad his kindness, and rescued all from calamities. Living multitudes enjoyed his favours. 'We strive to cultivate the great virtues, and to advance step by step.'

"If the winds and the rains come in their season, the world will be at rest; men will act rightly: things will keep in their order; the living will have affluence, and the dead joy. Considering life's responses, and prompted by sincere feelings of regard, I, King, have endeavoured to effect these worthy ends,—the great benefactors, their excellencies of the Kwangluh Kintsz', the tsiehtu fu-shi of the north, and the Shi-tien chungkien having conferred on me rich robes.

"The kind and courteous priest Isaac having thoroughly studied this religion, came to China from the city of the king's palace. His science surpassed that of the three dynasties; and he was perfect in the arts. From the first he labored at court, and his name was enrolled in the royal pavilion.

"The secretary, Duke Kwoh Tsz'i, raised to royalty from the magistracy of Fanyang, first held military command in the north. Suhtsung made him his attendant; and, though a chamberlain, always kept him in the military service. He was the tooth and nail of the palace, and the ears and eyes of the army. He distributed his emoluments, not laying them up at home. Western gems he offered to his majesty. He dispersed and dispensed with golden nets. Now he repaired the churches, and now he enlarged the schools of the law. He adorned all the sacred edifices, making them like the flying Hwui. Imitating the scholars of the illustrious religion, he distributed alms. Annually he held a general assembly of the young clergy from all the churches, and for fifty days exercised them in pure and elevating services. To the hungry, who came to him, he gave food; to those suffering from cold he gave clothes; he cured the sick and raised them up; and the dead he buried and laid down to rest.

"The refined and circumspect Táhsha never heard of such noble deeds. The white-robed and illustrious students, having seen those men, desired to erect a monument to commemorate their good and illustrious acts. The inscription reads thus:

"'The true Lord is without beginning, silent, serene, and unchangeable. Possessed of creative power, he raised the earth, and set up the heavens. The divided person came into the world. The barque of salvation was boundless. The sun arose, and darkness was annihilated. All bore witness to the truth. The glorious civil emperor, in reason joining all that was possessed by former kings, seized on the occasion to restore order. Heaven and earth were enlarged. The bright and illustrious religion visited our Tang dynasty, which translated the scriptures, and built churches. The ship (of mercy) was prepared for the living and

the dead. All blessings sprung into existence; and all nations were at peace.

"'Káutsung continued the work of his ancestors, and repaired the temples. The palace of Concord was greatly enlarged. Churches filled the land and the true doctrine was clearly preached. Masters of the law were then appointed; the people had joy and tranquillity, and all things were free from calamities and troubles.

"'Hiuentsung displayed divine intelligence, and cultivated truth and rectitude. The imperial tablets spread abroad their lustre. The celestial writings were glorious. The august domains were clearly defined. The inhabitants paid high respect to their sovereign. All things were glorious and tranquil, and under his auspices the people were prosperous.

"'Suhtsung restored celestial reason. Great was his dignity as he rode in state. His splendor shone above the brightness of the moon. Happy winds swept the night. Felicity visited the august mansions. The autumnal vapours ceased for ever. Tranquillity reigned, and the empire increased.

"'Táitsung was dutiful and just, in virtue according with heaven and earth. By his bestowments life was sustained, and great advantage accrued to all. With incense he made thank-offerings, and dispensed charity in his benevolence. Brightness came from the valley of the sun, and the veiled moon appeared in azure hues.

"'Kienchung was eminent in all things, and cultivated bright virtues. His martial dignity spread over all seas, and his mild serenity over all lands. His light came to human darkness; and in his mirror the colour of things was reflected. Throughout the universe light of life was diffused. All nations took example (from the emperor.)

"'The true doctrine is great, and all-prevalent and pervading. Hard it is to name the Word, to unfold the Three-One. The sovereign can act, his ministers commemorate. Erect the splendid monument! Praise the great and the happy!'

"Erected (A.D. 781) the second year of Kienchung (the ninth emperor) of the great Tang dynasty, in the first month, and the seventh day.

"The priest Ningshu being special law lord, and preacher to those of the illustrious religion throughout the regions of the east.

"Written by Lu Siuyen, court counsellor, formerly holding high military command in Taichau."

The Jesuits claimed this monument as a proof of the early existence of the Romish Church in China; but there is not a shadow of truth to support the assertion. It appears that about the middle of the ninth century, the Chinese sovereign became alarmed at the increasing numbers of the Christians.

An edict was issued by the Emperor Wutsung, 845, commanding all *the priests* that belonged to the sect that came from Ta-Tsin (Arabia and Persia) to retire to private life; their number amounted to 3,000 persons. The two Arabians who visited China about 870, and whose narrative is in the King of France's library, speak of the number of Christians in China, that were killed in a civil war that raged previous to their visit.

There is undeniable proof of the existence of Christianity in China from the seventh to the thirteenth century, by a host of witnesses, some of whom were anything but friendly disposed. Gibbon as well as Mosheim who both investigated ancient history —quote Chinese, Arabian, Latin, and Syrian evidence. Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century was agreeably surprised to meet with the Nestorians, i.e. heretics, as he would call them.

The chief of that large territory which borders on the north of China, the Nestorians converted to the Christian faith, and he took the name of John after his baptism, with the surname of Presbyter. His successors were all called Prester John, until the time of Gengis Khan—who persecuted the Christians.

When Marco Polo, was in this country A.D. 1270, he found one of the descendants of Prester John, upon the throne, who was called George.

Marco Polo, after giving a description of the city of Kampiou, now called Kanchew, says, "the bulk of the people worship idols, but there are many Mohammedans and Christians. The latter have three large and handsome churches in the city."

Gibbon acknowledges that when the Portuguese arrived in India, they found the Christians of St. Thomas had been settled for ages, on the coast of Malabar. The difference of colour proved the mixture of a foreign race. In arts, arms, and moral character, they were superior to the natives of Hindostan. They acknowledged the Gentoo sovereign, but were governed, even in *temporal concerns*, by the bishop of Angamala, as the metropolitan of India and China. "The Holy Office," (Inquisition), soon discovered that these heretics, had scrupulously measured the honours they should pay to the Virgin Mary; whom the Portugese had exalted to the rank of a goddess. When the "holy officers presented her image to these Bible Christians, they indignantly exclaimed, 'we are Christians, not Idolaters.'" These were evidently descendants from the primitive Christians, and were unacquainted with the modern ritual and practices of Rome.

These simple people, kept 'their first faith;' the veneration of the cross, and their long separation from the western world, left them in ignorance of the corruptions which had by degrees crept in.

It would never do to let this pestiferous doctrine spread to Europe, where Luther and other unworthy members of 'Mother Church' had already lit the torch of reformation. Christians of

the fifth century, established here for 1,000 years, permitted their priests to marry, were in ignorance of the efficacy of images, and claimed spiritual influence independent of the "fisherman's seal."

Gibbon, who has consulted both Catholic and Protestant authorities, says, "it was the first care of the emissaries of Rome to intercept all correspondence with the Nestorian Patiarch; and several of his bishops expired in the prisons of the Holy Office. The flock without a shepherd, was assaulted, by the power of the Portuguese, the arts of the Jesuits, and the zeal of Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa. The memory of Theodore and Nestorius was condemned, and Malabar was added to the Pope's dominions.

"Sixty years of patience and hypocrisy were endured; but as soon as the Portuguese Empire began to crumble, by the energy of the Dutch, the Nestorians asserted with vigour the religion of their fathers. The Jesuits were incapable of defending the power which they had abused: the arms of 40,000 Christians were pointed against their falling tyrants; and the Indian archdeacon assumed the character of bishop, till a fresh supply of episcopal gifts and Syriac missionaries could be obtained from the Patriarch of Babylon.

"Since the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Nestorian creed is freely professed on the coast of Malabar. The trading companies of England and Holland are the friends of toleration; but if oppression be less mortifying than contempt, the Christians of St. Thomas have reason to complain of the cold and silent indifference of their brethren of Europe."*

Mosheim agrees with Gibbon on the persecutions of the Nestorians by the Romanists in the sixteenth century; La Craze condemns the cruelty adopted by Alexis towards these Christian brethren.

In fact, the Nestorians, i.e., Chaldean Christians, from the time of their founder, resisted the thraldom of Rome. It was not until A.D. 1550, that a schism arose among them as to the election of a patriarch. Through the instigation of the Jesuits, one of the candidates was consecrated by Julius III., and they were then divided into two contending churches, one of which is still subject to Rome.

The other church was cruelly persecuted in India and China by the Archbishop of Goa, as stated by Gibbon, who had the guardianship of the "Holy Office," (Inquisition) for India and China. The "holy officers" at last succeeded in bringing over this disobedient child by the greatest cruelties on record; and having procured their allegiance, permitted them to worship and follow their peculiar doctrines.

The Nestorian Controversy and History is fully given in the Bib-

* Fuller details of these primitive Christians will be found in Assemannus, Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. v. Geddes' Church History of Malabar.

liotheca Orientialis of S. Assemannus, who was sent by Pope Clement XI. to Egypt and Syria to collect MMS.; his dependence on Rome is the only drawback on his work, which is extended to 956 folio pages.

A.D. 1550. Neither the Pope nor the King of Portugal, with their united exertions, could obtain a footing for the Jesuits in Egypt, Abyssinia, or amongst the Armenians. It was this failure that induced these two powers to turn their attention to India and China.

Having traced the Nestorian Christians, I now arrive at the *fifth* point of examination, namely, the rise and progress of Romanism and Jesuitism in China, and an examination into the causes of its inefficiency for the conversion of the "*Land of Sinim.*"

The origin of the journey of Marco Polo to China, in A.D. 1270, was supposed to be pleasure, but the fact was, that three missionaries of the Dominican Order, who were acquainted with science, were sent from Venice at the express command of Kublia Khan, then Emperor of China, who a few years previous had received an embassy from the Pope. It is said that they very soon returned to Europe, with no small degree of wealth acquired by trading.

In the year 1291, the Pope sent John de Monte Corvino to China; he was kindly received by Kublai Khan, but the Nestorian Christians having at that time churches in every part of China, and their doctrince being so diametrically opposed to the Pope's supremacy, and other minor points, the Pope's Legate had many obstacles thrown in his way.

The next attempt for the Christianization of China was by the celebrated Francis Xavier, who arrived in Macao, but was doomed to disappointment, as the merchants feared that his success would injure their business (probably slavery and piracy). This zealous missionary sank under the pressure of disappointment at the early age of forty-seven, A.D. 1552.

In 1565, several Jesuits proceeded to China. Their number increased gradually; some of them went as Portuguese chaplains on board their ships to Canton. The very first year one of them enticed a native youth from his parents, and brought him to Macao. The youth was restored after considerable excitement, and the interference of the Chinese government, but a stamp of villany was ever after attached to a set of men who could be guilty of such a transaction.

Notwithstanding this improper act, however good the motive, the Jesuit Ruggiero, procured the favour of an influential mandarin, who permitted him to visit the interior of the country. The native Chinese then ruled the empire, and always showed less objection to foreigners than the Tartars.

To the chief Chinese officers, at Shaou-king-foo, the Jesuits presented an elegant pendulum, and a triangular prism; they then obtained permission to inhabit a Chinese temple. From thence

spread gradually a missionary society, which might have converted the whole of China to their system of Christianity,* had the Popes not interferred by sending mendicant monks and ambitious priests.

Philip the First assigned a reasonable allowance for the support of the Jesuit Mission in China: from 1588 to 1610, they were paid out of the royal chest of Malacca. Valignano discovered that the acquisition of landed property would forward their views much better than ready money. The Jesuits were bound by a vow to serve religion without emolument from the Roman See. Charlevaix says: "Les Jesuites ne faisoinent autre chose que donner leur argent et en recevoir le produit." This was acted on, and sums of money obtained from zealous friends were invested in the purchase of land, which secured the French and Portuguese Jesuits a regular and steady income, arising from houses and shops in Peking and the vicinity.

The chief aim of Rome, and Portugal, in the East, was aggrandizement and wealth, and not the conversion of the heathen. Scarcely had a few Portuguese adventurers been allowed to dry their goods at Macao, and settle down in some huts, than Sebastian I., King of Portugal, appointed Melchior Carnerio Bishop of Macao, in A.D. 1568. Gregory XIII. agreed, on the condition that the King should provide a cathedral, with suitable ornaments, and plate, and keep the same in repair.

According to private records translated by Sir Andrew Ljungstedt, this diocese extended to the wall that crosses the isthmus of the peninsula; which comprehends, by the division of Innocent XII. the two provinces of Kwantung and Kwangse, i. e. an area of 156,000 square miles, (see chart) not calculating the island of Hainan, which was also included. For more than 120 years this diocese was presided over by what was termed, "Governors of the Bishoprick;" they had no power of conferring holy orders, confirming, or any of the other rites connected with the Roman Catholic Church, owing to the dispute with Rome.

A.D. 1593. The Senate reported to Philip I., King of Portugal, that Macao had "a Cathedral with two parishes, a Misericordia with two hospitals, and four religious bodies, viz., Augustians, Dominicans, Jesuits, and Capuchins.

Little or no progress appears to have followed the first Jesuits who entered China, until the arrival, in 1581, of Mathew Ricci, an Italian, of pleasing manners and great talents, who was appointed Superior of all the missions in China. His lectures on the exact sciences, made a deep and favourable impression on every one who heard him, and excited amongst the better classes a wish to become acquainted with the truths of mathematics. Ricci translated

*As a proof that the pure and moral principles of Christianity had been greatly relaxed by the metaphysical subtilities of the Jesuits, see letters written in A.D. 1656, by Blaise Pascal, a Provincial in the XII Satire de Boileau Despreaux.

the elements of Euclid, and a new convert, named Paul, gave them the fullness of the Chinese idiom. This convert was a native of Shanghai, and at the time, an officer of the highest rank and greatest influence. He was baptized by the name of Paul, together with his daughter Candida, and by their new-born zeal they greatly aided the Christian cause. This lady became a widow at thirty years of age, and during the remainder of her life, for forty years, she caused to be erected more than thirty churches in different provinces, with houses for the residence of the priests.

Ricci was soon joined by other Jesuits, who were employed by the government in finding the latitude of the chief cities, and regulating the calendar. By this work, Ricci obtained the reputation of a "savant," and such a regard, that even those who were greater admirers of his philosophical than religious tenets, acquiesced in his instituting at Nankin a church, to which he appointed Lazar Cattaneo in 1599. The position of the Jesuits was so improved, that they resolved to throw off the garb hitherto worn, that of the bonzes, and put on the dress of the literati. In this attire Ricci was known by the name of Sithai, and continued to associate with men of rank, and opened a second church in the splendid city of Soo-chow.

Ricci rightly sought admittance to Peking, and procured recommendations to men of high rank and reputation at court, together with letters patent from a great magistrate, granting him liberty to carry to the presence of the Emperor, a few European curiosities. Accompanied by another Jesuit, Pantoja, they set out for Peking. At Lintsin, an imperial toll on the grand canal, a eunuch, named Mathan, tendered his services to the strangers.

The character of Mathan as given in Semeda's "*Relatione della Cina*," and also by Duhalde, was that of their greatest enemy. But Nicolas Trigould, who composed the "*Christiana expeditio apud Sinas*" from the manuscript records of Ricci, represents him as their best friend. Ricci declared to Mathan "that he desired to have the honour and good fortune personally to present to the Emperor the insignificent trifles which he had brought, and to spend the rest of his days in the service of their common lord and master." The eunuch took the priests in his own boat to Teentsin, and lodged them in a fort, that their persons might not be exposed to insult, nor their property to depredation. Of this Mathan informed the Emperor in a memorial, to which at the end of six months a receipt arrived, permitting the strangers to proceed to Peking, where they arrived in A.D. 1601.

The Emperor accepted their presents, permitted them to take a house, and at once allowed them a fixed stipend. So many signal favours gave credit to the two Europeans; but their real intentions they took pains carefully to conceal from the court. In the mean time, other Jesuits were allowed to join them, not only at Peking,

but throughout the empire, wherever Ricci had established churches. That the *collaborateurs* might work unanimously, without discrepancy to the advancement of the mission, Ricci drew up rules, which he termed "the Divine Law," that was to be observed by all the propagators of the tenets.

So long as the Jesuits had the exclusive care of Christianity in China, (as granted them by Gregory XIII. in 1585,) the undertaking went on peacefully. In 1605, only four years from their entrance, their numbers so increased, that the society petitioned for permission to purchase a larger house, which was granted. Some of their neophytes became men of great influence; and the good will of others was bought and preserved by liberal offerings on the altar of self-interest.

In 1610, Ricci died, aged 80 years; and the Emperor permitted them to purchase a garden, where he was interred; and likewise to build a house, where his successors resided. Ricci was extolled by the Jesuits, as possessing every virtue; by the Franciscans, and others, he was spoken of in terms of censure and condemnation. In the "Anecdotes de la Chine," tom. i. vi. and viii., his character is thus drawn; and, if true, an explanation is afforded why he did not extend Christianity in China.

"This Jesuit was active, skilful, full of schemes, and endowed with all the talents to render him agreeable to the great, or to gain the favour of the princes; but so little versed in the matter of faith, that, as the Bishop of Conon said, it was sufficient to read his work on the True Religion, to be satisfied that he was ignorant of the first principles of theology. Being more a politician than a theologian, he found the secret of remaining peacefully in China. The kings found in him a man full of complaisance; the pagans, a minister who accommodated himself to their superstitions; the mandarins, a politic courtier; *and the devil, a faithful servant, who, far from destroying, established his reign among the heathen,* and even extended it to the Christians. He preached in China the religion of Christ, according to his own fancy; that is to say, he disfigured it, by a faithful mixture of pagan superstition, adopting the sacrifices offered to Confucius and ancestors, and teaching the Christians to assist and to co-operate at the *worship* of *idols,* provided they only addressed their devotions to a cross covered with flowers, or secretly attached to one of the candles which were lighted in the temples of the false gods."

It is to be hoped that the annals of the protestant churches cannot furnish such an expression of opinion as the above, and that by one of their own faith. The idle boast of the universality and undivided opinion of Roman Catholic writers, with which they so freely taunt the Protestants, will not bear investigation. Men that could write of their own household in such a strain, were ill calculated to convert the heathen. But we need not go to China; the controversy between the Jesuits and Jansenists in Europe,

have furnished painful reflections to the true believer, and gratification to the scoffer.

Ricci embraced the state religion of China, and signified that he only came to renew some essential tenets, and that he preached the same "*Ticon*," or "*Shang-Te*," which the old laws pointed out; and that, in fact, his system was the same as Confucius'.

Whoever in China neglects to do some reverence to the manes of his ancestors, forfeits the character attached to upright men. All who neglect the memory of Confucius forfeit all claim to public honours and emoluments. Gabriel Daniel, in his History of the Jesuits, tome ii., gives Ricci's reasons for allowing his Christian converts to adore the tablet of Confucius.

"The Mohammedans (who are enemies to idolatry) perform these honours to their ancestors, and likewise Confucius, therefore they are not idolators. The Chinese respect neither their ancestors nor Confucius, as deities or saints; their reverence to their ancestors is only to them as persons to whom they owe their lives, and Confucius is merely honoured as a philosopher and legislator. Those who kill the beasts at these ceremonies, are not *priests but butchers*. In 1384, the Emperor, by an edict, prohibited columns to be erected to Confucius; all that sort of honours to be paid him which is usually paid by idolators to persons deceased; that the same honours which are paid to deceased ancestors and to Confucius, are also paid to the living Emperor and the great officers of state."

At the time the concessions were granted by the Emperor to the Jesuits, they were reminded of their duty, "to obey the laws of the empire, to pray for its preservation, and for the health and longevity of the Emperor." Everything went on prosperously, until 1615, when a mandarin at Nankin sent a memorial to the Emperor, in which he depicted, in strong language, the ardour with which foreign tutors inspired their disciples with contempt for the revered and sacred customs of their ancestors, substituting "intolerance," by which the affections of the people were alienated from the government.

In 1627, an edict was issued by the Emperor, which proscribed "the men who preach a law which confuses the people;" it commanded the mandarins to send them from the court and provinces to Canton, that they might return to their homes. This order was but partially obeyed, for the "persecuted," as the Jesuits termed their priests, found shelter and protection in the families of their converts.

The storm soon blew over, as a new convert, baptized Paul, arrived at the dignity of Ka-lao, or minister of the first rank. Paul and other influential natives inspired the Emperor with the hope that, should auxiliaries be required against the Tartars, powerful aid might be procured from Macao.

The advisers urged his Majesty to relax the imperial edict, with

the following fallacious hopes: "The Portuguese are experienced gunners; their priests, if admitted, will serve your Majesty with their talents, and the soldiers with their valour, so that no enemy shall ever succeed in making durable impression on the Empire." The Emperor gave his assent, and a missionary was dispatched to Macao, who raised a force of four hundred men; they marched to Nan-chang-foo, the capital of Kiangsi province; but no sooner arrived, (1622) than they were ordered to return. Their contemptible appearance had excited disgust. In 1628, John Adam Schaal, a German Jesuit of great abilities, arrived, and, being strongly recommended by the convert Paul to the Emperor, was speedily received into favour. At the same time many other Jesuits arrived viâ Canton, as none would be permitted to arrive through Macao; and Canton was hitherto strictly guarded by the Jesuits, to keep out any of the other orders. See Semedo, p. 246.

However, in 1631, some Dominicans and Franciscans did enter China, to the great discomfiture of the Jesuits. The Anecdotes de la Chine, p. 8, states, that it was by way of Formosa that they stole into China. In 1631, the convert Paul died, or, as he was called, Siu. This man was not only a sincere believer, but a most influential and consistent friend to the Jesuits; but the missionaries were scattered, and the country much disturbed by the Tartars.

Contention early commenced between the Popes of Rome and the Kings of Portugal, as regarded the king's patronage, i.e. "e real padreado"; the sovereigns of Portugal claiming a right to build churches, to govern those which existed within the limits of their dominions, and also to assign pastors to such churches as might be erected anywhere in the *heathen world* of Asia, independent of Portugal.

From the time of Gregory XIII. to Innocent XII. these pretensions had often been disputed, but never brought to a decision, until Peter II. King of Portugal, questioned the Pope's prerogative to send "motu proprio" to any part of the world, apostles of the Gospel.

The high road to India and China, was at this period through Lisbon only, so the decision which of those great powers had the right of sending the Gospel to the heathen, was submitted to the Cardinals at Rome; the King of Portugal, received an invitation, and sent an ambassador A.D. 1686. This envoy adduced five arguments, which were decided as follows. 1st. That the bulls quoted by the ambassador, recorded no trace that the spiritual government of all Asia ever was conceded to any sovereign of Portugal; they proved that the King had the right to exercise his patronage in all those churches which he had endowed. 2nd. To hinder priests from passing by way of the Phillipine Islands to Asia, the Popes had commanded that none should proceed thither without a previous license from Lisbon; but since the Spaniards,

English, Dutch and others had settlements in India, Urban XIII. revoked, as superfluous, the bulls of Gregory XIII. and allowed missionaries to proceed to India and China any way most convenient. 3rd. It was inadmissable the king should govern Christian churches in a heathen land. 4th. The jurisdiction of the primate of Portugal was not infringed on by the Pope sending missionaries to China. 5th. The archbishops and bishops, in virtue of a decree of the congregation de Propaganda Fide, issued the 7th March, A.D. 1633, may nominate bishops "in partibus infidelium" to be confirmed by his holiness.

The decision arrived at by the cardinals, on this question of the Pope's authority, was, "per deligationem vicariorum apostolicorum non constare de aliquo prejudico juribus Regum Portugalia illatæ," a subsequent decision was of the same import: "pratensum and privatirum Regis Portugalio missionarios et titulares episcopos in Indiâ designandi nulla ratione niti."

Notwithstanding the decision of the "infallible head of the church," it was enacted in 1668, that all going to China must pass through Lisbon, and take an oath of universal patronage; an order was issued from the Vatican to nullify this; still it was found impossible to arrive at Macao without it; so the King was successful.

A.D. 1634. A Spanish dominican, John B. Morales, arrived and commenced a paper war against the Jesuits, who permitted their converts to worship their ancestors.

Morales had these ceremonies condemned by the congregation de Propaganda Fide, and his opinions were confirmed in 1645 by Innocent X.

On the other side, Martin Martini, proved to the entire satisfaction of the tribunal of inquisition, that the rites and customs were of a civil nature, and in that light they were approved of by Pope Alexander VII. in 1656; but the former edict of Innocent was not repealed. In this state of affairs each party defended their respective opinions under the sanction and authority of two Popes. The battle field of polemical discussion selected was Canton. The numerical strength of the combatants at this period were, Jesuits twenty-one, Dominicans three, Franciscans one.

Being banished from the interior until they could settle their differences, and being confined in one house, they fraternized, and after many discussions, agreed to forty articles, one of which ran thus:—

"In respect to the customs, by which the Chinese worship Confucius and the deceased, the answer of the congregation of the universal Inquisition, sanctioned by his Holiness (1656)—Alexander VII. shall be invariably followed, for it is founded upon the most probable opinion, without any evident proof to the contrary; and this probability being admitted, the door of salvation must not be shut against innumerable Chinese, who would abandon

our Christian religion, were they forbidden to attend to those things to which they may lawfully and without injury to their faith, attend, and were forced to give up what cannot be given up without serious consequences."

In the first Emperor of the present dynasty, (A.D. 1644) the missionaries found a friend. He appointed Schaal to reform the calendar into which many errors had crept, and this work was so ably performed, that he was made president of the Astronomical Board, with the title and authority of an officer of the first rank; the ornament he wore on his breast was a crane. By Schaal's influence, permission was obtained for fourteen other Jesuits to enter China, who were dispersed over various provinces.

The province of Shensi appears to have been the most successful field for their labours.

Their mode of converting the heathen is best exhibited by an extract from Le Comte, in his extravagant account of China, dedicated to the Duchess of Burgundy. "The town of Hang-ching, was over-run with a prodigious multitude of locusts which eat up all the leaves of the trees, and gnawed the grass to the very roots." The inhabitants, after exhausting all the resources of their own superstitions and charms, applied to Father Faber, who promised to deliver them from the plague, provided they would become Christians.

When they consented, "he marched in ceremony into the highways in his stole and surplice, and sprinkled up and down holy water, accompanying this action with the prayers of the church, but especially with a lively faith. God heard the voice of his servant, and the next day all the insects disappeared." But the people refused to perform their promise, and "the plague grew worse than before." With much contrition they came to the Father, confessing their faults, and entreating his renewed interposition; "again he sprinkled the holy water, and the insects a second time disappeared."

While this semi-Christian religion was spreading through the provinces, it seemed to be establishing its foundations more solidly in the capital. We are told that the Emperor laid aside his usual state when conversing with Schaal, and in the course of two years paid him no less than twenty visits at his own residence. One of his birth days, when he should have received the homage of his officers on his throne, was spent under the roof of the missionary. He usually called him Maffa, a term of affection and respect, and to show his subjects how much he esteemed Schaal, he placed a marble tablet at the door of his church, in which he bestowed on him the highest commendations.

While Schaal favoured the Tartar invaders in the north, some of his colleagues supported the opposing claimants, to the throne in the south. The progress of the Tartars was arrested for some time in the south, by two Christian Chinese officers; who proclaimed as

Emperor, a relative of the late imperial family, and raised an army in his defence. The mother of this prince, with his wife and eldest son, having professed the Christian faith, were baptized by Caffler, under the respective names of Helena, Maria and Constantine. It was hoped that he would prove a second Constantine in truth, and establish a Christian church in China.

Helena wrote a letter to the Pope, which was graciously answered by Alexander VII.; but the hopes that depended on her grandson were frustrated by three armies of Tartars, who scattered all their enemies.

The position of the Jesuits in Peking, was favourable until the death of the Emperor in 1662.

Kanghe, a minor, only eight years of age, was called to the throne, and Schaal was at first appointed his tutor, but was not long continued, as the regent who possessed the reins of government, speedily threw him into prison, loading him with chains, together with his other colleagues. Schall was condemned "to be cut into ten thousand pieces." His crime is not narrated, but he is said to have died a natural death, in prison, in 1669. Three Dominicans, one Franciscan, and twenty-one Jesuits were banished to Canton.

The fears which actuated the Chinese government, at this period, (1661) with regard to the ulterior objects of the Jesuits, are not surprising, for we find that in several European Catholic countries they had been proscribed.* The strife that existed between the several orders in China, revealed the important secret, that the principles of their doctrine served also the purpose of contentious emulation for influence. The cogent argument of the regent was, that during the time missionaries were admitted to Japan, nothing but intrigues, schism, and civil war was heard of: calamities that

* The Jesuits were expelled from France in 1593; from Venice in 1606; from Poland in 1607, and from Bohemia in 1619. The crimes alleged against them were various. The character and spirit of Jesuitism were well described, and their downfall foretold in a sermon preached by Dr. Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, in the year A.D. 1551, just twelve years after their institution.

This extraordinary prophetic document was procured by the celebrated Ware, and may be seen in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. v. p. 556. That part of the sermon which relates to the Jesuits commences thus: "But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes and Pharisees' manner. Among the Jews they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it.

"For these sorts will turn themselves into forms; with the Heathen a Heathenist, with the Atheist an Atheist, with the Jew a Jew, with the Reformer a Reformer, purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts and your inclinations; and thereby bring you at last to be like the fool that said in his heart there was no God.

"These shall spread *over the whole world*, shall be admitted into the council of Princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your Princes reveal their hearts and the secrets therein, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from falling from the law of God, and by winking at their sins; yet in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most *succoured them* and *made use of them*; so that in the end they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting place upon earth, and then shall a *Jew* have more *favour* than a *Jesuit*."

might sooner or later befall China, by the criminal eagerness of missionaries, actually spreading over the land for the sake of "enlisting" deluded people of all classes.

The members wore distinctive badges of medals, rosaries, crosses, &c., and were always ready to obey the call of their chiefs; in fact, it appeared to the Chinese government, to be similar to those secret societies, which have long been a source of uneasiness to them. They were, therefore, associated in the mind of the Emperor with political innovation.

It has always been a matter of indifference to the Chinese government, how many forms of religion have existed, so as there is no political object in view. The state has its own form of worship, and never interferes with the others.

Mosheim remarks respecting the Jesuits, that "the designs of some of them were truly pious, and their character without reproach, is unquestionably certain. But it is equally certain that they were the fewest in number. Many of them exhibited the most turbulent passions, and dishonoured the glorious cause in which they were engaged, by their arrogance and ambition, their avarice and cruelty; they abused the power which they had received from the Roman Pontiffs, of forming religious establishments, and instead of gaining souls to Christ, they usurped a despotic dominion over their obsequious proselytes, and exercised princely authority over the countries where their ministry had been successful."

It was the bright and glorious rays of the Reformation that alarmed the Pope in Europe. To maintain what was then called the universal polity of the Church, against the frequent shocks it received in the sixteenth century, was the origin of the foundation of the Jesuits, A.D. 1539.

In their attempt to convert the heathen nations, the Jesuits carefully concealed spiritual things, but trained men to a knowledge of mathematics, and thus darkened their perceptions. The French, as a nation, has had bitter experience of this mechanical materialist philosophy. But provided good ends were sought, all means to that end were considered lawful. Such a doctrine must ever prove fatal to the permanent establishment of Christianity.

An astronomical defect restored the Jesuits for a time to favour.

In 1669 Kanghe dismissed the regent and assumed the supreme control. The calendars for the year had already been prepared, and according to custom distributed to the princes of the imperial family, and into the provinces. Four Jesuits still remained at Peking, among whom was Verbiest. Kanghe sent for Verbiest and his colleagues, and proposed several questions to them on astronomy, which were answered correctly, while the Chinese astronomers were compelled to plead ignorance.

The Emperor being satisfied of the superior abilities of Verbiest, commanded him to examine the calendar for the year, though it had been sent out for circulation.

Verbiest soon pointed out so many errors, particularly in the improper insertion of an intercalary month, that the authors, who had been the bitterest enemies of the missionaries, were filled with confusion. They were forthwith loaded with chains, while the Jesuits were set at liberty, and Verbiest was appointed president of the astronomical tribunal.

The first step of Verbiest was to throw out the intercalary month, thus rendering the calendar in circulation utterly useless, and covering with disgrace those who composed and sent it forth. The members of the council felt this deeply, and sent their president to beg of him in some way to spare their reputation. The answer was, "It is not in my power to make the heavens agree with your calendar. The useless month must be taken out." And taken out it was, to the great astonishment of the simple celestials, who could not conceive what could be done with it, and asked in what place it was kept in reserve.—Du Halde, page 133.

In 1678, Verbiest presented a work on astronomy to the Emperor. The Emperor received it with such favour, that in a full assembly of his counsellors, he made Verbiest an officer of the first rank, and gave him the title of "ta jin," and at the same time ennobled all his kindred.

The Emperor requested that a considerable number of assistants would be procured from Europe. As Schaal had cast cannon for the last Emperor, Verbiest was solicited to perform the same service. In the English edition of Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 82, it is said that, "at one time he cast 130 pieces of cannon, with wonderful success, and in 1681, he cast 320 pieces more, which he blessed in a solemn manner, and gave the name of a saint to every piece of cannon."

The Emperor, on visiting several distant provinces, in 1683, showed more favour to the Jesuits than to his own officers. "He called them into the cabin of his own boat, and conversed familiarly with them, when his own officers were not allowed even to approach the imperial bark."

In 1689, important services were rendered by the Jesuits, in contracting a treaty of peace between China and Russia, which has ever since preserved peace, (see page 387, vol. i.) The principal merit of this treaty seems to be due to Gerbillon.

The partiality of the Emperor Kanghe for the Jesuits, procured for the Church all the protection it stood in need of, and promoted its increase rapidly. Several French Jesuits arrived, who were conversant with the Chinese and Tartarian language, and were perfectly skilled in mathematical learning. They soon ascertained the inclinations and views of the Emperor, and employed their well-known arts in pleasing. They were at one time his instructors, physicians, and counsellors.; they served him as painters, turners, watchmakers, founders, astronomers, engineers, accomptants, and

masters of the ordnance department. In fact, they directed everything about the court of Peking.

The familiar intercourse between the Emperor and the missionaries, was of daily occurrence, and nothing but their own disunion could have caused their ultimate disgrace and banishment.

Under such auspices, it is not wonderful that Romanism outwardly prospered. It is recorded, that about 1692, several missionaries baptised from 1,000 to 1,500 converts annually, and the favour of the Emperor knew no bounds. On a case of persecution being represented to the Emperor, he, in a short time afterwards, issued his celebrated edict, which declared, "that the Christian religion contained nothing hurtful, but was good and useful, and on no account should be opposed or hindered."

It was the fault of the Christians themselves that they did not permanently establish themselves in China.

The Jesuits received the greatest encouragement from the Emperor Kang-he, during his long reign. On 22d March, 1692, his Majesty issued a celebrated *edict in favour of Christianity*, in which, conformable to the report of the board of rites, he ordered the temples dedicated to the "Lord of Heaven," throughout his dominions, to be respected, and that no opposition be given to all who choose to enter those temples, offer incense, and perform acts of worship. This edict was issued in consequence of a violent persecution commenced against the Christians in the province of Chekeang by the viceroy and inferior mandarins. In consequence of the petitions of the Jesuits of Sciawe at Peking, the Emperor ordered the Board of Rites to inquire into the subject, and the Board reported that "they had seriously examined that which had reference to the Europeans who lived in China; and found that they merited attention and love, for the signal services which they had rendered in civil and foreign wars, by their continued studies to produce useful and curious works, and by their just and sincere affection for the public good. Moreover, that the Europeans are very tranquil; that they do not excite troubles in the provinces; that they do not cause evil or commit any bad action. Besides, their doctrine has nothing in common with the false and dangerous sects of the empire, and their maxims do not lead people to sedition." The report of the Board of Rites went on to state that "as the government of China did not prevent the Lamas of Tartary, nor the Budhists, to have their temples, and offer incense, neither pagodas, how much less ought the Europeans to be prevented to have their churches, and to preach publicly their religion, as they did nothing contrary to good laws."

It was in consequence of this excellent report, that the persecution which had commenced in China against Christianity was suppressed by the Emperor in 1692.

Shortly after, the Chinese physicians, having failed to cure the Emperor Kanghe of a fever, the sovereign placed himself under

the care of the Jesuit physicians, Gerbillon and Bouvet, at Peking, who cured him with quinine. In gratitude for his recovery, the Emperor assigned them splendid apartments in the First Enclosure of the palace, and which had belonged to the governor of the heir apparent. Artizans were employed to fit the residence up in excellent style, and a mandarin to superintend the dwelling; and understanding that they wished to have a church attached to the house, the Emperor caused a very handsome church to be erected within the precincts of the palace, which required four years building, and was adorned by the Jesuit artists with great magnificence and taste. The church was opened with great ceremony in 1702.*

The Emperor Kang-he is described by the Jesuit missionaries as having a lofty genius, great penetration, and a faithful memory; with a solid judgment, a sense of right, and a firmness of soul; always master of himself, and capable of forming, and of conducting, great enterprizes. He did not repose upon favourites, but took cognizance of all things, and regulated them himself. He was tender towards his subjects, and never lost sight of judgment and of justice. He studied and acquired the European arts and sciences; geometry, physics, astronomy, medicine, and anatomy, were successively objects of his careful study. He loved to have the learned Jesuits around him; he esteemed their morals, protected them and their fellow-Christians, and had given hopes that but for his sudden death, he would have openly embraced Christianity. When baptism was urged on him, he said it was unnecessary, as he worshipped the same God as the Christians did.

Verbiest died in 1688, and the Emperor commanded the highest honours allowed to subjects to be paid to his remains.

At the close of the seventeenth century, it is difficult to conceive any body of Christian men more favourably situated than the Roman Catholic missionaries who were stationed in China. Independent of their own high position, Louis XIV., who ruled France, together with his ministers Colbert and Lauvais, devoted all their energies to extend the dominion of the Pope to China. The Chinese language was cultivated at the expense of the government, and men of the first talents and most varied acquirements were selected, and, on their arrival in China were graciously received.

The following royal missive was sent by the King of France to the Emperor of China, and indicates how zealously the desire to promote Christianity was felt in France:

"Most high, most excellent, most puissant, and most magnanimous prince, our dearly beloved good friend, may God increase your grandeur with a happy end. Being informed that your majesty was desirous to have near your person, and in your dominions, a considerable number of learned men, very much versed in the European sciences, we resolved some years ago, to send you six

* The Emperor wrote an inscription for it, "To the only true God."

learned mathematicians, our subjects, to shew your Majesty whatever is most curious in sciences, and especially the astronomical observations of the famous academy, we have established in our good city of Paris; but whereas, the length of the sea voyage, which divide our territories from yours, is liable to many accideuts, and cannot be performed without much time and danger,—We have formed the design, out of a desire to contribute towards your Majesty's satisfaction, to send you some more of the same Father Jesuits, who are now mathematicians, with Count Syri, by land, which is the shortest and safest way, to the end they may be the first near your Majesty, as so many pledges of our esteem and friendship, and that at the return of the said Count Syri, we may have an account of the admirable and most extraordinary actions that are reported of your life. Whereupon we beseech God to augment the grandeur of your Majesty, with an end altogether happy.

"Written at Marly, the 7th August, 1688.

"Your most dear and good friend,

"Louis."

The Church of Rome boasts of its universality and unanimity; we have no proof of the former, in the independence of Greek and Nestorian churches, and no indication of the latter in the fierce controversies that arose between the Jesuits and Jansenists in Europe, and between the Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans in China, and that at a time of great outward success and prosperity.

The Dominicans and Franciscans, on their arrival in China, demurred at once at the new mode of worship introduced by the Jesuits, and refused to be a party to it. When they saw the new converts headed by the Jesuits, prostrating before a tablet of Confucius, they all declared against this mode of converting the heathen. J. B. Moreles at once set out for Rome, to lay the case before the Propaganda, who were unanimous in declaring these "civil ceremonies," as Ricci called them, superstitious and idolatrous.

Pope Innocent confirmed the report in September, 1645. The Jesuits received the decree with veneration, but laid it aside with contempt.

This Concordate previously adopted,* was made of no effect through the influence of Polanco, a Dominican, who prevailed on Clement IX. the suceeeding Pope, in 1669, to confirm the previous decrees of 1645 and 1656. The effect of this was, to set the several orders by the ears, and the peace and harmony that reigned for a few years, now vanished.

In 1693, open war was declared against the Jesuit practice of idolatry in China, by a Dominican ordinance issued by Charles J.

* During the existence of the Concordate, the Emperor Kanghe having made enquiry, and found they had settled their differences, permitted them to once more join their separate stations in the interior.

Maigrot, doctor of Sorbonne and Archiepiscopal Vicar of Fookeen in China. It was as follows:—

"We command and ordain, that every one observe to express the name of God, in the Chinese word, Teen-chu, which signifies the Lord of Heaven, and that the word Shangte, i. e. the supreme Emperor, be totally laid aside.

"We expressly forbid an exposure in any church of pictures, which has an inscription on them with King-Tien, (adore the sky.) We command them to be taken down from all churches within two months, and all other pictures and expressions which bear the same sense, as we cannot be persuaded but that it is idolatry.

"We forbid the Jesuits upon any pretence to permit the Christians to perform the office of a sacrificer, or to be present at the sacrifices which are offered to Confucius, and other dead ancestors, twice each year.

"We command all those who put their trust in God, to endeavour to abolish the pictures kept by private families; and in that part of their houses where those pictures were exposed, that there be an article of the Christian faith set up in their place."

Maigrot was connected with the college of foreign missions in Paris, which was fiercely opposed to the Jesuits, and he charged them with a secret attempt to take his life.

Pope Clement, to settle the controversy, sent out to China in 1703, De Tournon as Legate a Lateré, who was made at the same time Patriarch of Antioch. At Pondicherry on his way to China, De Tournon spent some months with the Jesuits. The cow is an object of veneration with the Hindoos. De Tournon found that the Jesuits allowed their nominal converts from Hindooism, to practice all their old superstitions, with this difference, that the Jesuits always blessed the cow-dung previous to its use in idolatrous ceremonies.

Greatly to the credit of the Pope's legate, he issued an edict, prohibiting these anti-Christian practices, which so disconcerted the Jesuits, that from that moment his prospects of restoring peace were blighted, and his failure determined.

On De Tournon's arrival in 1705 at Manilla,* he deposed the *procureur* of the Jesuits' society there, who had contrary to his vow of poverty greatly enriched himself by following commerce; all his property was confiscated by the legate. When the legate arrived at Peking, he found great difficulty in obtaining an audience of the Emperor, for reasons which must be manifest; but after a series of delays he firmly demanded a private audience, which was granted. Just as he arrived in the presence of the Emperor he was taken dangerously ill; at the same time the Emperor exclaimed, "he is poisoned," and commanded his own physi-

* This is his own account, and for the other matters related on this subject, see Anecdotes sur l'Etat de la Chine, app. p. 5, 7, 10.

cian to attend on him. De Tournon slowly recovered, but was never admitted to an audience; he left Peking in 1706, and an imperial edict soon followed him to Macao, where he was imprisoned during the remainder of his life, during *which time the secret scenes acted to accomplish the downfall of this faithful prelate,* must have been ill calculated to make a good impression on a heathen monarch. He died in 1710, but whether naturally or otherwise is not related; but previous to his death he had received notice of his promotion to the rank of cardinal.

De Tournon stated that the Jesuits in China called their convents in Fookeen, "the Christians of Jesus," to distinguish them from the converts made by the Dominican and Franciscan monks, who were called with contempt the Christians of "St. Peter, St. Dominic, and St. Francis."

A.D. 1706. The state of turmoil and ill-feeling, engendered by those two contending factions, rose to such a height, both in Peking and in the provinces, that the Emperor Kanghe devised a plan by which he would test their loyalty and allegiance.

Kanghe found on enquiry that there were two aspirants for universal dominion in his empire. The Dominicans claimed to be the guardians of the "Holy Office," i. e. the Inquisition. The others preached the "divine right" of the successor of St. Peter, to rule the body and soul of all mankind, temporal and spiritual.

On the 17th December 1706, an imperial edict was issued, by Kanghe, declaring that he would countenance those missionaries who would preach the doctrine of Ricci, but persecute those who followed the opinion of Maigrot, Bishop of Canon; and that the land might be cleared of those turbulent men, he commanded that the missionaries should on or before the 1st July, 1707, submit to an examination. The memorial presented to the examiner was in Latin, signed by an European: and ran thus:—

"A. B. from B., of such religion, age, nation, and came to China years ago; I have lived in such a place of such a province, I have studied philosophy and theology, and have no wish to return to Europe: in the publication of the holy doctrine, I have followed the maxims of Ricci." The questions put to those who attended were, Have you followed the maxims of Ricci? Will you continue the labour of a missionary? If the reply was negative, the examiner received an order to depart within five days for Canton, and embark for Europe; if the answer was "yes," an imperial license, in the Chinese and Tartar languages was handed to him. The Jesuits were doubtless the authors of this examination and sentence.

The Pope's legate had arrived in 1705, and all new comers were compelled to proceed to Peking to be examined. De Tournon issued two mandates, forbidding the missionaries, under pain of excommunication, to enter with the examiner upon any discussion on this subject.

De Tournon's mandates were supported by the "Holy Office," in a full congregation of inquisitors, and converted into a law. Clement XI. commanded both Jesuits and friars of every community, to obey and observe the bull, " ex illâ die."

The Pope had hitherto been led to believe, that his sway in China was paramount, but was sadly grieved at the disrespect shown to his legate De Tournon; and as popery is a doctrine of expediency, more temporizing instructions were given, in 1715, to a second legate named Mezzabarba.

The Emperor received Mezzabarba courteously, but granted no request. Mezzabarba found that Kanghe had resolved never to yield to the papal court any kind of jurisdiction over his subjects; the legate thought proper therefore, in accordance with his instructions, and for the sake of saving the Romish religion from the disgrace of being banished, to concede, " eight permissions."

These only made bad worse, between the contending parties, as the Emperor was to be the head of the church, and not the Pope. In this state of affairs, Castorani, a monk, and vicar of the Bishop of Peking, proceeded to Rome, and procured an abrogation of the permissions, by a bull commencing, *ex-quo singulare.*

After a lapse of fourteen years, Kanghe in 1721 had the mortification to find that the mandates of the papal legate, Tournon, were reverently obeyed, whilst the edict of the Emperor commanding the missionaries to take out a license, was disregarded.

He discovered that the legate endeavoured to transfer from himself to the Pope, the spiritual jurisdiction of those portions of China, which were politically in revolt against him; by admitting that a foreign priest might legislate in their native country. Kanghe was disposed to think that their apostacy originated in an error of judgment, although it was evident their obstinacy was grounded on a malicious design, which was not yet ripe for developement. It was represented to him, that " to effectually clear the corn from the tares, their roots must be carefully plucked out." He had prepared his mind to act on this truism, when he died on the 22nd December 1722.

Numerous as were the favors that the Emperor Kanghe had shewn the missionaries, he was too independent a prince to suffer them to rule his dominions; and it was evident that he had at last learned their true character. The Emperor tried in vain to reconcile the different sects. On one occasion he sent for them, and entreated that " they might have no more than *one heart.*" He said, " One calls himself a Franciscan, another a Dominican, another a Jesuit, which irreconcileable disunion surprises me much." Their disputes were a constant source of annoyance to the government, which tolerates all religions, in order to consolidate the power of the Emperor.

When the survey of China was completed, he issued an edict, forbidding any missionaries to remain without a patent from him-

self. Many of them were imprisoned during the remainder of their lives. The Jesuits are charged by their opponents with having procured the persecution of their brethren, in order to have the field to themselves. They were, in fact, intoxicated with success. Their character is thus described, in 1710, by Father Ripa, who was thirteen years resident at Peking.

"If the European missionaries in China would conduct themselves with less ostentation, and accommodate their manners to persons of all ranks and conditions, the number of converts would be immensely increased; for the Chinese possess excellent natural abilities, and are both prudent and docile. But, unfortunately, our missionaries have adopted the lofty and pompous manner, known in China by the appellation of "*Tti-mjen.*" Their garments are made of the richest materials; they go nowhere on foot, but always in sedans, on horseback, or in boats, and with numerous attendants following them."

Yunching, who ascended the throne of China on the death of the Emperor Kanghe in 1723, had his attention early called to the Jesuits by the literati, who complained that the late Emperor had shewn too much favour to them, and that they were a dangerous class, as their converts would not be amenable to the constituted authorities, and that in times of trouble they were governed by them alone. Remonstrances poured in from all quarters, so that an edict was issued in 1724, retaining those already in the government service, but sending all others to Macao. By this decree, more than three hundred churches were destroyed, and not less than three hundred thousand nominal Christians were left without pastors. Several noble families suffered in their persons and property under this decree.

It was soon perceived that the tares would be rooted out. The Emperor sent for Parennin and Kagler, and, it is said, addressed them to the following effect:

"Vous voulez que tous les Chinois se fussent Chretiens; votre loi demande, je les sais bien: mais en ce cas la, que deviendrons nous? Les sujets de vos rois? Les Chretiens que vous faites ne reconnaissent que vous; dans un tems de trouble ils n'ecouteront point d'autre voix que la votre."

The edict of Yunching only drove the missionaries from the provinces, but permitted them to remain at Canton, on condition that they gave no cause of complaint. In a short period it was discovered that out of the thirty-six exiles in Canton, sixteen had absconded into the provinces. When this great defalcation was discovered, the remainder were sent to Macao, with a positive injunction to quit the empire with the first ship.

The Jesuits on this, as on all former occasions, out-generalled the guardians of the "Holy Office," and probably informed on the Dominicans; for we find their obedience rewarded by the Emperor, who appointed Kagler, a German Jesuit, president of the tribunal of Astronomy, and gave him a title of honour in 1732. Notwith-

standing persecutions and prohibitions, the Romanist missionaries left no means to proceed to China. According to Father Ripa, the number of missionaries that had been despatched to China from Rome, between the years 1580 and 1708, was about five hundred.

The following extract from the Memoirs of Father Ripa, will illustrate the schemes and falsehoods resorted to for the obtainment of a passage to China. After describing the journey from Italy, he says:

"Having arrived at the Hague, we found our companions, who, having been discovered to be missionaries, were refused passports for England by the English ambassador. By the assistance of the Bishop of Munster, to whom we were recommended by the Pope, Father Perrone, Amodie, and I succeeded in obtaining passports under assumed names; and on the 3rd January, 1708, we sailed for England. Without losing any time, we went with Father Perrone, to solicit the East India Company for a passage to China; but as it was strictly prohibited to take out any ecclesiastics, the Venetian Ambassador sent to inform the Company, that we were going to enter the service of the Emperor of China, Don Amodie as a mathematician, I as a painter, and Father Perrone as a servant. It was amusing to see Father Perrone standing before us two, hat in hand, shewing us all the marks of respect which servants are wont to pay their masters.

"The directors, however, being *wary men,* did not appear satisfied with the account,and said they could believe that Amodie and I were laymen, but not Father Perrone. His peculiar carriage, his eyes *cast down,* his hands continually in his sleeves, and other signs, induced them to think that he must be an ecclesiastic.

"They then asked the gentleman who came with us from the Ambassador, whether Perrone was a Jesuit, and on his answering that he was ready to swear to the contrary, they granted us permission to sail in one of their ships."

There was no lack of labourers for the vineyard, but the difficulty was introducing them, as none were admitted at Macao without a license from Lisbon, the King of Portugal still maintaining his right to appoint missionaries to Asia, without consulting the Pope. To obviate this difficulty, a procurator of the Propaganda Fide (G. della Torre,) was stationed at Canton, and from thence he clandestinely forwarded priests where they were required.

In 1736, Keenlung ascended the throne, and with great vigilance prevented the introduction of missionaries. A governor of Fookeen having discovered Christians in his province, tried and convicted them of disobedience. It was found that they were no sooner banished, than they found means to return. In 1747, Peter Martyr Sanz was beheaded, "quod hominum multitudinem perversa religione seduxerit:" the sentence was in Chinese characters.

But it was not alone the government of Peking that was alarmed at the Jesuits, even the semi-Christian government of Portugal, with its Pagan rites, were alarmed, and in 1759, an edict was issued against the Jesuits in Macao, by his Roman Catholic Majesty, Joseph I., King of Portugal. It "declared the members of the society of Jesus to be notorious rebels, traitors, and aggressors; and commanded that they shall be had, held, and reputed as such, * * * that they shall be totally extinguished in all the realms and dominions of Portugal,—that neither verbal nor written communication shall be kept up with them." In obedience with this law the Jesuits were all banished from Macao to Goa, (1762) and stript of the large property they had acquired in Macao.

It is not surprising that a government like that of China, which viewed idolatry with contempt, should have entirely mistaken the character of Christianity, particularly as they saw it exhibited by the Portugese at Macao.

St. Anthony, one of the numerous saints worshipped by the Portuguese, was a soldier in their army in 1783. The celebration of his feast lasts thirteen days. His image is laid on a litter, and carried by four officers, accompanied by the governor, gentry and common people.

For each of the thirteen days, a body of soldiers fire a salute at the church dedicated to him. And on the eve of his procession the senate sends 240 taels to his church. This is the amount of a captain's pay, to which station he has been raised from the ranks. He is a favourite saint with the soldiers and sailors, who pray to him on their knees, and beat or caress according as the devotee fancies he has interceded for him, or postponed the supplicant's petition. Tapers and incense are burned before the image.

Again, on the Sunday of the Cross—"*Domingo da Cruz*"—the Redeemer is represented by the image of a full-grown man, who, clad in a purple garment, wearing on his head a crown of thorns, and on his shoulder a heavy cross, bends one of his knees on the bottom of a bier, supported by eight of the most distinguished citizens. At this procession the whole Roman Catholic population attend, accompanied by children in fancy dresses, to represent angels, with muslin wings at their shoulders. This procession perambulates the town of Macao; and then proceeds to the convent of St. Augustine.

Less than twenty years ago, on the eve of a St. John's day, the monks and nuns celebrated the occasion, by burning in effigy a man and woman made of paper, which represented Herod and his daughter, by whose intreaties St. John the Baptist lost his life. A bonfire on a grand scale was made on the following day.

The persecuting principles of popery are fully carried out at Macao, towards the Jews, who are never allowed to settle there.

According to Moshiem, Boniface V. A.D. 620, in imitation of

the heathen custom, ordered that no one should be apprehended in a church. This immunity was frequently taken advantage of in Macao, by men who should have ended their days on the gallows; but if the culprits had money they found shelter in the churches and convents there.

Timkowsky, the Russian envoy, who was at Peking in 1820, gives a description of the Portuguese monastery he visited whilst there.

"He was received by Father Ribevia who was a member of the academy of astronomy at Peking.

"The chapel is lighted by several lustres. Opposite the entrance is an *image* of the Virgin Mary, with the following inscription in Chinese: '*She prays for the whole universe.*' Near it is a picture, the subject of which is taken from the Gospel. It represents Jesus Christ receiving the gifts of a child, dressed in the Chinese summer costume. Among the crowd of Israelites are a great number of Chinese,—'who behold with delight this act of condescension. To the right of the Holy Virgin is Saint Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits.'

"We passed through a passage on the side of which are the cells, which appeared in a ruinous condition."

The Jesuits are said to have persuaded the Emperor of China (Kanghe) and the nobility, that the primitive theology of their nation, and more particularly the doctrine of their great instructor, (Confucius) differed in nothing important from the doctrine of the Gospel. But Confucius was adverse to idolatry—whereas the Romanist forms were similar to those of the Budhists; they had the same processions, statues, candles, perfumes, prayers for the dead, auricular confession, monasteries for both sexes, whose lives are devoted to abstinence, celibacy, and solitude, &c. Indeed, the missionaries said that Budhism was a cunning invention of the devil in order to defeat their form of Christianity.

A Jesuit named Neuville, writes thus in the year 1740. "I have this year celebrated the canonization of Francis Regis, whom I have chosen for the patron of our mountains: may he condescend to work the same miracles here as he did formerly in France! The whole was done very much to the edification of those present. A great image of the saint was exposed to view; and the people chanted the litanies which I had composed in honour of him." After many other idolatrous practices, which it is painful to read, he says, "If I had the means of founding a monastery, it would very soon be filled by fervent virgins. There are several married people, who live *like brothers and sisters.* Moreover, they do not consider these mortifications of the flesh as sufficiently meritorious." Here we have some clue to account for the persecution the converts suffered, as the secrets of the marriage bed had been sought after; which in China are strictly guarded. The Chinese with great truth designated this religion a "one that corrupts the mind."

The Romanists preferred to say mass in the Latin tongue, although their Chinese priests could not pronounce the words aright; and as the Chinese are fond of sumptuous shows, and magnificent ornaments, pompous processions, and the noise of bells, they took extraordinary pains to provide them with all that the church allows. Iron girdles, and other instruments of penance, were of common use amongst them; they not only kept the fasts prescribed by the church, but also fasted on Wednesday, in honour of St. Joseph, the patron saint of China; on Friday, in honour of the passion of our Lord; and on Saturday in honour of the Holy Virgin.

The miracles recorded by the Jesuits in China, are greater than any narrated in Scripture.

Moses brought locusts on the land by the special interposition of God, but Faber drove them from the land of China with holy water. Elijah divided the river Jordan that he might pass over, but Faber was carried over rivers, through the air.

Schaal was condemned to be cut in ten thousand pieces, "but as often as the princes of the blood attempted to read his sentence, a dreadful earthquake dispersed the assembly."

Surely the denunciations of the prophet Malachi must have overtaken these "robbers of God," or where is the fruit of their labours?* It appears the rulers of heathen lands, Japan and China, got an earlier insight into the machinations of Jesuitism than those of Europe, as since their expulsion from these countries they have been suppressed by every monarch of Europe, not excepting the Pope himself. Their name is justly associated with deception, pious frauds, ambition, and selfishness.

It is pleasing to find any record, amidst this desecration of Christianity, whereon the mind can dwell with some degree of pleasure.

M. Dufresse was appointed Bishop of Tabraco in the year 1800, and in a letter from the province of Sze-chuen, written to one of his pupils in Penang, filling ten octavo pages, with the exception of seven lines, there is scarcely a sentence that would not meet the approbation of an orthodox Protestant. These pupils were in a strange land, and surrounded by dangers and temptations. The good bishop says, "be not discouraged; Jesus Christ, who has conquered the world and hell, and broken the sceptre of their power, will give you the victory, if you continue faithful to his grace, which shall never fail you; if you persevere in the love and fear of God, so as to give no entrance into your hearts to any mortal sin; and if you wander not from the paths he has traced for you. He will be your consolation in tribulations and labours, your shelter in adversity, your fortress in dangers; the giver of strength in labour, and of resignation in infirmity; the author of light and progress in your studies; your assured defence against all the secret assaults of your enemies, visible and invisible; and a healing balm to soothe the sorrows of your flesh and spirit. He will not

* Malachi, iii. 9.

suffer you to be tempted above your strength, but in the day of your temptation, he will give you the strength necessary to overcome. Let sin be the only object of your fear."*

During the administration of this true Apostle of the Christian doctrine, his efforts made great progress. There were frequently 1,500 adult baptisms annually, but since that time the number has diminished, and has never since been so great.

In the early part of his administration they enjoyed peace and quietness, in so much, that they even held a council of the foreign and native priests, that they might be enabled to extend their influence.

Up to the year 1804, the Romanist priests were in comparative peace, so far as the Chinese government was concerned; but there does not appear to have been any period of their history without constant bickerings; one usurping authority over the other. The Portuguese and Italian missionaries at Peking had a dispute about the extent of their separate missions. The former being licensed by the King of Portugal, were anxious to strictly guard his majesty's "privileges;" and all efforts failed to arrange this important point, without submitting the case to Rome. As a guide for his Holiness, a map of the province of Shantung, drawn by P. Adeodat, was sent, along with letters. The messenger who conveyed them was seized, and the circumstance of such an instrument being sent to a foreign power, excited suspicions in China at that time, as would have been the case in any part of Europe.

On an explanation being sought, and strict enquiry made, it is said, "their answers were embarrassed, their reasons weak, and their explanations obscure."

The anger of the Chinese ministers knew no bounds. "These men," they exclaimed, "dispute about the possession of the country already, though it belongs to our great Emperor."

The Roman Catholic mission has never recovered its position from that time to this. The persecutions that followed were most severe, and an effectual stop was placed on their future correspondence, by having it sent through the Russian College at Peking, whose members are anything but friendly disposed to the Pope.

These storms and alarming edicts were hitherto only a nine days' wonder, but a lasting impression seemed now to have been made on the government.

In 1811, a Chinese priest, with letters to his superior, was arrested, and the court, unable to distinguish between the spiritual jurisdiction claimed by the bishops and the civil authority of a monarch, became still more cautious and suspicious.

Their own account is, that after this affair, they all agreed to leave China (except four), and none have ever since been allowed in Peking.†

* Annales, vol. i., No. 9, p. 68. † See Lett. Edif., vol. iv., p. 152-58.

On a review of the foregoing, it must be admitted that in China, as in India, South America, and elsewhere, Jesuitism has failed. That popery, as practised by the Jesuits, was not the popery preached by the Franciscans in the same land in 1288, there is abundant proof.

According to Le Compte, page 384, they translated the great Summa of Thomas Aquinas, but found "weighty reasons for not translating the Word of God." According to Kircher, in his China Illustrata, page 127—they published an abstract of the moral law, in which the second commandment was left out; the *fourth* changed into "keep holy the festivals;" and the tenth was split in two.

Grapes cannot be gathered from thistles, nor figs from thorns; their statements must be received with caution, and their miracles rejected as frauds.

The zeal, devotion, and perseverance so much lauded, were also claimed by the Jews, and by all the false teachers of ancient and modern times; it was no benefit to the former that they had "a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge."

Several members of the Roman mission, in its early history, were learned men, so far as being skilled in the abstract sciences and worldly knowledge, but "hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?" With the exception of their temporary inculcation of science, which is now forgotten in China, there is little in the history of their mission to approve.

Their historians state, and the cautious Mosheim is in the same error, that they all arrived in China perfectly acquainted with the language.

The celebrated Jesuit, Ruggiero, on his arrival at Macao, engaged a painter, "quem minime inaptus magister patri visus est Sina pictor, qui, quod lingue deirat, arte suppleret, quippe, non raro contingebat." Dr. Morrison says, "he knew personally ten Roman missionaries in China, who had resided at court and on the frontiers, from fourteen to thirty years, and only three of them could read Chinese; four of them had been many years at Peking, and did not know a single symbol, but could speak the language; while some of the others could neither read nor speak it."

Their position in Peking could be nothing better than the Russians; they were "guarded to protect them from insult."

Why an All-wise Providence has permitted the debasing errors of the Church of Rome to enslave the most populous countries of the globe, prior to the full manifestation of His gospel, is not within the compass of human knowledge; but an examination of its effects may serve to stimulate men of a more pure and simple doctrine. The grievous errors detailed in these pages may be considered as beacons to indicate the rocks on which Romanism has suffered shipwreck. It is no justification that these ambitious men possessed untiring zeal, self-denial, and learning; we require

the evidence that this devotion and good works were such as God approves.

The failure of Jesuitism in China should not deter the preachers of a purer faith, when they have the promise of succour and aid, in every trial and temptation (Isaiah, xliii. 2, and Matthew, v. 10-12). That the Jesuits did good, I would fain hope, but St. James tells us that, "where strife is, there is confusion and every evil work." (Chap. iii. 16.)

I have now arrived at the sixth point which I proposed to investigate—namely, the existing state of Christianity in China; the imperial edicts issued for its toleration, and a suggestion of the means by which the life-giving precepts of the Word of God may be beneficially extended. The failure of Judaism, of Nestorianism, of Jesuitism, and of Romanism in China, for two thousand years, ought to be a stimulus to Protestantism to bring "Sinim" within reach of the Promised Land.

The existing state of the Roman Catholic missions in China, has been carefully analysed from the Annales de la Foi, by Dr. Bridgeman, in his Chinese Repository for 1839. The extent of country over which they are spread may be judged by a reference to the chart attached to vol. i. of this work. It will be found to include upwards of 764,000 square miles.

Provinces.	Bishops.	Priests.	Native Priests.	Converts.
Canton and Kwangsi	—	9	30	52,000
Honan, Hoo-pih, and Hunan .	—	0*	0	40,000
Chih-le and Shantung	—	0	0	50,000
Che-keang and Kiangsi . . .	—	0	0	9,000
Shanse and Hookwang . . .	4	10	15	60,000
Fookein and Formosa	2	5	9	40,000
Sze-chuen	2	9	30	52,000
	8	33	84	303,000

Dr. Bridgeman places little reliance on this statement, because he thinks Papin, the apostolic missionary now in China, published an unjust statement relating to a Protestant establishment in Malacca. After mentioning his arrival at Malacca, the writer adds, "we visited the famous Anglo-Chinese college there, which the Protestants have erected at an enormous expense; this establishment, so much vaunted in Europe, is remarkable only for its luxury. Pompous inscriptions, sacred and profane, cover the walls within and without; but that is all. The school is composed of hardly a dozen children picked up in the streets, and instructed in English, and even these they pay, in order to secure their attendance.

* In these provinces there are thirty native priests and twenty-four Europeans, the former are of the order Lazarists.

"They have also established a Chinese and Malay printing press. The Protestant minister who governs this pretended college received us with politeness. Having learned that the Chinese grammar of Premare had been printed there, we wished to procure a copy, but when we asked for it under that name, the minister appeared astonished. He had never known the existence of Premare, nor that he was the author of the grammar, for although their work is nothing but a literal translation of the work of the celebrated Jesuit, the translator has modestly attributed all the merit of it to himself." "It was thus also that the late minister, Morrison of Canton, after having procured the Chinese dictionary of Basil, and caused it to be printed, announced himself to the learned world as its author."*

The description of the Protestant Anglo-Chinese college at Malacca, is doubtless overcharged, but it is a fact that that college produced few useful results; it was unable even to afford us interpreters when the recent war (1840) commenced in China; its extension of Christianity I have not been able to trace.

The missionaries labouring in China are connected with societies of various denominations in England, America, France and Italy.

The London Missionary Society, belonging to the denomination of Protestant Dissenters, had in 1844 nine missionaries in China; the Church Mission two; the American Board of Commissioners for foreign missions, five. The American Baptist Board, four. The American Presbyterian Board, three. The American Episcopolian Board two. The latter has since been considerably increased.

The number of missionaries belonging to the societies of Jesus and St. Lazarus, and to the "Congregatio de Propaganda Fide" is so great, and they are so scattered over the empire, that it is next to impossible to ascertain it excepting from their own records. From a map of missions by Marchini, presented in 1810, it appears that in that year there were six bishops, two coadjutors, twenty-three missionaries, and eighty agents in China. Their names it is difficult to obtain; that of the only one I know is Comte de Besi, a bishop, who resides in Kangsoo, and often visits Nanking, Shanghai, and the Island of Tsungming, in the mouth of the Yangtzekang. He is, I believe, a Jesuit.

There are two local societies established and supported by the foreign residents in China.

The Morrison Education Society, established in 1836. And the Medical Missionary Society established in 1838.

The London Missionary Society, as also all the other societies, with the single exception of those of the Catholic persuasion, did not in the first instance send their missionaries to China, but placed them among the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, at

* See Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, tom. viii. p. 585.

Batavia, Singapore, and Malacca, where they could have more access to the thousands of Chinese that resort to and live at those places, and where they could pursue their labours with far less bigotry and opposition to contend against, than they could were they living in China itself. The missionaries resided at those places, some of them for many years, until the peace with China in 1842, when they were immediately directed by their Societies to sell the different missionary premises, and repair to Hong Kong, there to meet together and consult upon their distribution among the five ports. In consequence of those instructions, the mission premises at Batavia, Singapore, and Malacca have been sold, and the missionaries who resided at those places have left them for China. The Anglo-Chinese College, which was founded and established by the Rev. Dr. Morrison in Malacca, has also been transferred to Hong Kong, where ground has been purchased; and buildings are now erecting for the use of that establishment, under the superintendence of the Rev. James Legge. The principal, and the oldest, missionary to the Chinese in connection with the London Missionary Society, is the Rev. W. H. Medhurst, who came out to India in 1816; from thence he went to Malacca, where he first gave his attention to the Chinese; and in 1822 he joined the Batavian mission. After fifteen years residence in that Island, he returned to England for his health, and came out again in 1839. In 1830 he published an English and Japanese and Japanese and English Vocabulary, which was lithographed at the mission press.

In 1834 his Fookeen Dictionary appeared, in one volume 4to.

The printing of it was commenced by the East India Company in 1831, and unavoidably put a stop to by the expiration of their charter in 1834, when it was carried on and finished by subscription. In 1838 was published his work on China, in one vol. 8vo.

He has also written many other works in Chinese, and has laboured long and hard in the revision of the Bible in that language. He is a most exemplary Christian.

In 1843 he published his Chinese and English Dictionary, in two vols. 8vo.; and he is at present engaged in preparing for the press an English and Chinese Dictionary, which will be a very full and complete work. The other missionaries connected with that society, have not been long enough in this country to be perfect masters of the Chinese language; but considering the opportunities they have enjoyed, most of them have made very creditable progress, though of course more particularly in that portion of the language connected with their peculiar avocation.

The Rev. William Milne, who went to Chusan in the month of March 1842, succeeded in locating himself in the city of Ningpo, after it was evacuated by Her Majesty's forces in May of that year. After residing there several months, he left it in the dis-

guise of a Native, accompanied by his Chinese teacher, and two Chinese servants, pushed into the interior, and succeeded in reaching Canton after a journey of about thirty days, without meeting any obstacle, or exciting any attention. He travelled the whole way, with very little exception, in sedan chairs and boats, and from being necessitated to hire always a boat to himself, to prevent detection, his expenses amounted to more than 200 dollars. This is the first instance on record of a Protestant missionary succeeding in travelling into the interior; no effort, however, was made to distribute tracts, or in any way to carry out his objects in coming to this country. The only reason that such instances have never before happened, is that Protestant missionaries do not feel justified in practising the deception so constantly made use of by the Catholic priests, and through which alone, they succeed so effectually in entering within the barrier, and propagating their tenets in the face of most severe prohibitions.

Of those belonging to the American Board of Commissioners for foreign missions, the most advanced in the Chinese language are the Rev. Dr. Bridgeman, Rev. D. Abeel, and Mr. Williams.

The Rev. Dr. Bridgeman composed a work which he called the 'Christomathy" in 1841, which, as its title indicates, is a work designed to furnish a series of easy lessons, comprising simple instruction on that which is plain and useful. It is in the Canton dialect, and is a very well arranged easy lesson-book for learners of that dialect.

In 1844 Mr. Williams published an English and Chinese Vocabulary in the court dialect, which is one of the most complete Chinese Vocabularies extant. Mr. Williams has, through study and research, done much to bring to notice Chinese natural history, and has given especial attention to botany.

Of the missionaries connected with the Baptist Board, there is not much to notice; they have not been long in China, but are, nevertheless, tolerable Chinese scholars, although their knowledge of the colloquial exceeds that of the written language.

The Rev. J. S. Shuck built a small chapel in Hong Kong, in 1843, called the Queen's Road Chapel. The expenses of erecting it were altogether defrayed by subscription. Although very small, until lately it has been the only place of worship in Hong Kong.

The Morrison Education Society was established in 1836, and its object is "to improve and promote education in China by schools and other means."

In 1839 the Rev. J. R. Brown arrived and opened a school, which has been flourishing ever since, and has at the present time many scholars. They have made great proficiency in the English language, and do great credit to their instructors. Four of the boys are supported by Government, on the condition that two are constantly supplied to the Consulate of Shanghae. The two that are now there, have made themselves very useful as linguists. A

grant of land in Hong Kong has been made by Government to this Society, and a very commodious schoolhouse has been built on one of the most conspicuous eminences at the east end of the town.*

The Medical Missionary Society† was established in the year 1838, pursuant to suggestions for its formation, published by S. R. Colledge, Esq. Rev. J. Parker, and Rev. E. C. Bridgeman, in December 1836. Its object is, to give assistance and information to those who come out to China as medical missionaries, that by these means their services may be made immediately available, while at the same time they may be put in the way of learning the language, for the purpose of fitting themselves for practising in parts of the country to which foreigners have not hitherto gained access. Hitherto it has succeeded very well, and thousands of Chinese have been relieved in the different hospitals connected with the Society, at Macao, Canton, Chusan, and Shanghai. A grant of land has also been made to this Society, and a hospital now occupies the summit of a hill adjoining that of the Morrison Education Society hill.

The number of converts brought from Heathenism to Christianity through the means of Protestant missionaries, is very small. It cannot be compared with that of the Catholic converts, for the Protestant missionaries are in general so very strict, and require that a man shew the change in his heart, by a corresponding change for the better in his conduct and life, while the Catholics only require that he should outwardly profess his faith, so that but few join the former sect, while thousands crowd to the standard of Rome. Perhaps there are not more than twenty or thirty Christian Protestant Chinese, while Catholicism numbers its tens and hundreds of thousands.

The Protestant missionaries are actuated by a nobler purpose than the Jesuits, and will not adopt secret stealthy means to promote Christianity. They have a lively hope that when God in his wise providence opens the door, they will enter; and if called on to endure trials and sorrow, the principle which actuated their sires and the spirit of their God, will, I trust, be found to dwell in their hearts.

The social influence of missionaries is already felt, as few others have the privileges of familiar intercourse with the Chinese. Few have spoken with them in their own language, and there have been very few others from whom they could obtain information regarding the history of other countries.

The children educated by the missionaries are better acquainted

* In the Chinese Repository, vol. v. p. 373, will be found a full account of the establishment, objects, &c. of this society.

† In the Chinese Repository, also, vol. v. p. 370, and vol. vii. p. 32, will be found accounts of its origin and objects.

with history, geography, &c. than the literati of the nation, or the ministers of the Emperor. The person from whom Keying is acquiring information respecting other countries, was entirely educated by an American Protestant missionary; and although bearing no direct relation with religion, it is of too much importance to be overlooked.

On the other hand, valuable information has been lately procured, in regard to the internal state of China, through the Protestant missionaries, without which the pages of this work would in many points have been dependent on the Jesuits' writings, which might have been faithful enough when written. The translations of Dr. Morrison, the pages of the Chinese Repository, and the labours of Bridgeman, Medhurst, and others, have proved valuable, because truthful expositors.

Without enumerating the numerous barriers opposed to the introduction of the Gospel in China, the most fatal is the clause in the treaty which so circumscribes the labours of the missionary; and prevents him gaining admission into the interior, where instruction is more likely to be successful than in maritime towns, in which the worst classes generally congregate.

A subject of paramount importance has of late received much attention from Protestant missionaries (particularly American) in China, viz. the healing art, the practice of which is not only given gratuitously but with a cheerful and generous spirit. The object is to open the hearts of the Chinese, and to prove to them that all foreigners are not actuated by the same motives, "gain seeking" as they have hitherto had too much reason to think.

The Christian missionary has a noble example for this conduct in his Lord and Master, who went about healing the sick, giving sight to the blind, and comforting the distressed.

The importance of the object, and the suitableness of the means to attain it, must be obvious to every one who is alive to the blessed effects of the law of kindness; to the holy principle "overcome evil with good."

In this way the deep-rooted prejudices against foreigners will be gradually subdued, access to the country more easily procured, and many brought under the instruction of the herald of glad tidings, who would otherwise have had no intercourse with him.

When the agency of this really Christian Society shall be carried into full operation (when means and teachers are supplied) it is intended that each medical missionary shall be aided by a clerical associate.

To a limited extent this has been already done. I know of no means so effective for the introduction of Christianity into China, as the extension of the Medical Missionary Society; it is not only the best, it is the only means by which we can hope to prosecute successfully this holy object.

Dr. Hobson, one of this excellent society, and a man of practical

and skilful benevolence, reports, that from June, 1843, to July, 1844, the number of Chinese relieved, was 3,924, at Hong Kong. The large number of in-patients gave the Doctor better opportunities of conversing with them on religious subjects. The Doctor is assisted by a native, of age and experience, (Ayong), who devotes himself to the propagation of Christianity among his own countrymen.

Since the commencement of medical missions in China, from 1838 to 1844, upwards of 30,000 have sought aid from the skill of the "barbarians," freely submitting to whatever was directed. Upwards of two-thirds of this number have presented themselves for surgical treatment, within the last four years.

And here I cannot help adverting to an English lady (Miss Aldersey), who has devoted herself to the Chinese as a medical missionary. Possessed of an independent property in England—of a beautiful form—an accomplished mind, and simple winning manners—which in any country would command esteem and admiration, she deemed herself irresistibly called on by a spirit within her to proceed to China. Her father (resident, I think, at Chigwell, in Essex), for several years refused to part with his beloved daughter, but at last felt compelled to yield to her overwhelming convictions. China was not then "opened," but Miss Aldersey proceeded to Batavia, and joined the family of the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Medhurst, where she commenced the study of the Chinese language. After the war Miss Aldersey accompanied Mr. Medhurst to Hong Kong, but soon perceiving that rock was quite unsuited to missionary exertions, even if untainted by the opium poison, Miss Aldersey proceeded to Chusan. On my arrival at that beautiful and healthy island in August, I solicited and obtained the honour of waiting on Miss Aldersey; I found her living entirely among the Chinese, in a good Chinese family, and with several Chinese ladies, and a few children, as her companions. Twice a week she received all the poor, afflicted, and diseased of both sexes, to whom she administered medicines (in the use of which she is *very skilful*), comforts, and even money where needed. It was indeed a blessed sight to see this accomplished English. woman dwelling among the Chinese as a "ministering angel," for such she doubtless appeared. I was a passenger in the steamer which conveyed Miss Aldersey to Ningpo, where she had bought a house, and determined to end her days. She was accompanied by several Chinese ladies of pleasing manners; but her own simplicity of character was the greatest charm. Extreme illness and debility at the time, prevented my converse with this remarkable woman, who is silently working a great reformation around her, especially in her own sex, and by the education of female children. What a contrast to us as an "opium smuggling nation!" Would that I could see a committee of English ladies in London, to aid the pious Miss Aldersey in her blessed labours!

When I was in China there were eight "good Samaritans," medical missionary gentlemen, *practically* inculcating Christianity. I visited the excellent hospital of Dr. Parker at Canton, and the dispensary of the amiable Dr. Lockhart at Shanghai.

No language that I could utter would convey the praise that is due to these missionaries and their colleagues. From the 21st of November, 1842, to the 31st of December, 1843, the number of patients who had resorted to Dr. Parker's hospital at Canton, was 3,501; and while Dr. Parker has been devoting much time to their relief, he has bestowed great attention to the instructions of the Chinese youths who have placed themselves under him. One of them, Kwan-Tau, his senior pupil, has been found competent to keep open the institution (during the Doctor's temporary absence from Canton), attending principally to the diseases of the eye, to which he has paid most attention.

Diseases of the eye are very prevalent in China, and have been most successfully treated by Dr. Parker.

Dr. Lockhart, soon after he settled in Shang-hai, successfully couched many cases of cataract; one was extracted from a native practitioner from Suchau, a gratifying mark of the confidence that is placed in him, and of the readiness with which the Chinese acknowledge the superior skill of foreigners, at least, in this branch of science. In a letter from him, he says, "I have already administered medicines to 3,000 people at Shanghai, all coming to my house." This number is now, of course, much augmented. Recently, when our consul, Mr. Thom, was ill at Ningpo, our consul at Shanghai, Captain Balfour, who gained the respect of the Chinese authorities by his manly, just, and English-like conduct, obtained permission to send Dr. Lockhart across the country, through Hangchew, to visit Mr. Thom, who, however, was dead on his arrival. The incident shews the favour in which Christian mediciners are viewed by the Chinese authorities.

The prejudice that existed in this country against medical men becoming missionaries, has happily subsided. In what field could Christian philanthropy be better exercised than following the example of our Blessed Saviour and his Apostles, who, while they taught things that concerned the eternal interests of men, were anxiously solicitous to relieve bodily sufferings? What He did by Divine Power, and they by miraculous gifts, no one can in these days pretend to effect. But we are nevertheless commanded and encouraged to imitate them, by the use of such means as knowledge and the exercise of a genuine charity will furnish. Education is now estimated by every well-regulated mind; not that education will make a Christian, but because it is one of the modes to that end. The same argument will hold good with regard to science, as an instrument to uproot a degrading system of idolatry—not that science can convert a heathen, but it is a good auxiliary in demonstrating his false doctrine.

Without derogating from any of the noble institutions which this country aids for the conversion of the heathen, the Medical Missionary Society has pre-eminent claims, both from its infant state, and the vast field of its usefulness.

It is painful to note how little Protestant England, as a government or people, has yet done for China. The attention of the London Missionary Society was directed to the subject in 1807, but their missionary, Dr. Morrison, found some difficulty in locating himself at Canton, from the East India Company; and it was not until his services as an interpreter were required, that countenance, and an undisturbed residence, were granted him by our countrymen.

The disadvantages under which he commenced were great, but not too much for his zeal and industry; he had neither grammars nor dictionaries. For several years he laboured alone, devoting his time to the study of the language, and the preparation of a grammar and dictionary. To this object his attention had been been specially turned by the Directors of the Missionary Society. "Perhaps," said they in their instructions, "you may have the honour of forming a Chinese dictionary, more comprehensive and correct than any preceding one." This expectation has been fully realized, and the dictionary prepared by Dr. Morrison is still, in the opinion of the accomplished Chinese scholar, Dr. Bridgeman, the most valuable of all the books used by the students of the language.

The bigotry of the Portuguese government prevented the co-operation of Dr. Morrison's faithful fellow-labourer (Milne) continuing his services at Macao, and the head quarters of the mission had to be transferred to Malacca. Many of the obstacles which then prevented missionary enterprise, are now, however, happily removed.

According to Mr. Milne's retrospect of the first ten years of the Chinese mission, the object of the society was to prepare works that would facilitate others in the acquisition of the language; this Dr. Morrison nobly performed.

He then commenced holding religious services with his domestics, and others who chose to attend. At this period the Chinese government were persecuting the Roman Catholic Missionaries, which circumstance increased the caution of the East India Company's servants.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, his efforts were not without some success; his first convert, Tsai-Ako, who was baptized in 1814, proved faithful until his death.

All the English missionaries for China subsequent to this period, arrived either at Penang, Malacca, Batavia, or Singapore.

The number of Chinese emigrants at these settlements, is at all times very great; and as they very generally return to China,

many opportunities occurred of distributing the Scriptures, among those to whom the missionaries could not go themselves.

Schools were established at the several stations, and the preaching of the Gospel regularly sustained. A blessing must always attend such efforts, when performed with sincerity and truth; many have been convinced of the folly of idolatry, and a few have given evidence of a change of heart, and were received into the Church by baptism.

Several Baptist missionaries, located in India, have directed their attention to the acquisition of the Chinese language, in the hope of extending the Gospel to China. Among these, the Rev. J. Marshman's services are well known. With the assistance of the Rev. Mr. Lassar, an Armenian Christian, born at Macao, and speaking and writing the Chinese language with fluency, he translated the whole of the Scriptures into Chinese in the year 1822. The American missions have been eminently successful in the East, and their ministers, medical and clerical, are the deadliest enemies to the corruptions of the Romish priesthood. The Americans have set us an example, of which we should feel ashamed. They have been the principal promotors and supporters of the medical mission, and they have sent the first Protestant bishop to China. Let us awake from our criminal apathy. It is our solemn duty to send the Gospel to all nations; the non-success of it in some places does not release us from this responsibility. Failure should merely lead to renewed exertions, to a reconsideration of the best means to be employed. There appear to be two errors with regard to the cause and effect of missions. Some think that throwing the seed in uncultivated ground will produce fruit; whilst others think that orientals are stereotyped, and will still worship the same idols.

History informs us, that all nations have undergone a change of opinions. What were the early Britains in the second century, when Christian missionaries came among them? China, that was formerly called the "great unchanged," "the middle kingdom," has changed, has bent, and is exhibiting at this moment unerring symptoms of further change. There are greater promises of success to the Christian missionary in China, than any other country in the East. First, the great majority of the people are instructed in principles of morality; and secondly, their modes of superstition are comparatively modern; the oldest or Confucian (B.C. 530) is a code of morals. Budhism, introduced A.D. 67, although tolerated, is despised by the majority of the higher classes, who have no idol worship. Let not individuals despair, when they reflect on the single effort of the orphan of Mecca, who planted his standards, with shouts of victory, over the ruined thrones of Constantine and Chosreos.

Religious opinions are continually changing; all systems, except Christianity, are in a state of continuous decay. But wherever Christianity exists, in any pure form, there is an aug-

mentation of the numbers of mankind, and a visible improvement in their condition, so that the balance between the Christian and Unchristian portions of mankind is undergoing a marked alteration. Truly, the prophecy is now in course of fulfilment: "God shall enlarge Japhet (Europe), and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem (Asia) and Canaan—Ham (Africa) shall be his servant." [Gen. ix. 27.]

Look at the wonderful position of England in the East—in the territories of Shem. Can we refuse the evidence before us, that great power has been bestowed on England as a nation for some nobler purpose than merely to sell calicoes and broadcloth, and buy tea and sugar? Let it not be said by the enemies of Christianity, that its precepts could not have been intended for the world, because so many nations have been in ignorance of its sustaining power. If the prophecy of Isaiah contemplates the conversion of the whole earth, as it most undoubtedly does, then it has only received as yet a very partial fulfilment. This should encourage us to persevere, until all may rejoice with the prophet, who follows up his prediction with such a remarkable aspiration, as that the "heavens shall sing, and the earth be joyful, and the very mountains shall break forth into singing."

Our Government appear ashamed of Christianity, as if its principles were poison, and its professors demons. At the treaty of Nankin we made less mention of our religion than any heathens would have done; we did not require permission to erect a place of worship at the consular ports, or even to form a Christian burial-ground; thanks to the French and Americans, these two points have since been obtained. We do not appear to have given ourselves the least trouble on the subject; it is as well we did not: we were far more solicitous about licensing opium smoking shops at Hong Kong, than of building even a Protestant church there. *Even the circular to our consuls in China, from Her Majesty's government in England, was hostile to English missionaries at the consular ports!*

All honour to the government of France, whose ambassador M. Lagrenè procured the following edict, tolerating Christianity, and revoking the former edicts for its suppression and persecution.

"Keying, a high minister, imperial commissioner, and viceroy of the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, respectfully presents this duly prepared memorial to the throne. I, your minister, find that the Christian Religion is that which the nations of the western seas venerate and worship, its tenets inculcating virtue and goodness, and reprobating wickedness and vice. It was introduced into, and has been propagated, in China, since the times of the Ming dynasty, and for a period there was no prohibition against it. Afterwards, because natives of China who professed to follow its maxims, frequently made use of it to commit mischief, the authorities made examination, and inflicted punishment, as is on record.

"In the reign of Kia-kin, a special clause was first enacted in the penal code, for the punishment of this offence, and hence the natives of China were in reality prevented from committing crime, the prohibition not extending to the religion which the foreign nations of the west worship.

"It now appears that the present envoy, Lagrenè, has requested that those Chinese who follow this religion, and are in other respects blameless in the eye of the law, be held free from punishment for so doing; and as this seems what may be carried into effect, I, your minister, accordingly request that hereafter all who profess the Christian religion be exempted from punishment, and looking up beseech the imperial grace. If any should walk in their former ways, or commit other offences, they will be adjudged according to the established laws.

"With reference to the subjects of France, as well as of all other foreign countries who follow this religion, they are to be permitted to erect churches for worship *only at the five ports open for foreign trade*, and they are not to presume to enter the interior, to propagate their doctrines. If any disobey this regulation, and rashly exceed the fixed boundaries (of the ports,) the district authorities will at once apprehend them, and deliver them over to the nearest consul of their respective countries, to be restrained and punished; they are not to be precipitately punished with severity, or killed. By this will tender compassion be manifested to those from afar, as well as to the blackhaired race, the good and the bad will not be confounded together, and by your Majesty's gracious assent will the laws and principles of reason be displayed with justice and sincerity; and this is my petition, that the practice of the Christian religion may henceforth entail no punishment on those who are good subjects.

"Wherefore I respectfully prepare this memorial, and looking up I beg that imperial grace do cause it to take effect. A respectful memorial.

"On the ninth day, eleventh month, twenty-fourth year of Taukwang, the imperial reply was received, assenting (to the petition.) Respect this.

"The above mandate was received at Suchau on the twenty-fifth day, twelfth month, twenty-fourth year of Taukwang.

"Shanghai, 1845."

This highly important edict has been followed up by another concession, also obtained by the French ambassador from the Chinese government, for the protection and toleration of Christians throughout the whole empire, and even for the restoration, where practicable, of the temples or places of worship which they formerly possessed.

Captain Balfour, I understand, has, with commendable zeal, obtained a piece of ground for a chapel and burial ground, at

Shanghai, and it is to be hoped that such will be the case at each of the open ports in China. The Chinese will respect us the more, when they see we have some form of religion; they are particularly careful of burial grounds. I saw the grave-yard at Kulang-su (Amoy) where several Englishmen were interred more than a hundred years ago. The graves were in good preservation, but as the names on them were being obliterated by time, an English captain, (rightly honoured with the appellation of "Old Mortality,") used to go on shore every day, with a chisel and hammer, and re-engrave the names, characters, and virtues, as inscribed on the head-stones of his countrymen, in a distant land. This worthy appreciated the poetry of thought in the lines:—

"Go, stranger! track the deep,
Free, free the white sail spread;
Wind may not blow, nor billow sweep,
Where rest not England's *dead*."

Let us endeavour to make it *living* England, in every land; it is not the fault of the Chinese government, but of our own, if we refuse to avail ourselves of the advantages held forth in the following decree:—

EDICT REGARDING THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.—"Keying, High Imperial Commissioner and Governor-General of Kwang-tung and Kwang-se, &c., &c., and Kwang, Lieutenant-Governor of Kwang-tung, &c., issue the following distinct orders, which are respectfully recorded:—

"The Minister and Lieutenant-Governor duly represented to the throne, that the profession of the religion of the Lord of Heaven, being in itself excellent, no punishment ought to be attached to it. Hereupon we received an imperial receipt on the 25th day of the 1st month, 26th year of Taukwang. (20th February, 1846) saying,—

'Keying and others transmitted a request, that virtuous people who professed the religion of the Lord of Heaven, ought not on that account to be subject to punishment. The places of worship they erected, the churches where they assemble to do homage to the Cross and to pictures, and where they recite their prayers and preach, need not to be searched and prohibited. The whole of this proposition was granted.

'As the religion of the Lord of Heaven exhorts people to virtue, it differs from other sects; and we therefore exempt the same from prohibitory regulations. What this time was asked, ought entirely to be allowed.

"'All the churches of the Lord of Heaven built during the reign of Kang-he (1662-1772) in the various provinces, which were converted into temples or dwellings for the people, ought not to be a

subject of investigation; but if it can be sufficiently proved, that some of the original edifices still exist, we permit them to be restored to the local professors of that religion.

"'If, on the receipt of this edict by the Mandarins of the various provinces, any true professors of the religion of the Lord of Heaven have been unauthoratitively seized, without being vagabonds, we allow (the authorities) to draw a line of demarcation (in liberating those imprisoned on account of their religion.)

"If any men under pretence of religion commit crime, and, assembling people from distant villages, excite them to mischief, or if any villains of other sects, under the name of the religion of the Lord of Heaven, presume to create disturbance, they will be all considered as having committed a treasonable crime, and be punished according to the established laws.

"No foreigners are allowed, by the regulations now established, to go into the interior and propagate their religion, for we must make a distinction.

"'Let this be made known. Respect this.'

"Having humbly recorded the above, we address this perspicuous order to the military and people for their general information and implicit obedience. Do not oppose. A special proclamation.

"Taukwang, 26th year, 2nd month, 21st day." (18th March, 1846.)

The previous records shew, that at various periods the Chinese government were aware of the great advantages derivable from European intercourse. It is through the Christian virtues and Christian civilization of Europe, that this mighty empire can alone be changed, and the introduction of men of Christian principles, and medical and scientific skill at Peking, would probably, in a short period remodel the government, and strengthen, by improving even the present Tartar dynasty.

Even in a mere pecuniary point of view, we shall reap as a nation, great advantages from the establishment of a pure Christianity in China; it will afford the means of promoting intercourse, of facilitating commerce, and of extending our language and habits among millions, by which we may pave the way to freedom of communication with Central Asia.

Oh! that our government would view this great question in all its aspects, then the men who profess and desire to act on Christian principles, would no longer be compelled to hide their opinions, but would rejoicingly aid in extending peace and its concomitant blessing Christian civilization, into the vast regions of the east; and the mistaken, dark, and prejudiced views, which now influence our government, would give place to that animating, purifying, and abiding spirit, without which all mere human efforts are vain, and all political arrangements, territorial aggrandizement, or commercial advantages, but so many steps towards the ruin and extinction of a nation.

It was intended to have given a summary of the facts contained in the previous pages, an exposition of the past and present state of China, and an outline of the policy which we ought to pursue, for the benefit of China and of England; but the length to which the work has already extended, precludes these observations; and conclusions, if required, may be readily drawn from the statements adduced. The same want of space and augmenting and *unsustained expense,* prevents the printing of several official and public documents in the Appendix. The work as it stands, will, however, furnish materials for future more elaborate investigation into the important subjects, which I have strenuously endeavoured to elucidate and expound.

The points to which my attention has been chiefly directed, have been :—

1st. The great extent, topography, and divisions of China Proper, and its dependencies of Mantchouria, Mongolia, Turkestan, and Thibet;

2nd. The vast population, their character, classification, and habits;

3rd. The varied productions—agricultural, mineral, and manufacturing;

4th. The nature and form of government—imperial, provincial, and municipal;

5th. The ancient and modern history of this most extraordinary Empire, and its dynasties and chronology;

6th. The political and general intercourse, from the most remote periods, with the ancient and modern nations of Asia and Europe; the embassies it has received or accredited, and the treaties made with England, France, Russia, and the United States of America;

7th. The war between England and China, its origin, progress, and results;

8th. The internal trade, coasting traffic, and maritime commerce with various nations; its extent, nature, value, and progress; tariffs and regulations;

9th. The tea trade, and consumption in different countries;

10th. The opium traffic, and the official statements of the Chinese government thereon;

11th. The banking and monetary system of China; coins, weights, and measures;

12th. The State of Japan, our treaty, and the communications of China, Russia, Portugal, Holland, and America, with that singular and isolated country; and suggestions for its being opened, together with Corea, Siam, and Cochin China, to British intercourse and trade;

13th. Description of the consular ports for European and American trade in China, viz.: Canton, Amoy, Foochoo, Ningpo, and Shanghai;

14th. Report on Hong Kong, shewing *its utter worthlessness to England in every point of view,* and the necessity of reducing our expenditure there;

15th. A detailed exposition of the valuable island of Chusan, "the key of China."

16th. The condition of the Portuguese settlement at Macao, and the Russian station at Kiachta;

17th. An examination of the cause which has preserved the Chinese Empire for more than two thousand years, viz.: its knowledge from the beginning of the only true and living God; the establishment of the Jews in China; the progress of the Nestorian Christians; the rise and downfal of the Jesuits, and of Romanism; the present state of the Protestant missions; the existing toleration and encouragement of Christianity in China, and the means to be adopted for its judicious extension.

These have been the objects which I undertook to investigate, as their elucidation would essentially aid Her Majesty's Government in our relations with, and future policy towards, the government and people of China. And if in my endeavours to demonstrate that our diplomatic policy has been defective, and unnecessarily restrictive; that we have made a most unfortunate selection on the coast of China for a British settlement; that we ought not to have evacuated Chusan until the treaty of Nankin had been fulfilled; that we have most unnecessarily wasted, and are continuing our waste of, blood and treasure on the coast of China; that we are committing a great crime against God and man by the opium traffic;—if in my desire to sustain these points, I have by the adduction of facts, or by cogent expressions, given pain to individuals, or impugned the political motives of Her Majesty's Government, of either party in the State, it has been contrary to my intentions, and at variance with my feelings. Conscious of my own imperfections, I have to claim indulgence, rather than record censure, and am bound to remember the extenuating and influencing circumstances of all human actions. I, therefore, crave the fair consideration of this general Report on China in the full spirit of that manly English liberty which encourages the freest discussion on public men and on public measures, and entreat that this consideration be in accordance with that Christian charity and toleration which characterizes the British nation.

R. M. MARTIN.

London, March 1, 1847.

APPENDIX

OF OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

[*I transmitted to the Board of Trade, with this Report, numerous Statistical Tables of Trade with India, Europe, and America, for series of years, and various public Documents, which it would be too expensive for me to print.*—R. M. M.]

DECLARATION RESPECTING TRANSIT DUTIES.

(Signed in the English and Chinese Languages.)

"WHEREAS by the tenth Article of the Treaty between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, concluded and signed on board Her Britannic Majesty's ship 'Cornwallis,' at Nanking, on the 29th day of August, 1842, corresponding with the Chinese date 24th day of the 7th month, in the 22d year of Taoukwang, it is stipulated and agreed, that His Majesty the Emperor of China shall establish at all the ports which by the second Article of the said Treaty, are to be thrown open for the resort of British merchants, a fair and regular Tariff of export and import customs and other dues; which Tariff shall be publicly notified and promulgated for general information; and further, that when British merchandize shall have once paid, at any of the said ports, the regulated customs and dues, agreeably to the Tariff to be hereafter fixed, such merchandize may be conveyed by Chinese merchants to any province or city in the interior of the empire of China, on paying a further amount of duty as transit duty;

"And whereas the rate of transit duty to be so levied was not fixed by the said Treaty;

"Now, therefore, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of Her Britannic Majesty, and of His Majesty the Emperor of China, do hereby, on proceeding to the exchange of the Ratifications of the said Treaty, agree and declare, that the further amount of duty to be so levied on British merchandize, as transit duty, shall not exceed the present rates, which are upon a moderate scale; and the Ratifications of the said Treaty are exchanged subject to the express declaration and stipulation herein contained.

"In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Declaration, and have affixed thereunto their respective seals.

"Done at Hong Kong, the 26th day of June, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three; corresponding with the Chinese date, Taoukwang twenty-third year, fifth month, and twenty-ninth day."

(L.S.) "HENRY POTTINGER.

Seal and Signature of the Chinese Plenipotentiary.

Chinese Tariff of Duties leviable at the five ports of Canton, under Treaty of 1843. *Duties given in Chinese currency of taels, mace, candareens, and cash; in dollars and cents; and in pounds, shillings, and pence.*

DUTIES CHARGEABLE ON ARTICLES OF IMPORT INTO CHINA.

Articles of Import.		New Duties.							
	Per	T.	M.	C.	C.	$ C.	£	s.	d.
Assafœtida	Pecul.	1	0	0	0	1 40	0	5	0½
Bees-wax	..	1	0	0	0	1 40	0	5	0½
Betel-nut	..	0	1	5	0	0 21	0	0	9
Biche-de-mer.									
First sort, black	..	0	8	0	0	1 12	0	4	0½
Second, white	..	0	2	0	0	0 28	0	1	0
Birds-nests.									
First sort, cleaned	..	5	0	0	0	6 94	1	5	2½
Second sort, middling	..	2	5	0	0	3 47	0	12	7¼
Third sort, uncleaned	..	0	5	0	0	0 70	0	2	6¼
Camphor.									
First quality, (Malay)	Catty.	1	0	0	0	1 40	0	5	0½
Second quality, refuse	Pecul.	0	5	0	0	0 70	0	2	6¼
Cloves, first quality	..	1	5	0	0	2 10	0	7	6¾
Mother cloves, second do.	..	0	5	0	0	0 70	0	2	6¼
Clocks weighing 500 catties each, and all sizes; time pieces, watches gold, other watches; clocks, spy-glasses, writing desks, perfumery, cutlery, hardware, &c.	..	5 per cent. ad valorem.							

Articles of Import.	Per	New Duties. T.	M.	C.	C.	$ C.	£ s.	d.
Canvass, 30 to 40 yards, by 24 to 31 inches	Bolt.	0	5	0	0	0 70	0 3	0
Cochineal	Pecul.	5	0	0	0	6 94	1 5	2½
Cornelians, 100=4 taels, stones, estimated 6 catties	Hundred.	0	5	0	0	0 70	0 3	0
Beads	Pecul,	10	0	0	0	13 89	2 10	4¾
Cotton	100catties	0	4	0	0	0 56	0 2	0¼
Cotton manufactures.								
First quality, long Cloths, 30 @ 40 yards long, 30 @ 36 inches wide	Piece.	0	1	5	0	0 21	0 0	10¾
Third quality, gray	..	0	1	0	0	0 14	0 0	7¼
Twilled white or gray	..	0	1	0	0	0 14	0 0	7¼
Cambricks, &c	..	0	1	5	0	0 21	0 0	10¾
Chintz and prints, of 20 to 30 yards	..	0	2	0	0	0 28	0 1	0
Handkerchiefs, large	Each.	0	0	1	5	0 02½	0 0	1
Do., small	..	0	0	1	0	0 01⅗	0 0	0¾
Cotton yarn and thread	Pecul.	1	0	0	0	1 40	0 5	0½
Cow bezoar	Catty.	1	0	0	0	1 40	0 5	0½
Cutch	Pecul.	0	3	0	0	0 42	0 1	6¼
Elephants' teeth.								
First quality, whole	..	4	0	0	0	5 55	1 0	2
Second do. broken	..	2	0	0	0	2 78	0 10	0
Fishmaws	..	1	5	0	0	2 10	0 7	9¾
Flints	..	0	0	5	0	0 07	0 0	3
Gambier	..	0	1	5	0	0 21	0 0	9
Ginseng, first quality	..	38	0	0	0	52 77	9 11	7
Do. second quality	..	3	5	0	0	4 86	0 17	7¾
Gold and silver thread.								
First quality, or real	Catty.	0	1	3	0	0 18	0 0	7¾
Second do., or imitation	..	0	0	3	0	0 04	0 0	1¾
Gums, Benjamin	Pecul.	1	0	0	0	1 40	0 5	0½
Do. Olibanum	..	0	5	0	0	0 70	0 2	6¼
Myrrh	..	0	5	0	0	0 70	0 2	6¼
Hams, buffaloes' & bullocks'	..	2	0	0	0	2 78	0 10	1
Do., unicorns' & rhinoceros'	..	3	0	0	0	4 17	0 15	1½
Linen, fine, 20 to 30 yards	Piece.	0	5	0	0	0 70	0 3	0
Mace, or flower of nutmeg	Pecul.	1	0	0	0	1 40	0 5	0½
Mother-o'-Pearl shells	..	0	2	0	0	0 28	0 1	0
Copper, as in slabs	..	1	0	0	0	1 40	0 5	0½
Do., manufactured sheets, &c.	..	1	5	0	0	2 10	0 7	6¾
Iron, in pigs	..	0	1	0	0	0 14	0 0	6
Iron, in bar rods	..	0	1	5	0	0 21	0 0	9
Lead, in pigs, or sheets	..	0	4	0	0	0 56	0 2	0¼
Spelter	..	0	4	0	0	0 56	0 2	0¼
Tin	..	1	0	0	0	1 40	0 5	0¼

Articles of Import.	Per	New Duties. T.	M.	C.	C.	℔ C.	£	s.	d.
Tin plates	Pecul, or	0	4	0	0	0 56	0	2	0¼
Quicksilver	100catties	3	0	0	0	4 17	0	15	1½
Steel Eng, or Swed	..	0	4	0	0	0 56	0	2	0¼
Unenumerated metals	..	10	per	cent.		ad valorem.			
Nutmegs, first	..	2	0	0	0	2 78	0	10	1
Do., second, uncleaned	..	1	0	0	0	1 40	0	5	0½
Pepper, Malay	..	0	4	0	0	0 56	0	2	0¼
Putchuck	..	0	7	5	0	1 04	0	3	9¼
Rattans	..	0	2	0	0	0 28	0	1	0
Rose, Maloes	..	1	0	0	0	1 40	0	5	0½
Salt petre, sold only to government	..	0	3	0	0	0 42	0	1	6¼
Sharks'-fins, first, white	..	1	0	0	0	1 40	0	5	0½
Do. second, black	..	0	5	0	0	0 70	0	2	6¼
Skins, cow and ox hides, tanned and untanned	..	0	5	0	0	0 70	0	2	6¼
Sea Otter skins	Each.	1	5	0	0	2 10	0	9	1
Fox skins, large	..	0	1	5	0	0 21	0	0	10¾
Do., small	..	0	0	7	5	0 10	0	0	5½
Tiger, Leopard, skins	..	0	1	5	0	0 21	0	0	10¾
Land Otter, Racoon, and Sharks	Hundred.	2	0	0	0	2 78	0	12	0
Beaver skins	..	5	0	0	0	6 94	1	5	0
Hare, Rabbit, Ermine	..	0	5	0	0	0 70	0	3	0
Smalts	Pecul.	4	0	0	0	5 55	1	0	2
Soap	..	0	5	0	0	0 70	0	2	6¼
Stock fish, &c.	..	0	4	0	0	0 56	0	2	0¼
Sea horse teeth	..	2	0	0	0	2 78	0	10	1
Wine, beer, spirits, in quart bottles	Hundred.	1	0	0	0	1 40	0	6	0
Do. in pint bottles	..	0	5	0	0	0 70	0	3	0
Do. in casks	Pecul.	0	5	0	0	0 70	0	2	6¼
Wood ebony	..	0	1	5	0	0 21	0	0	9
Sandal wood	..	0	5	0	0	0 70	0	2	6¼
Sapan, do.	..	0	1	0	0	0 14	0	0	6
Unenumerated, do.	..	10	per	cent.					
Blankets, all kinds	Each.	0	1	0	0	0 14	0	0	7¼
Broad cloths, stripes, habit, cloths	Chang of 141inches	0	1	5	0	0 21	0	0	11
Long ells	..	0	0	7	0	0 09¾	0	0	5¼
Worley's flannel	..	0	0	7	0	0 09¾	0	0	5¼
Dutch camlets	..	0	1	5	0	0 21	0	0	11
English, do.	..	0	0	7	0	0 09¾	0	0	5¼
Imitation, do.	..	0	0	3	5	0 05	0	0	2½
Bunting, narrow	..	0	0	1	5	0 02	0	0	1¼
Unenumerated woollen goods, cotton, &c.	..	5	per	cent.					
Woollen yarn	Pecul, or 100catties	3	0	0	0	4 17	0	15	1½

Duties chargeable on Articles of Export from China.

Articles of Export.									
	Per	T.	M.	C.	C.	$	C.	£	s.	d.
1 Alum	Pecul	0	1	0	0	0	14	0	0	6
2 Aniseed stars	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6½
Ditto oil	..	5	0	0	0	6	94	1	5	2½
3 Arsenic	..	0	7	5	0	1	04	0	3	9¼
4 Bugles, glass, amulets	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
5 Bamboo ware	..	0	2	0	0	0	28	0	1	0
6 Brass leaf	..	1	5	0	0	2	10	0	7	6¼
7 Building materials		Free.								
8 Bone and horn ware	..	1	0	0	0	1	40	0	5	0½
9 Camphor	..	1	5	0	0	2	10	0	7	6¾
10 Canes of all kinds	Thousand	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	3	0
11 Capaor cutchery	Pecul	0	3	0	0	0	42	0	1	10
12 Cassia	..	0	7	5	0	1	04	0	3	9¼
Ditto buds	..	1	0	0	0	1	40	0	5	0½
Ditto oil	..	5	0	0	0	6	94	1	5	2½
13 China root	..	0	2	0	0	0	28	0	1	0
14 Ditto ware	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
15 Clothes, ready made	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
16 Copper ware and tin do.	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
17 Cands, false canal	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
18 Fireworks	..	0	7	0	0	1	04	0	3	9¼
19 Cubebs	..	1	5	0	0	2	10	0	7	6¾
20 Fans and feathers	..	1	0	0	0	1	40	0	5	0½
21 Furniture, all sorts	..	0	2	0	0	0	28	0	1	0
22 Galengal	..	0	1	0	0	0	14	0	0	6
23 Gamboge	..	2	0	0	0	2	78	0	10	1
24 Glass ware	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
25 Glass beads	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
26 Glue, common	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
27 Grass cloth	..	1	0	0	0	1	40	0	5	0½
28 Hartall or orpiment	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
29 Ivory ware, all kinds	..	5	0	0	0	6	94	1	5	2½
30 Kitty solls or umbrellas	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
31 Lacquered ware, all sorts	..	1	0	0	0	1	40	0	5	0½
32 Lead, white	..	0	2	5	0	0	35	0	1	3
33 Ditto, red	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
34 Marble slabs	..	0	2	0	0	0	28	0	1	0
35 Mats, straw, bamboo	..	0	2	0	0	0	28	0	1	0
36 Mother-o'-pearl wares	..	1	0	0	0	1	40	0	5	0½
37 Musk	Catty	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
38 Nankeens and cotton cloths	} Pecul									
Ditto, coarse Canton	...	1	0	0	0	1	40	0	5	0½
39 Pictures, oil painting	Each	0	1	0	0	0	14	0	0	7¼
Ditto, rice paper	Hundred	0	1	0	0	0	14	0	0	7¼
40 Paper fans	Pecul	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼

Duties chargeable on Articles of Export from China—continued.

Articles of Export.		T.	M.	C.	C.	$	C.	£	s.	d.
41 Paper fans, all kinds..	Per Pecul	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
42 Pearls, false	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
43 Preserves, sweetmeats .	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
44 Rattan work	..	0	2	0	0	0	28	0	1	0
45 Rhubarb	..	1	0	0	0	1	40	0	5	0½
46 Silk, raw, Nanking ...	..	10	0	0	0	13	89	2	10	4½
Ditto, Canton.....	..	10	0	0	0	13	89	2	10	4½
Ditto, coarse refuse ..	..	2	5	0	0	3	47	0	13	7¼
Ditto, Organzine	..	10	0	0	0	13	89	2	10	4¾
Ditto, thread, all sorts.	..	10	0	0	0	13	89	2	10	4¾
Ditto, ribbons	..	10	0	0	0	13	89	2	10	4¾
Ditto, piece goods....	..	10	0	0	0	13	89	2	10	4¾
47 Silk and cotton and silk and woollen mixtures	..	3	0	0	0	4	17	0	15	1½
48 Boots and shoes.....	..	0	2	0	0	0	28	0	1	0
49 Sandal-wood ware	..	1	0	0	0	1	40	0	5	0½
50 Soy.....	..	0	4	0	0	0	56	0	2	0¼
51 Silver and gold ware ..	..	10	0	0	0	13	89	2	10	4¾
52 Sugar, white and brown	..	0	2	5	0	0	35	0	1	3
53 Sugar candy	..	0	3	5	0	0	49	0	1	9¼
54 Tinfoil	..	0	5	0	0	0	70	0	2	6¼
55 Tea, all kinds.....	..	2	5	0	0	3	47	0	12	7¼
56 Tobacco, all kinds	..	0	2	0	0	0	28	0	1	0
57 Turmeric	..	0	2	0	0	0	28	0	1	0
58 Tortoise-shell ware....	..	10	0	0	0	13	89	2	10	4½
59 Trunks of leather	..	0	2	0	0	0	28	0	1	0
60 Vermilion	..	3	0	0	0	4	17	0	15	1½

The "Friend of China," a newspaper, dated Hong Kong, January 12th, 1843, gave the following statement relative to the then Chinese Tariff, as equivalent averages on duties.

ON IMPORTS.

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Cotton	about 5	Steel	about 10
,, yarn	,, 3	Gold and silver thread..	,, 30
,, goods.....	,, 3	Tin	,, 12
White long cloths.....	,, 30	Copper	,, 6
Grey domestics.....	10 to 17	Broad cloths.....	,, 20
Iron, bar and rod.....	,, 15	Spanish stripes.....	,, 15
Lead, pig and sheet....	,, 15	Long ells	,, 20
Quicksilver	,, 3	Camlets.....	,, 60

ON IMPORTS—*continued.*

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Betel nut	about 15	Nutmegs	about 4
Biche de Mer	„ 3	Black pepper	„ 15
Cloves	„ 18	White ditto	„ 10
Cutch	„ 30	Rattans	„ 12
Ebony	„ 15	Sandal-wood	„ 15
Fish-maws	„ $0\frac{1}{2}$		

ON EXPORTS.

Alum	about 50	Nanking silk	„ 4
Camphor	„ $7\frac{1}{2}$	Pongees	„ $1\frac{1}{2}$
Cassia	„ 80	Soft white sugar	„ 20
China root	„ 10	Sugar candy	„ 10
Galangal	„ 33	Tea	„ 4
Rhubarb	„ $1\frac{1}{2}$		

In addition to the Sea Customs on goods, there are also Transit Duties paid at the Custom Houses of Kan, Taeping, and Pihsin, on goods that are going down to Canton, or from thence transported to the Northern Provinces. [*Extracted from the Hoo-poot-sihle, 30th & 31st volumes, published by Imperial Authority, on the Revenues of the Empire.*]

EXPORT.		Kankwan.	Taepingkwan.	Pihsinkwan.
		T. M. C. C.	T. M. C. C.	T. M. C. C.
Alum	℔ 100 catties	0 0 0 $8\frac{3}{10}$	0 0 2 $7\frac{6}{10}$	0 0 0 8
Aniseed	„	0 0 4 2	0 0 4 2	0 0 4 0
Arsenic	„	0 0 2 $6\frac{3}{10}$	0 0 2 $7\frac{6}{10}$	0 0 4 0
Bamboo ware of all kinds	„	0 0 0 0	0 0 4 0	0 0 4 0
Camphor	„	0 1 0 5	0 3 6 4	0 1 4 0
Capoor catchery	„	0 0 0 0	0 0 2 $8\frac{1}{5}$	0 0 0 0
Cassia	„	0 0 3 $5\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0
China root	„	0 0 3 $5\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 2 $7\frac{6}{10}$	0 0 4 0
Copper and pewter ware	„	0 0 9 $1\frac{9}{10}$	0 1 5 0	0 6 0 0
Cubebs	„	0 1 8 $7\frac{7}{10}$	0 0 0 0	0 4 0 0
Galingal	„	0 0 1 $7\frac{6}{10}$	0 0 2 $7\frac{6}{10}$	0 0 4 0
Gamboge	„	0 0 3 $5\frac{1}{2}$	0 3 3 $8\frac{4}{10}$	0 0 1 $3\frac{6}{10}$
Grass cloth	℔ piece	0 0 5 $9\frac{1}{10}$	0 0 0 $7\frac{6}{10}$	0 0 0 $2\frac{1}{2}$
Hartall	℔ 100 catties	0 4 5 $9\frac{6}{10}$	0 2 5 6	0 1 0 0
Lead, white	„	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	1 3 6 0
Straw mats, bamboo	„	0 0 2 $6\frac{3}{10}$	0 1 1 7	0 0 0 0
Musk	℔ catty	0 9 1 $9\frac{1}{10}$	3 1 4 2	1 3 6 0
Nankeen and cotton cloth	℔ 100 catties	0 0 5 $2\frac{1}{2}$	0 4 5 5	0 0 2 $5\frac{6}{10}$
Rhubarb	„	0 0 2 $3\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 2 $7\frac{6}{10}$	0 0 4 0
Silk, raw, 1st quality	„	1 0 0 0	1 4 3 2	0 8 5 $7\frac{3}{5}$
„ coarse or refuse	„	0 4 5 $9\frac{6}{10}$	0 3 6 4	0 6 4 0
Silk piece goods	„	0 9 1 $9\frac{1}{10}$	3 1 4 2	1 4 7 2
Middling raw silk	„	0 0 0 0	0 7 2 4	0 6 8 0
Silk and cotton mixtures, silk and woollen mixtures, and all such goods	℔ piece	0 0 0 0	0 7 2 4	0 0 1 2
Soy	℔ 100 catties	0 2 6 $2\frac{6}{10}$	0 0 2 $7\frac{6}{10}$	0 0 4 0
Tea, coarse	„	0 0 7 $8\frac{8}{10}$	0 0 4 2	0 0 4 2
		10 baskets	100 catties	100 catties
„ fine	„	0 0 3 $9\frac{4}{10}$	0 0 7 6	0 0 0 0
			Chekeang Teas	
Vermilion	„	0 5 2 $5\frac{2}{10}$	1 4 4 6	1 3 6 0

IMPORTS.		Kankwan.	Taepingkan.	Pihsinkwan.
	Per	T. M. C. C.	T. M. C. C.	T. M. C. C.
Asafœtida	100 catties	1 7 5 $9\frac{1}{5}$	1 4 4 6	0 4 0 0
Bees'-wax	..	0 3 9 $3\frac{9}{10}$	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0
Betel nut	..	0 0 1 $7\frac{6}{10}$	0 0 4 2	0 0 4 0
Biche de mer	..	0 0 3 $5\frac{2}{10}$	0 1 1 7	0 4 0 0
Bird's-nests	..	1 1 7 $2\frac{7}{10}$	1 1 1 6	1 3 6 0
Camphor, Malay	Catty	0 9 2 0	3 1 4 2	1 3 6 0
Cloves	100 catties	0 2 3 $4\frac{6}{10}$	0 6 1 7	0 2 0 0
Cornelian beads	..	0 0 5 9	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0
Cotton	..	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 8 0
Cotton manufactures of all kinds	10 pieces	0 1 0 0	0 1 4 8	0 0 5 $5\frac{1}{5}$ ₱ piece
Cow bezoar	Catty	1 1 7 $2\frac{7}{10}$	1 1 1 6	2 4 0 0
Cutch	100 catties	0 1 4 $0\frac{4}{5}$	0 1 8 $3\frac{4}{5}$	0 2 0 0
Elephant's teeth	..	0 2 3 $4\frac{3}{5}$	1 4 4 6	1 0 0 0
Gold and silver thread	Catty	0 2 6 $2\frac{3}{5}$	0 1 5 0	0 0 2 $4\frac{4}{5}$
Gums, Benjamin	100 catties	0 1 4 8	0 3 6 7	0 2 0 0
Olibanum	..	0 0 0 0	0 3 6 7	0 0 0 0
Myrrh	..	0 2 3 $4\frac{3}{5}$	0 6 8 4	0 2 0 0
Horns of all kinds	..	1 7 5 0	1 4 4 6	1 3 6 0
Quicksilver	..	0 2 3 $4\frac{3}{5}$	1 4 4 4	1 3 6 0
Nutmegs	..	0 1 0 0	0 1 8 $3\frac{3}{5}$	0 2 3 $4\frac{1}{5}$
Pepper	..	0 3 5 $1\frac{9}{10}$	0 2 5 9	0 2 0 0
Putchuck	..	0 2 3 $4\frac{3}{5}$	0 3 6 6	0 2 0 0
Rattans	..	0 0 4 $6\frac{9}{10}$	0 0 4 2	0 0 1 6
Rose maloes	..	0 9 3 $8\frac{4}{10}$	0 8 3 4	0 0 0 0
Shark's-fins	..	0 0 5 $8\frac{7}{10}$	0 1 1 7	0 4 0 0
Smalts	..	0 6 5 $6\frac{1}{2}$	1 4 4 6	0 0 0 0
Ebony	..	0 0 9 $3\frac{4}{5}$	0 0 0 0	0 2 0 0
Sandal-wood	..	0 5 8 $6\frac{1}{2}$	0 2 5 9	0 2 0 0
Sapan-wood	..	0 1 4 $0\frac{2}{5}$	0 0 4 2	0 2 0 0
Woollen goods	Piece	0 2 0 0	0 2 0 0	0 1 1 $0\frac{2}{5}$
Narrow woollens	Chang of 141 inches	0 1 0 0	0 1 0 0	₱ chang 0 1 1 $0\frac{2}{5}$
Dutch camlets	Chang	0 2 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 1 1 $0\frac{2}{5}$
Camlets	..	0 2 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 1 1 $0\frac{2}{5}$
Woollen yarn	100 catties	3 1 4 2	3 1 4 2	0 2 0 $4\frac{4}{5}$

General Regulations, under which the British trade is to be conducted at the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochowfoo, Ningpo, and Shanghai.

"1*st*. *Pilots*.—Whenever a British merchantman shall arrive off any of the five ports opened to trade, viz.: Canton, Foochowfoo, Amoy, Ningpo, or Shanghai, pilots shall be allowed to take her immediately into port; and in like manner, when such British ship shall have settled all legal duties and charges, and is about to return home, pilots shall be immediately granted to take her out to sea, without any stoppage or delay.

"Regarding the remuneration to be given these pilots, that will be equitably settled by the British Consul appointed to each particular port, who will determine it with due reference to the distance gone over, the risk, run, &c.

"2*nd*. *Custom-house Guards*.—The Chinese Superintendent of Customs at each port, will adopt the means that he may judge most proper to prevent the revenue suffering by fraud or smuggling. Whenever the pilot

shall have brought any British merchantman into port, the Superintendent of Customs will depute one or two trusty Custom-house officers, whose duty it will be to watch against fraud on the revenue. These will either live in a boat of their own, or stay on board the English ship, as may best suit their convenience. Their food and expenses will be supplied them from day to day from the Custom-house, and they may not exact any fees whatever from either the Commander or Consignee. Should they violate this regulation, they shall be punished proportionately to the amount so exacted.

"3*rd*. *Masters of ships reporting themselves on arrival.*—Whenever a British vessel shall have cast anchor at any one of the above-mentioned ports, the Captain will, within four and twenty hours after arrival, proceed to the British Consulate, and deposit his ship's papers, bills of lading, manifest, &c., in the hands of the Consul; failing to do which, he will subject himself to a penalty of two hundred dollars.

"For presenting a false manifest, the penalty will be five hundred dollars.

"For breaking bulk and commencing to discharge, before due permission shall be obtained, the penalty will be five hundred dollars, and confiscation of the goods so discharged.

"The Consul, having taken possession of the ship's papers, will immediately send a written communication to the Superintendent of Customs, specifying the register tonnage of the ship and the particulars of the cargo she has on board; all of which being in due form, permission will then be given to discharge, and the duties levied as provided for in the tariff.

"4*th*. *Commercial dealings between English and Chinese merchants.*—It having been stipulated that English merchants may trade with whatever native merchants they please,—should any Chinese merchant fraudently abscond or incur debts which he is unable to discharge, the Chinese authorities, upon complaint being made thereof, will of course do their utmost to bring the offender to justice; it must, however, be distinctly understood, that if the defaulter really cannot be found, or be dead or bankrupt, and there be not wherewithal to pay, the English merchants may not appeal to the former custom of the Hong merchants paying one for another, and can no longer expect to have their losses made good to them.

"5*th*. *Tonnage dues.*—Every English merchantman, on entering any of the above-mentioned five ports, shall pay tonnage-dues at the rate of five mace per register-ton, in full of all charges. The fees formerly levied on entry and departure, of every description, are henceforth abolished.

"6*th*. *Import and Export duties.*—Goods whether imported into, or exported from any one of the above-mentioned five ports are henceforward to be taxed according to the tariff as now fixed and agreed upon, *and no further sums are to be levied beyond those which are specified in the tariff;* all duties incurred by an English merchant vessel, whether on goods imported or exported, or in the shape of tonnage dues, must first be paid up in full; which done, the Superintendent of Customs will grant a port clearance, and this being shown to the British Consul, he will thereupon return the ship's papers and permit the vessel to depart.

"7*th*. *Examination of goods at the Custom-house.*—Every English merchant having cargo to load or discharge, must give due intimation thereof, and hand particulars of the same to the Consul, who will immediately dispatch a recognized linguist of his own establishment to communicate

the particulars to the Superintendent of Customs, that the goods may be duly examined, and neither party subjected to loss. The English merchant must also have a properly qualified person on the spot, to attend to his interests when his goods are being examined for duty; otherwise, should there be complaints, these cannot be attended to.

"Regarding such goods as are subject by the tariff to an ad valorem duty, if the English merchant cannot agree with the Chinese officer in fixing a value, then each party shall call two or three merchants to look at the goods, and the highest price at which any of these merchants would be willing to purchase, shall be assumed as the value of the goods.

"To fix the tare on any article, such as tea, if the English merchant cannot agree with the Custom-house officer, then each party shall choose so many chests out of every hundred, which being first weighed in gross, shall afterwards be tared, and the average tare upon these chests shall be assumed as the tare upon the whole; and, upon this principle, shall the tare be fixed upon all other goods in packages.

"If there should still be any disputed points which cannot be settled, the English merchant may appeal to the Consul, who will communicate the particulars of the case to the Superintendent of Customs, that it may be equitably arranged. But the appeal must be made on the same day, or it will not be regarded. While such points are still open, the Superintendent of Customs will delay to insert the same in his books, thus affording an opportunity that the merits of the case may be duly tried and sifted.

"8*th*. *Manner of paying the duties.*—It is hereinbefore provided, that every English vessel that enters any one of the five ports, shall pay all duties and tonnage dues before she be permitted to depart. The Superintendent of Customs will select certain shroffs, or banking establishments of known stability, to whom he will give licenses, authorizing them to receive duties from the English merchants on behalf of Government, and the receipt of these shroffs for any moneys paid them shall be considered as a government voucher. In the paying of these duties, different kinds of foreign money may be made use of; but as foreign money is not of equal purity with sycee silver, the English Consuls appointed to the different ports will, according to time, place, and circumstances, arrange with the Superintendents of Customs at each, what coins may be taken in payment, and what per centage may be necessary to make them equal to standard or pure silver.

"9*th*. *Weights and Measures.*—Sets of balance-yards for the weighing of goods, of money-weights, and of measures, prepared in exact conformity to those hitherto in use at the Custom-house of Canton, and duly stamped and sealed in proof thereof, will be kept in possession of the Superintendent of Customs, and also at the British Consulate at each of the five ports, and these shall be the standards by which all duties shall be charged, and all sums paid to Government. In case of any dispute arising between British merchants and Chinese officers of Customs, regarding the weights or measures of goods, reference shall be made to these standards, and disputes decided accordingly.

"10*th*. *Lighters or cargo-boats.*—Whenever any English merchant shall have to load or discharge cargo, he may hire whatever kind of lighter or cargo-boat he pleases, and the sum to be paid for such boat can be settled between the parties themselves, without the interference of Government. The number of these boats shall not be limited, nor shall a mono-

poly of them be granted to any parties. If any smuggling take place in them, the offenders will of course be punished according to law. Should any of these boat-people, while engaged in conveying goods for English merchants, frandulently abscond with the property, the Chinese authorities will do their best to apprehend them; but, at the same time, the English merchants must take every due precaution for the safety of their goods.

"11*th. Transhipment of goods.*—No English merchant ships may tranship goods without special permission: should any urgent case happen where transhipment is necessary, the circumstances must be first transmitted to the Consul, who will give a certificate to that effect, and the Superintendent of Customs will then send a special officer to be present at the transhipment. If any one presumes to tranship without such permission being asked for and obtained, the whole of the goods so illicitly transshipped will be confiscated.

"12*th. Subordinate Consular officers.*—At any place selected for the anchorage of the English merchant ships, there may be appointed a subordinate consular officer, of approved good conduct, to exercise due control over the seamen and others. He must exert himself to prevent quarrels between the English seamen and natives, this being of the utmost importance. Should anything of the kind unfortunately take place, he will in a like manner do his best to arrange it amicably. When sailors go on shore to walk, officers shall be required to accompany them, and, should disturbances take place, such officers will be held responsible. The Chinese officers may not impede natives from coming alongside the ships, to sell clothes or other necessaries to the sailors living on board.

"13*th. Disputes between British subjects and Chinese.*—Whenever a British subject has reason to complain of a Chinese, he must first proceed to the Consulate and state his grievances; the Consul will thereupon inquire into the merits of the case, and do his utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Chinese have reason to complain of a British subject, he shall no less listen to his complaint, and endeavour to settle it in a friendly manner. If an English merchant have occasion to address the Chinese authorities, he shall send such address through the Consul, who will see that the language is becoming; and if otherwise, will direct it to be changed, or will refuse to convey the address. If, unfortunately, any disputes take place of such a nature that the Consul cannot arrange them amicably, then he shall request the assistance of a Chinese officer, that they may together examine into the merits of the case, and decide it equitably. Regarding the punishment of English criminals, the English Government will enact the laws necessary to attain that end, and the Consul will be empowered to put them in force; and, regarding the punishment of Chinese criminals, these will be tried and punished by their own laws, in the way provided for by the correspondence which took place at Nanking after the concluding of the peace.

"14*th. British Government Cruizers anchoring within the Ports.*—An English government cruizer will anchor within each of the five ports, that the Consul may have the means of better restraining sailors and others, and preventing disturbances. But these government cruizers are not to be put on the same footing as merchant vessels, for as they bring no merchandize and do not come to trade, they will of course pay neither dues nor charges. The resident Consul will keep the Superintendent of

Customs duly informed of the arrival and departure of such government cruizers, that he may take his measures accordingly.

"15*th*. *On the security to be given for British merchant vessels.*—It has hitherto been the custom, when an English vessel entered the port of Canton, that a Chinese Hong merchant stood security for her, and all duties and charges were paid through such security-merchant. But these security-merchants being now done away with, it is understood that the British Consul will henceforth be security for all British merchant ships entering any of the aforesaid five ports."

Tables of British Consular fees at the several open ports in China, approved by the Earl of Aberdeen, February, 1844 :—

TABLE A.—Certificate of due landing of goods exported from the United Kingdom	2	Dollars.
Signature of ship's manifest	2	,,
Certificate of origin, when required.	2	,,
Bill of health, when required	2	,,
Signature of muster roll, when required	2	,,
Attestation of a Signature, when required	1	,,
Administering an oath, when required	½	,,
Seal of office, and signature of any other document not specified herein, when required	1	,,
TABLE B.—Bottomry or arbitration bond	2	Dollars.
Noting a protest	1	,,
Order of survey	2	,,
Extending a protest or survey.	1	,,
Registrations.	1	,,
Visa of passport	½	,,
Valuation of goods	1	per cent.
Attending sales	½	,,
Where there has been a charge for valuing; otherwise	1	,,
Attendance out of Consular office at a shipwreck, five dollars per diem for his personal expenses, over and above his travelling expenses.		
Attendance on opening a will.	5	Dollars.
Management of property of British subjects dying intestate.	2½	per cent.

"As much confusion and many mistakes, tending to the hindrance of public business, are likely to occur from manifests being too vaguely made out, consignees of British Vessels are hereby required to give their attention to the following rules in drawing up manifests to be presented at this Consulate.

"1st. Packages, 'contents unknown.' The consignee of the ship will be required to ascertain from the consignees of such packages, the nature of their contents generally (in so far as it may be practicable) before presenting his manifest at this Consulate.

"2nd. Packages, 'Woollens.' These must be specified, as 'Broadcloth,' or 'Longells,' or 'Camlets,' or 'Bombazettes,' &c., &c., in accordance with the classification of the Tariff, seeing that all these articles are liable to different duties.

"3rd. Packages, 'Cottons.' These must in like manner be specified, as 'White Longcloths,' or 'Grey Longcloths,' or 'Cambrics,' or 'Printed Goods,' or 'Handkerchiefs,' as the case may be.

"4th. Packages, 'Fancy Goods.' Any manufactured goods not in current consumption may be specified as 'Stuffs of Cotton only,' or 'Stuffs of Wool only,' or of 'Silk and Cotton mixed,' or of 'Wool and Cotton mixed,' &c., &c., as the case may be.

"Lastly. As a *general rule*, where any doubt exists, let it be borne in mind that the object in view is chiefly to ascertain the number of packages of *certain goods*, which are to pay *certain specified duties;* and that by mixing up *two or three kinds* of goods which pay *different duties* under *one* head, this object will be defeated.

"By bearing these few *general rules* in mind, a great deal of unnecessary trouble will be spared this Consulate, and the consignees of ships in the end.

"British Consulate, Canton,
"28th July, 1843.

"G. TRADESCANT LAY,
"*H. M. Officiating Consul for Canton.*"

British vessels entering the Port of Canton are required to make a report, as annexed.—(There is a transcript in Chinese.)

To be used by ships when passing the Bogue Forts inward bound.

I, Master of the Ship hereby declare that I have arrived from with a cargo of and am now proceeding with the same to Whampoa.

Given at the Custom-house station, island of North Wangtong, this day of 184 , at o'clock.

[N.B.—The Master of every ship is requested to be particular in noting down the time correctly when this report shall be handed in; he is also requested to procure a duplicate of the Chinese characters employed to write his own name, and the name of his ship, in order that he may present the same at the Consulate to prevent confusion in the English names.]

HEALTH OF HONG KONG.

At the moment of going to press, the following return of the health of the troops at Hong Kong for 1846, has been received. It has been by far the most healthy year experienced in the island, yet less than seven such years would entirely remove the whole of our troops by deaths and invaliding: invalided soldiers seldom are ever again fit for duty. But the healthiness or otherwise of Hong Kong, does not affect the question of the utter worthlessness of the place.

1846.	R. Artill.	Engineers.	H. M. 18th.	42nd M. N. I.
Strength	24	36	847	973
Deaths	2	1	52	74
Invalided	2	3	95	All return to India.
Sick, Dec. 21, 1846..	2	9	124	92

On the above day—the *most healthy* period of the year—about ⅐ of the 18th Royal Irish were in the hospital!—R. M. M.

PETITION TO THE QUEEN IN COUNCIL.

[*The following documents have reference to the matters referred to in the Dedication, and in the Reports on Hong Kong, and on Chusan, in* vol. ii.]

29, BLOOMSBURY SQUARE.
1*st May*, 1846.

SIR,

I believe I am acting in accordance with official usage, in soliciting you, as Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, to lay the accompanying Petition and documents on China before the Queen.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
R. M. MARTIN.

To the
Right Hon. Sir James Graham, Bart.
H. M. Sec. of State for the Home Department.

Enclosure.—Reports on Hong Kong—on Chusan—on the British Position and Prospects in China, &c. &c.

PETITION.

To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble petition of Robert Montgomery Martin, late Her Majesty's Treasurer for the Colonial, Consular, and Diplomatic Services in China, and a Member of Her Majesty's Legislative Council.

Humbly sheweth,

1st. That Your Majesty was graciously pleased to appoint petitioner treasurer at Hong Kong on the 20th of January, 1844.

2nd. That petitioner having devoted his life to an investigation of the British colonial possessions and commercial interests, deemed that he would be fulfilling his duty to your Majesty by examining, in all their relations, our position and prospects in China.

3rd. That the accompanying public documents were, therefore, from time to time transmitted to your Majesty's ministers, and it is respectfully submitted they testify that petitioner acted as a faithful, industrious, and useful servant of the crown in China.

4th. That petitioner deeming an erroneous course of policy had been pursued, which, if not timely corrected, would be productive of great national injury; and being desirous of checking what he considered as a wasteful expenditure of the public money, which could only effectually be done by his *immediate* return to England, was most reluctantly compelled to tender the *conditional resignation* of the commission with which your Majesty was graciously pleased to invest him, in order that he might bring the whole state of our affairs in China under the early and serious consideration of your Majesty's ministers, and be on the spot to explain personally the amendments and retrenchments which he was and is prepared to prove were imperatively required in China.

5th. That for thus acting in accordance with what he believed to be his duty, as an honest steward of the trust reposed in him, and for refusing to remain silent and quiescent when silence and quiescence would have been a crime; petitioner has been deprived of his position in your Majesty's service, and all redress or enquiry has been denied him, while your Majesty's government have derived the benefit of his information and experience.

6th. That petitioner respectfully declares he feels conscious this punishment is unmerited—he is most anxious to have the fullest scrutiny into every part of his conduct, and the most searching investigation into the truth of his statements, and looking to your Majesty as the source of justice, petitioner earnestly prays the gracious interposition of your Majesty to present the infliction of a wrong, which does not alone affect an humble individual, but which, if sanctioned, destroys the moral and Christian responsibility of the servants of the crown, especially when acting conscientiously in the distant provinces of this vast empire.

And your Majesty's Petitioner, as in duty bound,
Will ever pray.

London, 1st of May, 1846.

WHITEHALL,
7th May, 1846.

SIR,

I am directed by Secretary Sir James Graham to inform you, that he has laid before the Queen, your petition, with the enclosures, praying for an investigation into the causes for which you have been deprived of your position in Her Majesty's service, and redress or enquiry denied to you.

And I am further to acquaint you, that the same has been referred for the consideration of the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, to whom all other communications on this subject must be addressed.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
S. M. PHILLIPPS.

R. Montgomery Martin, Esq.
29, Bloomsbury Square.

DEVONSHIRE STREET,
12th May, 1846.

SIR,

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Gladstone to inform you, that the Queen has been pleased to refer to him the petition which you addressed to Her Majesty on the 1st instant, praying for an enquiry into the truth of the several communications which you have addressed to Her Majesty's Government on the subject of Hong Kong.

I am to inform you that, for the reasons already explained to you in the correspondence in which you have been engaged with this office, Mr. Gladstone has been unable to advise Her Majesty to accede to the prayer of your petition.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
LYTTELTON.

R. Montgomery Martin, Esq.

29, Bloomsbury Square,
13*th May*, 1846.

Sir,

I regret to learn that you have not deemed it necessary to advise Her Majesty to accede to the prayer of my petition for an enquiry into the truth of my several communications on the subject of Hong Kong. I am unaware of any "*reasons already explained*" to me, which ought to preclude the investigation sought. The only reason ever given for refusing this enquiry was, that I had resigned my office; the truth or otherwise of my statements being deemed alike immaterial. I beg leave to observe that I tried in vain every other mode of procuring an investigation into the utter worthlessness of Hong Kong.

The faint hope that there was still some power in the crown to grant that which is even conceded to a criminal, viz. *enquiry*, is nullified by referring my petition to that Department which has hitherto rejected all appeals for investigation. I respectfully submit that this can scarcely be considered in accordance with justice, or with a desire to obtain truth.

I therefore venture to ask, even as a boon, that my petition be referred to the Privy Council, and that I be permitted at my own expense to substantiate the truth of my statements.

I have the honour to be, &c.
R. M. MARTIN.

To the
Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone,
H. M.'s Secretary of State for the Colonies, &c. &c.

Downing Street,
18*th May*, 1846.

Sir,

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Gladstone to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, in which you request that your petition to the Queen may be referred to the Privy Council.

Mr. Gladstone desires me to inform you, in reply, that Her Majesty's Executive Government must reserve to itself the responsibility for the decision of a question of this nature; and that the Queen cannot be advised to refer the investigation of it to the Privy Council, or to any committee of the Council.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
LYTTELTON.

R. Montgomery Martin, Esq.

Earl Grey having declined to reconsider a question on which his predecessors had refused all inquiry, and deeming my resignation as *final* and not "conditional," the following letter was addressed—

To the Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
First Lord of Her Majesty's Treasury.

My Lord, 26*th August*, 1846.

The Marquis Wellesley on the 17th November, 1840, addressed a letter to your Lordship, stating that he "pledged" his honour for my integrity, ability, "honest zeal and indefatigable spirit of industry;" and my lamented and revered friend declared that he was "satisfied my active employment in the public service, would be useful to the empire, and honourable to me and to your Lordship."

I respectfully entreat, my Lord, that you will give me the benefit of this declaration of one of the greatest and purest statesmen that ever shed lustre, or conferred benefit, on England; and that you will grant me an *enquiry into the causes which irresistibly compelled me to tender a conditional resignation of my office as Her Majesty's Treasurer in China*—in order that I might be enabled to personally lay before Her Majesty's government an exposition of our highly important interests in that vast Empire, and procure a timely correction of what I deemed errors of deep national importance.

The accompanying documents detail my proceedings in China; and my voluminous Report on the commerce, government, and relations of the Chinese, (now under the consideration of Mr. Lefevre of the Board of Trade), is an evidence of the industry which I gratuitously devoted to the acquisition of information useful to Her Majesty's Government.

I simply ask a full and fair investigation into the correctness of my statements, and a permission to support by evidence the truth of my allegations.

This request would not be refused to a criminal. I am ready to prove that I do not deserve its rejection,—that I did my duty as an honest, faithful and diligent servant of the Crown, and that I zealously endeavoured to show myself worthy of the high testimony of Lord Wellesley. I ask this enquiry as a *boon* in reference to myself,—and as an act of justice in reference to the public service, for I am assured your Lordship will concur in thinking that a servant of the Crown, especially in a distant and imperfectly known station, is bound to seek the welfare of the nation in preference to his own ease or emoluments, and that he is *as responsible for acts of omission as for those of commission.*

I went to China at the request of Her Majesty's Government; broke up my engagements here, and incurred considerable expense in my zeal to perform services which I had hoped would have been deemed worthy of approbation.

I have been more than a year without any income whatever, although labouring hard for the public good, as testified by the Board of Trade. My means of support, and what is of far more consequence my public character, are dependent on the investigation I thus earnestly implore at your Lordship's hands.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord, your faithful Servant,
(Signed) R. M. MARTIN.

[Enclosure in the foregoing, copied from the original by Lord Edward Howard—by the permission of Lord John Russell.]

KINGSTON HOUSE, KNIGHTSBRIDGE,
November 17, 1840.

MY DEAR LORD,

Your Lordship's uniform kindness and obliging attention induce me to trouble you with a request, in the success of which I am deeply interested, from motives of gratitude and friendship, as well as from a sense of public duty.

Several respectable friends of the present Government, from the same sentiments, have already expressed their concurrence in my opinion, and have declared an anxiety equal to mine on the same subject.

Our object is to see Mr. Montgomery Martin (a gentleman well known to your Lordship and to the Public) employed in some station in which his eminent talents, and extraordinary industry and diligence, and extensive information, might be rendered useful to the empire.

My friendship for Mr. Martin is founded on no light basis. I entrusted him with the publication of the documents connected with my administration of the British Empire in India; a work which he has completed to my entire satisfaction.

This work necessarily involved the most confidential communication and intercourse, by which I am enabled, with the most perfect certainty, to pledge my honour to the integrity, ability, honest zeal, and indefatigable spirit of industry, by which this worthy gentleman has obtained so high an eminence in public estimation.

Mr. Martin has made the affairs of the British Colonies, and of India, the more especial object of his laborious studies; but he is also better informed on the interesting subject of Ireland, (more particularly on the operation and result of her legislative union with Great Britain,) than any person I have ever conversed with. Generally his knowledge of statistics is most extensive and most practically useful.

My gratitude towards this gentleman renders me most anxious for his welfare; but I would not recommend him to your Lordship, if I were not satisfied that his active employment in the public service would be beneficial to the empire, and honourable to himself and to your Lordship.

I have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem,
My dear Lord,
Your Lordship's faithful Servant,
WELLESLEY.

To the
Right Honourable Lord John Russell,
H. M.'s Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.

The only answer to the foregoing, and to several subsequent appeals, was the following mere acknowledgment.

DOWNING STREET,
28th August, 1846.

SIR,

I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, and of the work which accompanied it.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
R. W. GREY.

R. Montgomery Martin, Esq.

It remains only to be added that my successor in China has not yet been appointed by the Queen, and that as no member of Her Majesty's past or present Government can have any reason for denying the enquiry sought, I must ascribe the refusal to a misapprehension of the case, and to want of time for its consideration, rather than to a studied objection to do an act of justice, which involves a public principle in regard to the moral responsibility of the servants of the Crown in the Colonies.

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ERRATA.

The rapidity with which the work has been passed through the press has caused several unavoidable errors; but my grateful thanks are due to the excellent Typographers, for the admirable manner in which these volumes have been printed.

Vol. i. p. 78, the opinions of Marco Polo and M. de Guines should have been marked as a quotation.

P. 130, for "value of tael 8s.," read "6s. 8d."
P. 12, heading, for "Hauchow," read "Hang-chew."
P. 13, heading, for "Chauchew," read "Chang-Chew."
P. 88, for "Grossius," read "Grosier."
P. 155, for "Ngauhwuy province," read "Ganhwuy province."
For "Chi-li province," read "Chi-le."
Kiang-Nan province, lately divided into two, viz., Keang-soo and Ganhwuy.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

Map of China to face Title Page, Vol. i.
Map of Japan, Vol. i. p. 265.
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Population Chart, Vol. i. Preface.
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Tea Table, vol. ii. p. 152.

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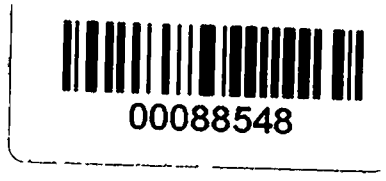
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